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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Public Taw 34--90th Congress

Campter 90--1st Session

H. J. Res. 153

TAPLE OF CONTENTS

Digest	of	Public	Iaw	84 .	٠	•	•	•	•	•	
Index		Summary	of	Histor	у о	n					



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DIGEST OF PUBLIC IAN 84

REIJEF FCR WAR*DEVASTATED COUNTRIES. Authorizes appropriation of \$350,000,000 to the President for relief assistance to the people of war-devastated countries, such relief to be limited to food, medical supplies, clothing materials, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed. Provides for such assistance through Covernment departments and agencies, to be financed by appropriations made pursuant to this act.

Index and Summary of History on H. J. Res. 153

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February 21, 1947	4. J. Res. 134 was introduced by Rep. Eaton and was referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. (Similar bill). Print of the bill as introduced.
February 25, 1947	Mearings: U. J. Res. 134 (Monse).
March 20, 1947	Print of the bill as introduced.
April 7, 1947	Amendments proposed by Senators McClellan and Young to H. J. Pes. 153. Prints of the amendments.
April 9, 1947	Fouse Committee reported D. J. Res. 153 without amendment. House Rept. 239. Print of the measure as reported.
April 23, 1947	Pouse began debatte on H. J. Res. 153.
April 28, 1947	Debate continued.
April 29, 1947	Detate continued.
April 30, 1947	H. J. Res. 153 passed House with amendments.
May 1, 1947	P. J. Pes. 153 was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Print of the Resolution as referred.
Vay 5, 1947	Serate Committee reported 4. J. Pes. 153 with an amendment. Senate Report 153. Print of the Rescolution as reported.
Way 13, 1947	Senate becar debate on E. J. Pes. 153.
May 14, 1947	Fassed Senate with amendments. House and Genate Conferes appointed.
May 20, 1947	Fouse received the Conference Report. House Rept. 395.
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80TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 134

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 21, 1947

Mr. Eaton introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to countries devastated by war.

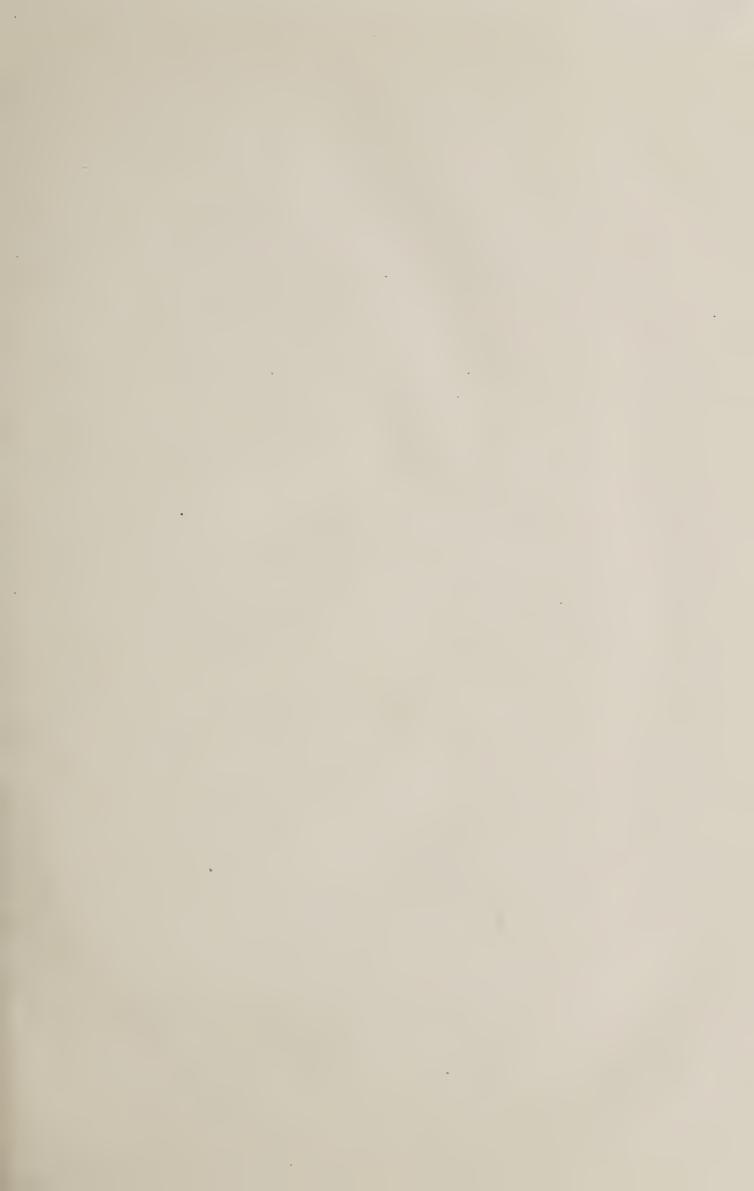
- Whereas in certain countries devastated by the war there will be hunger, privation, and suffering if relief assistance is not promptly provided; and
- Whereas the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 13, 1946, adopted a resolution urging that following the termination of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, residual relief needs in such countries be met during the ensuing year through the development of the respective programs of all members of the United Nations; and
- Whereas, for humanitarian reasons and in order to promote healthy economic conditions abroad which are essential to the security and economic well-being of the United States

and of the world, the Government of the United States desires to assist in the furnishing of such relief: Therefore be it

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the
- 4 President not to exceed \$350,000,000 for the provision of
- 5 relief assistance to countries devastated by the war. Relief
- 6 assistance herein authorized to be provided shall be con-
- 7 fined to the basic essentials of life, particularly medical sup-
- 8 plies, food, and supplies for agricultural production.
- 9 Sec. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such
- 10 relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers
- 11 of supplies or funds in such quantities and on such terms
- 12 as the President may determine; except that no such trans-
- 13 fers of supplies or funds may be made after June 30, 1948.
- 14 (b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds appro-
- 15 priated pursuant thereto may be used to pay necessary
- 16 expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance,
- 17 including expenses of or incident to the procurement, stor-
- 18 age, transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred
- 19 under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from funds
- 20 transferred under subsection (a).
- (c) Sums from the appropriations made pursuant to
- 22 this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the pur-
- 23 poses of this joint resolution to any department, agency,

- 1 or independent establishment of the Government and such
- 2 sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in
- 3 accordance with the laws governing obligations and expendi-
- 4 tures of the department, agency, or independent establish-
- 5 ment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without
- 6 regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes,
- 7 as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and
- 8 title 31, sec. 529).
- 9 (d) Upon request of the government of any country
- 10 to which funds have been transferred under subsection (a),
- 11 any department, agency, or independent establishment of
- 12 the Government (upon receipt, from funds so transferred,
- 13 of advancements or reimbursements for the cost and neces-
- 14 sary expenses) may furnish, or if advancements are made
- 15 may procure and furnish, supplies coming within the category
- 16 of relief assistance as defined in section 1, and may use
- 17 sums so received for the purposes set forth in subsection
- 18 (b) of this section. When reimbursement is made it shall
- 19 be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or
- 20 independent establishment concerned, either to the appro-
- 21 priation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation,
- 22 or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which
- 23 is current at the time of such reimbursement.
- Sec. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under the
- 25 authority of this joint resolution to any country unless the

- 1 government of such country has given assurance satisfactory
- 2 to the President that (a) the supplies transferred or other-
- 3 wise made available pursuant to this joint resolution as well
- 4 as similar supplies produced locally or imported from out-
- 5 side sources will be distributed among the people of said
- 6 recipient country without discrimination as to race, creed,
- 7 or political belief; (b) representatives of the Government
- 8 of the United States and of the press and radio of the United
- 9 States will be permitted to observe freely and to report fully
- 10 regarding the distribution and utilization of said supplies;
- 11 and (c) upon request of the President, it will furnish
- 12 promptly information concerning the production, use, dis-
- 13 tribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which
- 14 affect the relief needs of the recipient country.
- Sec. 4. The authority of the President under section 2
- and section 3 may, to the extent the President so directs, be
- 17 exercised by the Secretary of State.
- 18 Sec. 5. The President shall submit to the Congress quar-
- 19 terly reports of expenditures and activities under authority:
- 20 of this joint resolution.



JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to countries devastated by war.

By Mr. EATON

February 21, 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs



RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

ON

H. J. Res. 134

A JOINT RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR RELIEF
ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

FEBRUARY 25, 26, 28, AND MARCH 3, 4, 6, 1947

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs



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INDEX

Agreements: Between United States and recipient countries on relief,	Page
memo on	43 19
American Farm Bureau Federation, resolution adopted by	10, 12
Austria:	
Army relief activities in	18, 32
British relief assistance to	. 10
Byelorussia, relief needs in	. 45
Caloric consumption in United States	. 106
Canada, able to extend relief	. 19
CARE, relief furnished through	
Cereals furnished by United States	. 97
Child feeding, in Germany and AustriaChildren, supplemental food for	. 54 40 45
Children's Fund, United Nations	
Clayton, Hon. W. L., Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, De-	30, 31
partment of State, statement by	1
Coal, shipments of	84
FitzGerald, D. A., Secretary General of International Emergency Food	
Council, statement by	
Food requirements	
Food supplies97	
Grain, supply situation	51, 52
Greece:	
UNRRA operations in	
Situation in	21, 22
Hoover, Hon. Herbert, statement by	53
Hungary: Relief needs in	37
Reparations, payments by	
Italy:	00, 10
Assistance needed by 66	. 67, 73
Need for relief in	31
Payment of reparations by 23, 24, 35,	36, 39
League of Women Voters, statement by	126
Moldavia, corn being shipped to	51
National Women's Trade Union League of America, statement of	129
Noe, Harrington, R. D. No. 2, Boonton, N. J., statement by	113
Phosphate requirements	110
Poland: Condition of crops in	87
Devastation in	50
Potatoes, use of	102
Red Cross:	
Distribution of relief by	50
Relief work in Rumania	11
Relief:	
Administrative plan	43
Agreements6, 16, 4	13, 125
Allocation of	29, 30
Assistance by other countries	
By private and voluntary sources	9 100
Contribution by United States, how estimate was made81,8	2 21
Contribution by United States, on percentage basisControl of black market diversion	62
Countries in need of outside assistance	2

INDEX

Relief—Continued	2
Diet in calories	
Distribution in recipient countries	55, 54 34
Funds, to be spent or committed by end of year 1947	04 4 55
Method of operation and supervision	4, 99
Needs, definition of by United Nations General Assembly	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$
Needs, in 1947	2 S 2
Operations, suggested checking on by Committee on Foreign Affair	S 59 55
Recommendation to limit to United States products	
Repayment of	00,00,121
Staff 4, 6, 7, 18	s, 10, 5∠, 55
Supplies:	15
Procurement of in United States	
Question of purchasing some outside United States	92
Rationing of food	42
Sale of	25, 58
To be withdrawn if agreement violated1 To Poland, Austria, Hungary, and Italy1	20
To Poland, Austria, Hungary, and Italy	b, 17, 18, 32
Total needed	$\frac{10}{10}$ $\frac{28}{10}$
Requirements to be met by recipient countries6	, 16, 43, 129
Rumania:	90
Diversion of production from	
Relief extended to	
Russia, possibility of relief being furnished by	
South America, able to extend relief	11, 31
Staff, for administering relief	0, 7, 44
Sweden, able to extend relief	31
Switzerland, able to extend relief	31
Treaties, possible effect upon relief and economic needs	
Ukraine, relief needs in	
United Nations Children's Fund	40, 41
UNRRA:	10
Liquidation of	
Operations	14
Operations in Greece	113
Wheat and corn, exports of	
Wheat, supply situation	51, 52
Wood, Mr. Tyler, Deputy to Assistant Secretary of State for Econo	
Affairs, statement by (55, 121, 125

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1947

House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a.m., Hon. Charles A. Eaton (chair-

man) presiding.

Chairman Eaton. We have met this morning to consider House Joint Resolution 134, providing for relief assistance to countries devastated by war.

The first witness will be our very distinguished Under Secretary of State, Hon. W. L. Clayton. I will ask Mr. Clayton to make a state-

ment.

STATEMENT OF HON. W. L. CLAYTON, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

GENERAL PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVE

Mr. Clayton. The purpose of the resolution now under consideration by this committee is to provide relief to millions of persons in war-devastated countries who are still dependent upon outside assist-

ance for food and other essentials of life.

Through UNRRA and the military programs several billions of dollars have been made available to the peoples of the liberated areas for food, clothing, medicine, and other essential supplies. Great progress has been made in these countries in their struggle to return to a normal life. The United States can be justly proud of the part it has played in helping these millions of unfortunate people get back on their feet. Yet the task is not quite finished. The assistance still required is small relative to that already given, but without it many of these people will perish by starvation and millions will be seriously undernourished. We cannot hope to achieve permanent security and prosperity in a world where such conditions exist. Even with the minimum of assistance which has been planned, the peoples involved will still have barely enough to eat.

The UNRRA pipe lines soon will run dry. The great bulk of UNRRA supplies will have been shipped to Europe by the end of

March and shipments will practically cease during April.

The committee is, I am sure, aware of the position taken by the Department of State and the President regarding post-UNRRA

relief. It has not seemed wise or proper to meet the remaining needs through an international agency. Instead, it is believed that the problem which remains can best be handled directly between the individual contributing countries and the recipient countries. The Secretariat of the United Nations will be useful as a clearing point for the exchange of relevant information.

One of the major arguments advanced by the United States representatives in making clear this position regarding relief in 1947 was that the problem, although of utmost urgency and seriousness, was not of the magnitude of past years and could be handled more efficiently and expeditiously without the cumbersome mechanism of an interna-

tional relief agency.

That argument is still valid. Some of the UNRRA countries no longer require free assistance; others, not as fortunate, need relatively small amounts of additional assistance to carry them through another year. Thereafter, it is expected that they will be able stand on their own feet. In addition we feel that we can more effectively adapt our program to meet changing needs and can maintain better supervision over the use of our funds and supplies by dealing directly with the countries needing assistance.

RELIEF NEEDS IN 1947

The State Department estimates that the minimum relief requirements for the calendar year 1947 of needy countries amount to about \$610,000,000 exclusive of remaining UNRRA shipments. The following European countries appear to have need of outside assistance: Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Poland. It is anticipated also that China may have emergency needs for food imports to prevent suffering and starvation in certain areas and that some financial assistance may be required for this purpose.

Relief needs have been calculated as that part of a country's minimum import needs which cannot be financed out of its own resources, including current earnings of foreign exchange and existing and anticipated foreign loans and credits. The minimum import needs have been determined on the basis of the definition proposed by the United States representative and adopted by the General Assembly

of the United Nations, namely:

imports required to provide the basic essentials of life and to prevent economic retrogression which threatens the supply of these basic essentials.

In making our estimates we have included food imports which, together with quantity locally produced, would give urban consumers a diet of an average of from 2,000 to 2,200 calories per day. This compares with 3,400 calories in the United States. Imports of raw materials, fuel and industrial supplies, in amounts sufficient to maintain the production of essential goods and to prevent economic retrogression from approximately present levels, have also been included in the calculations.

To the extent that food and other relief supplies are furnished by the United States and other contributors the foreign exchange resources of the needy countries will be freed for the procurement of other imports included in the list of minimum needs. The need for assistance in food imports is particularly acute, in most of the areas involved, during the spring and early summer months prior to the harvests, and suffering and a serious economic set-back will

occur if help is delayed.

On the other hand if sufficient assistance is provided promptly there is every reason for anticipating that, with the possible exception of Austria, these countries will not need further free relief after 1947. In the case of Austria some further help, although on a reduced scale, will probably be needed during the calendar year 1948.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEET NEED

The President has recommended that the Congress appropriate \$350,000,000 as the United States contribution to help meet these needs. This sum represents, in our opinion, our fair share of the total requirement, bearing in mind our capacity in relation to that of other supplying countries. It is 57 percent of the estimated need, compared with our UNRRA proportion of 72 percent. The British Government has already announced a program for assistance of Austria, amounting to \$40,000,000 and is currently considering what assistance can be rendered to other countries.

Other governments are likewise studying the matter at this time. We are hopeful that through the efforts of all governments which are

in a position to help, the minimum needs will be met.

I should like to emphasize at this point what we consider to be a fundamental principle; that is, that the total amount we would allo-

cate to any country not be determined finally at this time.

We should avoid a situation where any country might assume that it had a vested interest or right to a particular amount of money. We found in the case of UNRRA that whenever an amount was allocated even on a tentative basis to a recipient country, any attempt to reduce it in order to take account of changing needs caused resentment

and consequent embarrassment.

In making estimates of relief requirements we must necessarily make assumptions regarding future crop and weather conditions, export possibilities, the probability of credits and loans from private or public banking institutions and many other factors which are not susceptible of definite determination at this time. Emergencies may arise requiring an increase in present estimates for some countries whereas in others recovery may occur at a more rapid rate than we now anticipate.

Furthermore, the assistance which will be provided to each of the countries by other contributors must be considered in determining how our funds should be allocated. We are not now fully informed in regard to this matter and should be in a position to adjust our program in collaboration with other contributors to prevent duplication

of effort.

METHOD OF OPERATION

The resolution under consideration provides that the control of the program remain firmly in American hands and that this control be exercised to the end that these supplies be shipped where they are

needed and that they are used within the receiving countries in a

manner consistent with the purposes of the resolution.

We would also take steps to assure that the people of the countries receiving our help would be fully informed as to our interest in their welfare and the extent and nature of our contribution. It is our intention to limit the items which would be procured with our funds to a few basic essentials, primarily food, medical supplies, seeds and fertilizers. We might also find it necessary in some cases to include such things as clothing or raw materials for the production of clothing, fuel and similar basic supplies.

We would not attempt to provide machinery and equipment for rehabilitation purposes. UNRRA has already imported those items of this nature which were needed for the resumption of basis economic activities after the dislocation and destruction caused by the war. Further reconstruction and development of the productive and transport facilities of these countries should be provided through loans

from the International Bank and other sources.

If this program is approved by the Congress we plan to reach an agreement with each recipient government regarding all necessary aspects of the operation. Such an agreement would cover the methods of, procuring, shipping, and accounting for supplies, the right of observation by our representatives in the country, and freedom to report, without censorship, by the press and radio.

We would also require guaranties that not only our supplies but all similar supplies produced locally or imported from other sources will be used to meet the needs of the people without discrimination on political or racial grounds. The agreement would also prescribe conditions governing the use to be made of local funds arising from the

sale of supplies to those people who can afford to pay for them.

After conclusion of such an agreement we would approve from time to time target programs covering the type and amount of commodities: which could be procured over say a 2- or 3-month period. The recipient government would then be authorized to procure these goods either through commercial channels or the appropriate government procurement agency, and to arrange for their shipment. Full reports, including copies of contracts, invoices, and shipping documents would be made available to us. As funds are needed to meet accruing obligations, we would transfer cash to the recipient government to be set up in a special account.

We would maintain a small staff in the State Department which would make the necessary arrangements with the recipient government, would keep closely informed in regard to all procurement and shipping activities and would receive and analyze reports from our missions in the recipient countries regarding current relief needs and

compliance with the agreements.

We also plan to attach to the United States Embassy in each of the recipient countries a small well-qualified staff. These persons would supplement the work of the Embassy staff in maintaining controls in the country, observing the relief program and reporting to the Ambassador and the Department in regard to the progress of the distribution of our supplies and others of similar types in the country, the extent and nature of relief needs and the effective utilization of locally produced supplies.

CONCLUSION

I have already pointed out that the immediate problem is to maintain the flow of relief supplies. To stop that flow would be disastrous; to interrupt it would be almost equally disastrous. If we fail to provide the relief now when it is needed, much of the humanitarian work heretofore done by our Government and others will be undermined, much suffering and economic deterioration will undoubtedly occur, with political and economic consequences to the rest of the world, ourselves included, not pleasant to contemplate. The President stated the problem clearly, when he said in transmitting this request to the Congress:

The United States, in keeping with our traditions of immediate and whole-hearted response to human need, has stood in the forefront of those who have checked the forces of starvation, disease, suffering, and chaos which threatened to engulf the world in the wake of the war. The task is nearly finished. I urge the Congress to act promptly to insure that we do not stop short of the goal; that we do not endanger the permanence of the gains we have so largely helped to achieve.

Mr. Chairman, the committee may be interested in a little more detail with reference to the kind of agreement that we would propose to enter into with each of these recipient countries.

That agreement would state the purpose of the relief, the needs to be met, it would outline the methods and controls of procurement, shipping, the methods of distribution, and would deal with the utilization of funds accruing from sales of United States supplies.

The committee will understand, of course, that much of these supplies would be sold and not given away. They would be sold for the local currency of the country in which they are being distributed.

Many of these people are able to pay in their local currency. The difficulty arises from the fact that their government has not the foreign funds with which to import the supplies, but once they have been imported, many of the people who need food have the local currency of the country with which to pay, and they should pay.

Neither we, nor the country would want to make paupers or indi-

gents out of people who would want to pay.

Therefore, it is anticipated that, as in the case of UNRRA, many of these supplies would be sold for local currency. Our agreement with the country would provide for the utilization of the funds accruing from the sales of these supplies in the way in which I have described.

It is our expectation, of course, that we would provide that those funds would be used for relief activities within the country.

At any rate, they would be completely subject to agreement with

the United States as to their use.

The agreement would provide for the proper utilization of all of the supplies which we would ship, as well as the locally produced supplies, and relief supplies that might be imported from other sources than the United States.

In other words, we do not propose to enter into an agreement here which would cover only the methods in which our supplies are to be distributed, leaving perhaps the locally produced supplies and sup-

plies imported from other sources to be distributed in some other

Our agreement will be very comprehensive in that respect and will include methods, principles, and policies for the distribution of all

such supplies.

The agreement would cover the question of ration systems that should be in effect in the country, and price controls. It would provide that there should be no discriminations, no export or diversion of our supplies or other similar supplies during the period of need.

It would cover the question of machinery for effective crop col-

It would cover the question of reports as to information and statistics required by the United States on the handling and distribution of these supplies.

It would cover the freedom of the United States representatives, the press, and radio to observe, inspect, travel, and report without

censorship.

It would concern the question of publicity within the country as to the contributions of the United States in this situation and the method and manner in which the supplies were being received and distributed.

The agreement would cover the right of the United States to stop

or alter our program of assistance at any time for any reason.

Any other agreements deemed necessary, or any other matters deemed necessary to insure proper conduct or effectiveness of distribution would be included.

I have here a very short memorandum regarding the plans which we have made for the administration of this relief in case the Congress

should vote the funds.

At Washington headquarters, we would propose to have a small policy staff which would coordinate the United States relief program.

It would be attached to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of State

for Economic Affairs.

Also in Washington we would propose to have a small operating division which would keep track of procurement, fiscal and budgetary matters and be responsible for screening and approving operations by

recipient countries.

I would like to make clear that it is not intended at all that the Department of State should do any procuring itself. To the extent that procuring may be necessary by the United States Government, it would be done by the usual agencies for that purpose, that is the Department of Agriculture in the case of agricultural products, and the Treasury Department in the case of other products.

The officers in the operating divisions will work closely with pro-

curement officials of the receiving governments.

A staff of trained observers will be stationed in the field, two to four men in each country. They will be responsible for observing distribution and negotiating with the government officials concerning rationing, price controls, disposal of local currency proceeds, and similar matters to insure just and impartial distribution of the United States relief supplies.

The administrative plan will require approximately 25 officers and clerks in the department in Washington, and approximately 28 officers and clerks in the field.

The estimated cost for this staff will be from \$500,000 to \$700,000

tor 1 year

In other-words, it would be a little over one-eighth of 1 percent of the total amount that we are requesting here.

Now, Mr. Chairman, if there are any questions, I will do my best

to answer them.

Chairman Eaton. The chairman would like to make a statement with reference to the questions:

Our meeting a week ago ended in a confusion, and some of our

members had no opportunity to question the witness.

I am very anxious to have every member of this committee given a full opportunity to participate in all of the discussions, to ask questions and receive answers.

From time immemorial it has been the custom of this committee, and I judge in all others, to follow the line of seniority on both sides

in the questioning.

Now, a little mathematics may help us: We have 25 members here. The distinguished Secretary for Economic Affairs can figure it out for us if we cannot do it ourselves. If each member takes 5 minutes, that would be 2 hours and 5 minutes on one witness, which ought to involve receiving some information, or misinformation as the case may be.

I was wondering if today we could not put up a limit for each member at 5 minutes and if possible, by Divine guidance, to cut it

down to perhaps 2 minutes or 3 minutes.

At any rate, we will try to follow the old-line method, and if it does not work today, I am going to begin at the bottom of the class and work up.

Mr. Richards. Mr. Chairman, while you are on that, why not try

the 5-minute method today?

Chairman Eaton. That is what I propose.

Mr. RICHARDS. I would say, if we had additional time after we went around the table, we could start again.

Mr. Bloom. Why do you not alternate? Why not take one from

the top and one from the bottom and see how that goes?

Chairman Eaton. That is an idea. Would that be agreeable? I do not like the word "bottom" however. We will start at the top with

Mr. Vorvs.

Mr. Vorys. I have a great many things I would like to find out, and I do not intend to vote on this until I get the answers to all of my questions, and for that reason I would prefer someone else ask the questions at this time.

Mr. Bloom. I will yield my time to the gentleman from Ohio. You

may proceed, Mr. Vorys.

Mr. Vorys. Mr. Clayton, a number of us who remember when the State Department brought UNRRA before us, are now perplexed at the change of viewpoint of the Department on the whole relief matter, that it should not be handled internationally, and should be confined solely to relief needs.

I wondered when you mentioned that 57 percent of the needs are covered by the estimates, does that include the countries you have named, or the total relief needs?

Mr. CLAYTON. It includes relief for only the countries I have named. These are the countries which we believe have the most pressing need.

Mr. Vorys. How many people are in need of relief in countries devastated by the war on the basis of calories, or any other basis that you would estimate?

Mr. Clayton. I just do not know the population of all these coun-

tries, Mr. Vorys.

All the countries we have named are in need of relief, obviously. There will always be some people in every country that are able to look out for themselves, by one method or another, but the great bulk of the people in these countries are in need of relief.

Mr. Vorys. We had planned to spend \$2,173,000,000 up to June,

and \$1,200,000,000 next year for relief, according to the budget.

Do you know how that would be proportioned?

Mr. Clayton. You must refer to the military programs. I know of no relief programs outside of UNRRA and this resolution here.

I suppose what you have reference to are the military programs for

Germany and for Japan.

They are really not relief items. They are military programs for civilian affairs. They are more than relief. They are much more comprehensive than relief programs.

Mr. Vorys. I am just taking it from the President's budget under

the heading of "Relief."

I think we must get a picture and present it to Congress as to what the total relief load is as proposed by the President in his budget. We must learn how many people it is going to affect throughout the

Mr. Clayton. The only relief program with which I have anything to do or the Department of State has directly to do with is this one

that we are considering now.

These other large sums that you have mentioned, as I have said, I feel quite sure are in the Army and Navy budgets for civilian affairs in what they call "Disease and unrest programs" and more than that, in the countries where the American armies are in occupation.

Mr. Vorys. Do you have representatives on UNRRA?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. Vorys. How much have we still to spend on UNRRA?

Mr. Clayton. At the end of the year, the total supplies unshipped by UNRRA was approximately \$600,000,000, of which about \$350,000,-000 was to come from the United States. That was as of the end of 1946, but the total amount is committed and the supplies are moving rapidly now. The program will soon be finished in Europe.

Mr. Vorys. I understood there was some limitation on the use of our

funds for shipment as of 1947. Is that correct?

Mr. Clayton. No, sir: there is no absolute limitation by legislation or otherwise of which I am aware prior to the expiration of the appropriation on June 30, 1947.

We had indicated when we came before the Congress for the last appropriation, that the target was to complete the shipments to Europe by the end of 1946 and the shipments to Asia by the end of the first quarter in 1947.

Due to all kinds of delays such as coal strikes and shipping strikes,

we were not able to reach that target.

The whole program should be practically completed for Europe by shipments which will be largely completed by the end of March and early April.

For the Far East they will be completed sometime in July or

August.

Mr. Vorys. Then in addition to the \$500,000,000 of UNRRA products yet undelivered by UNRRA, I understand that \$100,000,000 of this \$350,000,000 to be authorized by this legislation would be the

amount distributed up to June. Is that correct?

Mr. Clayton. That depends on how soon this \$350,000,000 would be available to us if at all, by Congress, and how quickly we could enter the procurement. The critical time, as I have said in my previous statement, is in the spring and summer before the harvest come in. Therefore we would like to get the money as quickly as we can and start shipping wheat and other supplies as quickly as possible.

Mr. Vorys. I noted in the Budget that \$100,000,000 of that was put

in for fiscal year 1947.

Mr. Clayton. That is just an estimate, sir. We would like to spend more than that if we could in the fiscal year 1947.

Mr. Vorys. According to the Budget, you would contemplate that \$250,000,000 would be distributed through 1948?

Mr. Clayton. That is the estimate we made; yes, sir.

Mr. Vorys. We were told when UNRRA was presented to us, that the problem would be for the first crop year after the war, and that is running into the third crop year. You must study how permanent this problem is going to be.

Mr. Clayton. Mr. Vorys, you will note that we are asking for only about 10 percent of the whole UNRRA program. As I have said in my statement, we believe that this should finish the job for all countries

except possibly Austria.

Mr. Vorys. Does this include taking care of the million displaced persons and refugees?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; that has nothing to do with that. Mr. Vorys. This food would not go to take care of them?

Mr. Clayton. That is included in other figures you mentioned a moment ago.

Mr. Vorys. Does the resolution contemplate private and voluntary

relief that is going into these countries?

Mr. Clayton. It contemplates that that will continue to some extent, but we can only guess how much. It has been very substantial. runs up close to \$700,000,000, I am informed, for private relief in these countries.

Mr. Vorys. Have facilities now been made so that private relief and individual relief such as CARE can be delivered throughout Europe?

Mr. Clayton. I understand that organizations like CARE are doing a pretty good business and packages are going regularly and are being delivered.

Mr. Vorys. Thank you very much.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Bloom. Mr. Bloom. I have no questions. Chairman Eaton. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. Mundt. Mr. Clayton, what is the date that you think UNRRA

will be completed and the people removed from the pay roll?

Mr. CLAYTON. It will take quite some little time to wind up all the accounts, and completely liquidate it and close the books, but the active operations of UNRRA should be practically finished for shipments to Europe by the end of March, or perhaps sometime in April.

UNRRA has missions in all of these recipient countries, and it would be necessary to keep them there until the supplies are distributed and then of course the problem of closing the books, with the audits and everything that has to be done for an organization

that did a \$3,500,000,000 business will take a little time.

Mr. Mundt. If Congress acts expeditiously on this, it seems that the flow of relief from this act will take place while the UNRRA is still

going on. Will the UNRRA missions be used?

Mr. Clayton. We may be able to pick one or two of the best men in UNRRA to joint this staff that I have spoken about here, but the missions themselves will not be used. It is not necessary.

Mr. Mund. There would be positively no use of the UNRRA

missions abroad in this relief?

Mr. Clayton. No, sir; not in this. We would not have use for them.

Mr. Mundt. On page 4, you say that other countries are likewise helping at this time. You mentioned Great Britain. Can you tell what other countries have indicated that they are going to chip in

and help?

Mr. Clayton. We have had discussions with several of the countries, Mr. Mundt. Of course, I cannot speak for them, and I do not want to embarrass the representatives of any other countries, but I think I might tell you that we have had several discussions with the Canadians.

The gentlemen with whom we have discussed the matter have been very sympathetic and they are thinking about it. I know that other countries who are in position to ship certain kinds of supplies have been approached on the matter, and we are very hopeful that if and when we are given this money by Congress we can sit down and actively discuss the matter with other countries. They will know what we are prepared to do and we can explore that situation with them and see what they are willing to do for each individual country.

Some of them will have more interest in some of these recipient countries than they will others, and for that reason it is necessary for us to keep our flexible about the amounts that we would have to employ in each country, depending upon what other supplying

countries will have in mind.

Mr. Mundt. The reason I asked, there will probably be about \$300,000,000 worth of relief which must be supplied by other countries.

Mr. CLAYTON. We figure about \$260,000,000, and this may not all be supplied. We have indicated there that the British are proposing to put up \$40,000,000 in Austria and I think there is a pretty good

chance to make up the bulk of that difference when we are in a position

to speak with any great authority.

Mr. Mundt. Mr. Chairman, that concludes my questioning, but before I yield my time, I want to have it appear in the record that I do not believe it is a wise procedure to attempt to limit the questions of members to 5 minutes each, because I think we should explore these various items of legislation to the fullest extent in order to get for Congress all of the information needed. I think it is a highly dangerous precedent to limit the members to 5 minutes because, on a more complicated subject, or a more artful witness than Mr. Clayton, the Government witness could take the whole 5 minutes answering one question.

I think this bill is wise and I expect to support it, perhaps with some

directive amendments.

Mr. Clayton. Thank you. Chairman Eaton. Mr. Kee.

Mr. Kee. Mr. Secretary, from what you stated with reference to the participation of other countries in this effort of relief, so far as I understand it, we have not any definite assurance that any other coun-

tries are going to join.

Mr. CLAYTON. I believe the assurance is definite regarding Great Britain's contribution in Austria. That has to do, as I understand it, with certain supplies which the Austrians would need, which can be purchased in the sterling area with pound sterling and would not absorb any of their precious dollars that the British are guarding so carefully in this crisis.

I think there are certain countries in South America which have large populations from certain countries in Europe that would be involved in this matter would be willing to ship certain supplies which originate in South American countries, and I believe we can get considerable help from that direction when we can speak authoritatively.

Mr. Kee. You spoke of other groups engaged in this work. There are quite a number of other groups throughout the world, that is, charitable organizations and private organizations engaged in relief.

Their work will not in any way be superseded?

Mr. CLAYTON. It will not be superseded in the least, no, sir. You no doubt read in the newspapers recently that the Red Cross has supplied, with the help of the Army and the State Department in working the matter out, about \$3,500,000 for a northern province in Rumania where thousands of people are dying from starvation, projects like that, will certainly continue to go on.

We have taken into account here that they would go on. We do not

know to what extent, of course.

Mr. Kee. That is all, Mr. Chairman. Chairman Eaton. Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. Jonkman. Mr. Secretary, is it proposed that relief shall be limited to the countries you have mentioned here, Austria, Greece,

Hungary, and Poland, with a possible inclusion of China?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir; that is our proposal at the present time because after a very careful examination of the situation by the State Department with all the sources of information available to it, an examination which has extended over several months, an examination

by the United Nations, we have come to a conclusion that the countries; which I have named here will cover those countries in very great need.

Of course, all of Europe is on short rations, as you know, but we

picked out the worst ones here.

Mr. Jonkman. Of course, you say that is the purpose at the present time. What I mean is to definitely contemplate the thing. Is it definitely contemplated? Have you picked out the countries where help. is needed and are you going to confine yourselves to those countries?

Mr. Clayton. That is our present purpose. I could not make a commitment that the American people would not be asked to help if we had a great famine and great starvation which developed some-

where else, which we do not now foresee.

Mr. Jonkman. Then you have no more definite purpose than you

had with UNRRA.

Since we have but about 1 minutes for each \$100,000,000, I think after the experience with UNRRA, you should have a better program. than you have here.

Mr. Clayton. In what respect would you recommend?

Mr. Jonkman. If there is need in definite countries that that survey should be made, that I referred to in a subsequent question, you ought to have some program, and know what you are going to do.

You say that only certain countries should be objects of our relief

and no others at the present time.

Mr. Clayton. Knowing what the requirements are in each of these individual countries that makes up this \$610,000,000 for which I spoke, we would like to keep our own program of contribution to that requirement as flexible as possible, depending on the different factors which I have here mentioned. One of the principal ones is that we do not know what other countries would contribute to each one of theseindividual countries.

As soon as we are in a position to speak authoritatively we can sit down with these other countries and work that out.

Mr. Bloom. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. Jonkman. I yield. Mr. Bloom. Mr. Secretary, this does not foreclose your doing anything to render relief in any other country that may find itself in

difficulty during the next year, does it?

Mr. Clayron. No, sir; I would not want to make that commitment that the administration might not, if a dire emergency arose, want to come and tell Congress about it, but this is the situation as we see it today.

Mr. Bloom. However, it is \$350,000,000 today?

Chairman Eaton. That is to say, if you go to any other country you are breaking this law that is being passed?

Mr. Jonkman. Mr. Chairman, I did not yield to the chairman, and

I do not yield any further.

Chairman Eaton. I beg your pardon.

Mr. Jonkman. I understood you were going to discontinue the old UNRRA machinery and create a new organization for this purpose.

Mr. Clayton. UNRRA is liquidating as soon as its program of

shipments is finished.

Mr. Jonkman. How about the American contingent; would they not form a splendid nucleus for this program?

Mr. Clayton. We only need 53 people. UNRRA has several thousand all together. In carrying out this program, we only require 53 people.

Mr. Jonkman. From that I assume you are going to continue the old method of turning the supplies over to the individual governments

and letting them distribute it?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir; we cannot set up a detailed organization to actually physically deliver these supplies ourselves. It would take thousands of people. We can, however, put enough people in each of these countries to supervise the distribution which would be made under rules and conditions named by us in the agreement with the country.

We can have enough people there to see that it is done in accordance with the agreement, and that is the way we propose to handle it.

Mr. Jonkman. You said that the allocations to individual countries could not be determined at this time, partly because they would become sort of a set commitment.

Have you not made a survey to see what is needed, in these individ-

ual countries, to arrive at the figure of \$610,000,000?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir. Mr. Jonkman. Could you give us a break-down on that with reference to these countries?

Mr. Clayton. I am going to answer any questions that I can answer that the committee asks me, but I would like to have it an executive session, if we should go into those details.

Chairman Eaton. Will the gentleman permit a statement by the

Chair?

Mr. Jonkman. I yield.

Chairman Eaton. It is proposed that we go into executive session and discuss the various matters that the Secretary refers to, and others that have delicate implications with reference to international rela-

Mr. Jonkman. You said in your statement that if sufficient assistance is provided promptly that there is every reason for anticipating that with the possible exception of Austria, these countries will not need further free relief after 1947.

Are you reasonably certain of that?

Mr. Clayton. No, sir; you cannot be certain of anything in the world as it is today. I do not know whether you have been to Europe since the war or not, but anyone who has been must be impressed with the fact that you just cannot understand the destruction that has been wrought there in material, physical, moral, mental, and spiritual ways.

In a world of that kind, we just cannot be certain of anything. As we see the situation today, however, it is our belief that these countries have a very good chance within reason with this assistance of getting on their feet by the end of this year.

Mr. Jonkman. Is it your belief from the present indications that they will have less acute need for relief for 1948 than they will be

in 1947?

Mr. Clayton. Yes; they have made so much progress in the last 2 years, considering the conditions under which they have had to live and work—remarkable progress in many of these countries—that if that progress should continue at the same rate at which it has gone in the last 2 years, we believe, as I have stated here, that the need for relief by the United States Government will have been met and passed by the end of this year.

I refer to free relief, of course.

Mr. Jonkman. Have you any plans as to what kind of relief you are going to give? For instance, I know I was over there a year or so ago in Italy, when the money was largely used for feeding stations, so-called, for the children in which the majority of the parents paid for the food.

What is the general purpose of the relief? Who are going to benefit? Of course, I am coming back to the question that has been relegated

to the executive session, to a certain degree.

Mr. CLAYTON. The purpose of the relief is to provide the countries in question with food, medical supplies, and other essential supplies which these countries are not able to import themselves, in order to maintain a minimum of living condition for their people. They must import these things; they do not produce them locally. They must be imported and these particular countries have not the foreign exchange, they have not the dollars wherewith to pay for those imports.

The purpose of this resolution is to provide those dollars.

Mr. Jonkman. I understand that full well.

Mr. CLAYTON. When these supplies get there, we think it is a useful thing for the people to pay for them in cases where they have the local currency and can pay for the supplies. When they have it, they should pay for it.

That would help, of course, to pay for distribution to those people

who could not pay.

As I have indicated here, we would expect to cover in our agreement with the recipient country questions of rationing, price controls, and all that sort of thing so that the distribution of supplies would be on an impartial basis and without any discrimination whatever.

Mr. Jonkman. Once having allocated a certain amount to a certain

country, do you think you could control that measure of relief?

Mr. Clayton. I think so, sir. We would get the agreement with the country that they would carry out the handling and distribution of the supplies in accordance with our principles, that we would be permitted to have people there to supervise and to observe and to report, and if they did not care to carry it out, we would have the right to cancel and stop any further relief without any notice.

Mr. Jonkman. Has your experience generally satisfied you, with

UNRRA, that you can do that?

Mr. CLAYTON. UNRRA is a different thing. I think UNRRA did a great job, and really from what I have observed of it, and from what I understand of the situation in Europe, if I had it to do over again, I would want to do it in the same way with the same kind of an international organization.

It fell down in many respects. It had many faults and many failures, but on the whole I think it did a job which could not have

been done in any other way.

However, the time for UNRRA has passed. This is a relatively small operation compared with UNRRA. It is only about 10 percent of the total UNRRA operation.

Conditions have changed. For example, UNRRA had contemplated setting up an organization-

Mr. Fulton. Can I call time on this? I think you have had 13

Mr. Jonkman. I will suspend my questioning.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Richards.

Mr. Richards. Mr. Secretary, procurement will be made in the United States, I believe you said, just as in the case of UNRRA?

Mr. Clayton. In the case of our contributions to UNRRA 90 percent was to be in the United States, and, as a matter of fact, a good deal more than that actually was procured here, and it is intended that substantially all of this would be made in the United States.

Mr. Richards. Do you anticipate any exception to that?

Mr. CLAYTON. Not to any great extent. It might be that there was something in such short supply here that could be procured to better advantage somewhere else from the standpoint of our own domestic economy and our own needs, but we do not anticipate much of that.

It is expected that practically all of this would be spent in the

Mr. Richards. It is not mandatory in the law, though?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; I do not believe it is.

Mr. RICHARDS. I believe you said, Mr. Secretary, that it is the intention to synchronize the distribution of these relief supplies in these countries with relief distribution plans of other countries.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. Do you intend to do that through the Government

itself, or through agreements with contributing countries?

Mr. Clayton. It is expected to be done by collaboration and conference from time to time with representatives of the other countries, possibly through the Secretariat of the United Nations, or otherwise, but we would have no formal agreement to merge this whole program with those of other countries. This will be a United States program

and will not be merged with the programs of any other country.

Mr. Richards. I understand if you cannot reach a satisfactory agreement or arrangement, the United States reserves the right at

all times to stop this program from day to day?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir.

That is the last resort in our ability to control it. If we cannot control it, it is sure that we can at least stop it.

Mr. Richards. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Eaton. Mrs. Bolton. Mrs. Bolton. Mr. Secretary, when we were studying UNRRA, we had a good deal of discussion here in the committee relative to the possible use of the relief supplies for Italy. We were unable to put into the legislation anything which protected us against misuse.

Some of us have been abroad, and we have seen what we feel to be

very definite indications of misuse of relief.

Do you feel that this legislation as set up protects the situation

sufficiently from misuse?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, ma'am; I do, very definitely. UNRRA, as you know, was run by a central committee which was a kind of an executive committee, on which we had one representative. It was a cumbersome machine.

Here we operate directly, and we can act from day to day or minute to minute as is necessary, and I feel very definitely we will have an absolute hold and control on this situation and be in a position to prevent the type of abuses which may have crept into UNRRA.

There were certainly some abuses there.

Mrs. Bolton. Is there anything in the legislation that directly

points up such a matter? I have not read the bill.

Mr. Clayton. To begin with, the whole matter shall be handled under terms and conditions which will be prescribed by the President of the United States or the Secretary of State acting for him. That gives us a right to make any conditions in the agreements that we want to.

In the next place, it specifically states that the distribution must take place without discrimination as to political belief, or race, or creed. It must be given to the people who need it without discrimination.

Mrs. Bolton. The small staff you suggest is quite ample to carry

that through?

Mr. CLAYTON. With the embassy staffs in these different countries, and their sources of information and the help of the press representatives and the radio, and the people who will go in there and observe and keep in touch with our staffs, we think we have enough sources of information to become conscious of any abuses very soon.

Mrs. Bolton. From my own personal standpoint and the actual sight of the problems over there, it seems to me that the most imperative thing is that his country do everything possible to feed as many

as we can.

Any hungry person will go anywhere for food, and if we are going to prevent a chaos, we do need that very much, do we not?

Mr. CLAYTON. We do, very much.

Mrs. Bolton. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Jarman. Mr. Jarman. I have no questions.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Smith.

Mr. Smith. Mr. Secretary, as I understand your statement, you are asking for this appropriation and then subsequently you intend to enter into these contracts with the nations that have been named here?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Smith. Are we getting the cart before the horse?

Mr. Clayton. I don't think so.

Mr. Smith. I think the Members of the House are going to be very much interested in knowing what these contracts provide. You are proposing to allocate some of these funds to Poland. Would you deal with the present Polish Government in that instance?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir; we have to deal with whatever government is in power in these countries at the time we undertake the program.

I went into a great deal of detail here as to what the agreements would cover.

Mr. Smith. Is the State Department prepared to submit the form

of agreement which they intend to submit to these countries?

Mr. Clayton. We have not drawn up the legal agreement itself but I have given you in great detail the subjects of the agreement, the conditions that would be named, and things of that kind.

If there is any one of them you would like me to go into particulars

on, I would be glad to do it.

Mr. Smith. I think the committees of the House and the Senate would be interested in knowing what sort of agreement we are submitting.

We heard a lot about what UNRRA was going to do but we know that the program as the American people understood it was not being

carried out.

Mr. Clayton. It was carried out.

There were some failures and some faults and some things went wrong, as they certainly would in a huge program of that kind scattered over a vast territory, but the program was carried out and it did accomplish its purpose. I have not submitted the legal form of the document we propose to enter into with these countries, but I have gone, as I said here, into great detail as to what it would cover, and the conditions that would be named in it.

If you want any further information on that, I would be glad to try to supply it, but in the end, our protection is that we would reserve the right, if any of these conditions were not met, or reserve the right without any condition, to stop or alter the program at any time for

any reason.

Mr. Smith. That is a very difficult thing to do, is it not, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. Clayton. Not if something goes wrong and they do not keep

Mr. Smith. What overlapping will there be, if any, with the Army program and this program? We are being asked to appropriate

considerable money for Army purposes.

Mr. Clayton. I think I can say, Mr. Smith, there will be no over-Japan, and Korea. The Army program has to do with Germany, The Army has estimated a small amount for Austria but we allowed for that in making our estimates on this bill.

Mr. Smith. Do you anticipate any difficulty in arriving at agreements with these nations that are today Russian dominated such as

Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Poland?

Mr. Clayton. Austria is not Russian dominated. Italy is not Rus-

sian dominated, so far as I know.
Mr. Smith. What about the other ones? What about Italy, Hungary, and Poland, assuming I am wrong about Austria?

Mr. Clayton. The question you asked me was whether I antici-

pated any difficulty in making agreements with them?

Mr. Sмітн. That is right.

Mr. Clayton. Yes, I think there might be. I think the conditions that we lay down, while fair and proper, would be so tough that probably some of these countries might not accept. I try to answer the question frankly. I tell you that might be the case.

Mr. Smith. Yet we will not go in there and give relief even though

we know the need exists, if we cannot make an agreement?

Mr. Clayton. Positively we will not.

Mr. Smith. It is my personal opinion that there is need for relief in these countries but I think we must sell the Congress and the American people on the idea that there is to be no overlapping and no waste of the taxpayer's dollars, because we are becoming increas-

ingly conscious of a situation that needs attention.

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir. I can tell you positively that if we cannot make an agreement with these countries to abide by our conditions, we will not send relief into that country.

We think we are justified in taking that position.

Mr. Smith. I have no further questions.

Mr. Clayton. I am informed that of the appropriations which the Army has asked, that \$22,000,000 is earmarked to go into Austria and we have taken that into account in making our calculations.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Courtney.

Mr. Courtney. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman, but I would like to make this observation: I would like to congratulate the chairman for putting into effect the 5-minute rule. It is a thing

I have long advocated without success.

In the 8 years that I have been a member of this committee, if you will examine our hearings, you will find that with a committeeship of 25, fully 60 percent of the time has been taken up by 2 or 3 or 4 members of the committee. In fact, I have heard certain members ply a witness with questions for an hour or an hour and a half; most of them incompetent, irrelevant, and immaterial, while the witness and the rest of us sat here and squirmed.

Your rule, Mr. Chairman, is going to make attendance at committee

meetings a pleasure hereafter, instead of a burden as heretofore.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Merrow?

Mr. Merrow. I want to join with my colleague who has just spoken in congratulating the Chair on making the 5-minute rule. I think we should abide by that.

Mr. Secretary, in your conversations with other countries, is it contemplated that Russia is going to make a contribution to this relief

 \mathbf{fund} ?

Mr. CLAYTON. We have not discussed the matter with Russia; no, sir. Mr. Merrow. Do you anticipate she will do anything about it?

Mr. CLAYTON. I just do not know. I would like to add, however, that it is our information that the food conditions in Russia are not too good and that they have some crop failures.

I just mention that, indicating that they might not feel they were

in any position to give relief.

Mr. Merrow. How much money has been earmarked for Poland?

Mr. CLAYTON. We have earmarked no particular amount for any country. As I have said, we are trying to keep, as far as we can, flexible and that maint

ible on that point.

Mr. Merrow. I just do not see how we are going to send relief, for instance, to Hungary, and particularly Poland, where you have a Soviet-dominated government and let that government distribute the relief, without advancing the Communist Party in those countries.

That is what happened under UNRRA, as near as I can find out,

and that is what worries me about this situation.

I think if Russia is going to dominate those countries she had better

help feed them.

Mr. Clayton. Mr. Merrow, may I say just a few words on that: Of course, Hungary is hungry, and starving people are starving peo-

ple wherever you might find them, under what conditions of govern-

ment or otherwise.

However, I think, under the conditions which we will name in these agreements, you may be sure that the people getting this relief will know where it comes from and who is supplying it, that it will be distributed without discrimination, and that the purpose we have, in mind will be accomplished to prevent starvation in these countries.

Mr. Merrow. I hope that can be done.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Eaton. Mrs. Dougles.

Mrs. Douglas. I will throw my 5 minutes into the pot, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Fulton.

Mr. Fulton. May I ask this: Generally, you intend to distribute only to these particular five countries named?

Is there any intention later, possibly, to use it for the Republican

Spanish refugees in France, or some similar project?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir. I do not know anything about that, sir. We have given you the full story here.

Mr. Fulton. I am talking about the limit of your general aims.

You do not intend to go after special projects such as that?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir, we do not.

Mr. Fulton. Nor do you intend to go into any Russian territory—while they do need it, according to the New York Times—nevertheless, they have not asked for it as yet.

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir, we do not.

Mr. Fulton. Section 2 provides [reading]:

such relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers of supplies or funds in such quantities and on such terms as the President may determine—

Obviously, it does not say that it shall be given to anybody. It simply says "transfers."

Look over under "d," of section 2, and you find [reading]:

Upon request of the government of any country to which funds have been transferred.

We would assume then that they have been transferred to a country, but you do not in this act actually give specific authorization to transfer. First you say "transfers" and then you assume they have been received by a foreign government.

May I point out to the State Department, if you have prepared this particular act, that the first part of section 2 d is unintelligible

to the ordinary intelligent reader because you say [reading]:

Upon request of the Government * * * any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government—

meaning the United States Government—

(upon receipt, from funds so transferred, of advancements or reimbursements for the cost and necessary expenses) may furnish, or if advancements are made, may procure and furnish, supplies coming within the category of relief assistance as defined—

You have two overlapping advances there, and in addition the mere statement in English is not clear.

If it means this, I am opposed to it: If it means that certain governments can come into our country and buy from a specific department or agency here, after we have advanced funds to them, then there may be too much of an advance. You are getting into the same situation that UNRRA may be in Czechoslovakia, that we may make an advance, and they do not want to give it up and although the donors may feel currently they do not vitally need it.

Mr. CLAYTON. They cannot do it under the conditions that we pre-

scribe. It cannot happen.

They will only be given the money as they make the commitments. In most cases we expect that these countries will be able to do their own procuring. They have advanced very greatly in that respect in the last 2 years since the end of the war, and they do not need to be taken by the hand and led any more.

Mr. Fulton. May I point out that your act does not say that.

You hope to do it but the act does not say it.

In addition, on page 4, the bill does not state that the items are to be distributed for immediate use and consumption, which is one of the troubles we have been into before, that we gave items to countries and they did not immediately use them.

I see no safeguards in the bill for immediate use and consumption. I do not like the way you have this act set up, in this phrase you use

on page 4 [reading]:

The people of said recipient country.

If that means those needy people resident in the recipient country, that is all right. If it means just nationals of the country, that is too close a limit. This phrase is not specifically defined.

I do not see why you limit the representation to see how this distribution is carried out, simply to the Government of the United

States and our own President.

Why not open it up to any other country contributing funds to this same common purpose, and to the rest of the world. This same privilege should be reserved for the press of the world, and not limited to our own country.

Mr. Clayton. I assume that other countries will make their own

agreements.

We should not attempt to make conditions for other supplying countries.

I assume that they make their own conditions.

Mr. Fulton. Do you not think it would be an advantage to let our country be fully examined as to its methods of charity because

we have been criticized by the other people in the world?

Mr. Clayton. I think that would be very useful if they want to do it and I appreciate your suggestion, because that might give us some idea of including something in our agreement with these countries which we had not otherwise thought of.

Mr. Fulton. I will return 1 minute of my time, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Mansfield.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. Secretary, insofar as these six countries mentioned are concerned, am I correct in stating that only one of them, Poland, at the present time is Communist dominated?

Mr. Clayton. I cannot speak with authority on that, Mr. Mansfield. I just do not know. I am so busy with my economic matters that I do not go very much into politics.

Mr. Mansfield. It is my impression that as far as Austria is con-

cerned you have it divided into four zones.

You have Greece as a government under a king with outside backing, that Hungary is under control of the small landholders party which is distinctly anti-Communist, that Italy is by no means Communist at the present time and China certainly is not except in the northern part.

Therefore, that would leave only Poland.

In all these countries, therefore, to which supplies are to be sent, you have pointed out that those people are going to know that those supplies came from the United States, which will be in contrast to the way lend-lease was handled in some countries during the war, is that correct?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, they will know about it.

Mr. Mansfield. I suppose these boxes will be marked so that there will be further identification?

Mr. Clayton. I have not myself thought of that detail but I think

that might be a good suggestion.

My point was that the press of the receiving country must be allowed to publicize the source of the supplies and details as to what they are and how they are being distributed.

Mr. Mansfield. I think you are taking every possible safeguard,

Mr. Secretary. That is all, Mr. Chairman. Chairman Eaton. Mr. Javits.

Mr. Javits. May I thank the chairman on behalf of myself and on behalf of the other members because of this 5-minute rule. I know nothing of any previous procedures, but this is a great boon to us.

Mr. Secretary, you have stated in your report that the agreements in question will also relate to economic problems; may I ask whether it is intended to include in these agreements or to cover the following

specific situation which I found in Greece.

In Greece, the difficulties of the country directly contributing to its condition of food shortage, I found, were attributable to a very poor taxation policy, a very bad policy on the use of Greece's gold reserves, the bank was paying out gold bullion in return for local currency which was then able to be hidden away.

It is no criticism, it is just the way they thought they had to

stabilize their currency.

I heard considerable criticism of their handling of funds out of shipping, because they were not getting nearly as much out of their shipping pool as they could.

Is it contemplated in those agreements that you have the right

to cut off relief if it is found that the country is not doing all it can

for its own economy, or all it should?

That is the first question.

This is the second question which you can include in the same answer: What mechanics will you set up to see that the country is doing all it can with its own economy?

If it means this, I am opposed to it: If it means that certain governments can come into our country and buy from a specific department or agency here, after we have advanced funds to them, then there may be too much of an advance. You are getting into the same situation that UNRRA may be in Czechoslovakia, that we may make an advance, and they do not want to give it up and although the donors may feel currently they do not vitally need it.

Mr. Clayton. They cannot do it under the conditions that we pre-

scribe. It cannot happen.

They will only be given the money as they make the commitments. In most cases we expect that these countries will be able to do their own procuring. They have advanced very greatly in that respect in the last 2 years since the end of the war, and they do not need to be taken by the hand and led any more.

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for its own economy, or all it should?

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This is the second question which you can include in the same answer: What mechanics will you set up to see that the country is doing all it can with its own economy?

Mr. CLAYTON. That would be pretty difficult to do, and the rather comprehensive exposition that I think I gave here as to what we intended to include in these agreements does not include the matters of which you have just spoken.

I certainly would be glad to take under consideration what you

evidently intend as a suggestion about the matter.

I can only say that there is a limit beyond which we could not very well go in this agreement, and we think that we have made it so tight, or will make it so tight, that there is a chance that one or more of these countries may not accept it.

Mr. Javits. Mr. Secretary, I want to point out that it is all right to make it tight in respects which may not be too critical but this is a critical respect because it goes to the nubbin of what these countries

are going to do for themselves.

Mr. CLAYTON. You are exactly right but as I have tried to indicate there is a limit to which you can go in respect to dictating to these people, what they must do with regard to their financial policy and other policies, which have a pretty close relationship to this very thing.

I admit there would be some countries in a much better position, to pay if they were handling their affairs in a more careful and intelligent manner than they are now handling them, but I just do not know

how far we could go in that way.

Mr. Javits. I might tell the Secretary that it is my own conviction that such an effort by the United States with respect to Greece, insofar as the Greek people are concerned, would be welcome by them as a great boon to them and as a way of resolving their very knotty political problems.

Mr. Clayton. You have touched on something there with which I

am fairly familiar.

As you probably know, we have a mission in Greece at the present time headed by Paul Porter, and a very good and competent mission. They are making a very careful study of that whole situation there and reporting to us from time to time.

Mr. Javits. Mr. Secretary, I have just one other question.

have but 1 minute left and my time is running out.

Assuming that it is advisable for this kind of relief to move from people to people, that is, from the American people to the Greek people, which is what we are all aiming at, would it not have been better to have negotiated these agreements first? You must negotiate them anyhow. We could then have the Congress, which is the organ of the people, pass on relief for country A, country B, and country C.

You have to have the agreements anyhow. It is just a question

of when you make them.

Mr. Clayton. I think you must recognize that you cannot negotiate for relief for a country until Congress gives you the money.

Mr. Javits. The Government has made agreements subject to con-

gressional approval before.

Mr. Clayton. Not to really operate. Now, what you are talking about would be an operating agreement and obviously we could not do that until the Congress authorized us. We would be subject to very great criticism, not only here but all over the world if we were to enter into these agreements and then Congress turned us down.

Mr. Javits. The Secretary does not feel that would be practicable? Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. Javits. That is all.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Morgan.

Mr. Morgan. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Lodge, do you have any questions? Mr. Lodge. Mr. Secretary, am I correct in assuming that this resolution was drawn up on the hope that the four-party treaties made in Paris would be ratified by the Senate?

Mr. Clayton. It does not depend upon that.

Mr. Lodge. Might I suggest to you that those treaties might very well affect the relief situation in those countries.

Mr. CLAYTON. They may.

Mr. Lodge. It seems to me that is of great importance, because after all these parties are bound to pay out large sums in reparations and it has been rather assumed on the part of a great many people that we will have to render additional assistance to these countries in order to help them to pay these reparations.

Mr. Clayron. I do not think that is a proper assumption. May I just say that, so far as I am aware, the provision for reparations in the treaties to which you refer will not operate as a burden on the

economies of these countries.

Take, for example, the reparations Italy is obligated to pay. The receiving countries are obligated to furnish the raw materials from

which the goods will be made.

Italy has unemployed people at the present time. They have unutilized factory space. In paying reparations they will be furnished the raw material by the receiving country for the reparations. They will take that and use it and use the unemployed people and the unemployed factory space in order to make the goods.

I do not think that will be a burden on their economy.

Mr. Lodge. As I understand the Italian treaty with respect to Russia, reparations in the sum of \$100,000,000 are to be paid for as follows:

That Russia will ship in the raw materials, the Italians will manufacture the product, and then the cost of the raw materials will be deducted and the balance will go toward payment of the Italian reparations, constituting in effect a mortgage on Italian labor.

Do you not believe that that is bound to affect the entire economy of the country, especially in view of the fact that a total of \$365,000,000

will have to be paid?

Mr. Clayton. Mr. Lodge, I think you must be mistaken about that. You have described the plan correctly: That Italy will receive the raw material from the country that is to be paid reparations. That she will use her manpower, her factory space, and facilities to manufacture that and process those raw materials into goods, deliver them to the receiving country and get credit for the value of the goods, less the value of the raw materials that went into them.

Mr. Lodge. That is right.

Mr. CLAYTON. You have described it correctly and there is no gold

involved of which I am aware.

Mr. Lodge. I naturally bow to your superior knowledge in these matters but it would seem to me that insofar as these treaties placing economic burdens on these countries this must necessarily affect the relief needs of these countries.

I would suggest that this matter should be considered from the point

of view of the over-all picture.

Now, of course, the Senate has the right to pass on these treaties but it seems to me that it has extremely pertinent importance as far as

the whole relief problem is concerned.

Mr. CLAYTON. It would if it were true that the payment of reparations by any of these countries would place a heavy burden on their foreign exchange resources. That is what is involved here in this relief matter. It is the ability to pay abroad for these imports that are involved.

If it were true that the payment of reparations would be a burden on the foreign resources of the countries paying, then I think you are quite right, that it would be something Congress would have to take into account. But I think I am correct in saying that that is not

true

I do not think that in any of the countries we have under consideration here their foreign resources, their foreign dollars, or gold will be tapped in order to pay these reparations.

They will pay it by their labor and by their processing facilities, and not have to lay out any foreign exchange in order to buy the raw

materials which enter into these goods.

Mr. Lodge. In other words, you believe that relief needs can be measured entirely by foreign exchange and not in any way by the material resources in labor and raw materials and consumer goods of the country in question?

Mr. CLAYTON. If the country in question had its labor fully employed and its facilities fully employed then it would be a burden, but in these countries like Italy that have to pay reparations, that is not

true

They have at least 1,500,000 unemployed now in Italy and they have

many factories or parts of factories not being run.

In a sense, it is of some assistance, perhaps, to the country, strange as it may seem, to pay reparations because the receiving country furnishes the raw materials, the paying country gets its labor and its factory employed in order to process the goods, and reduces the number, thereby, of unemployed.

I am not espousing the cause of reparations in making that argument. I am only pointing out that it is not a great burden, necessarily, on the country under the conditions on which we insisted in

Paris and which we got.

For example, Greece gets some reparations from Italy. Greece must furnish the raw materials out of which the material is made and must come to agreement with the Italians as to what goods they will furnish.

By the way, Italy does not start paying reparations until 2 years after the treaty becomes effective.

Mr. Lodge. Thank you, very much. Chairman Eaton. Mr. Colmer.

Mr. Colmer. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Chairman, from the foot of the class to the top of the class, I would like to add a word of thanks for this 5-minute Otherwise the prospects of some of us saying anything more than good morning for the next two years would be very slight.

Mr. Secretary, I think, so far as I am concerned, the plan is an

excellent one. I think it is one that is going to meet with the ap-

proval of the American people.

It seems to me that the gist of the matter, and the thing that should appear definitely in the record as a positive statement of fact on which we can justify our position to the House is the fact that these agreements when drawn and settled upon will become inviolate.

With all due regard to your statement on Poland, there is a popular

conception that freedom of action is not a fact in Poland.

What I should like to know, and I am sure all of the members of the committee in the House would like to know definitely, is that when these agreements are once drawn, that it is the intention of the State Department to carry them out to the letter of the agreement, that any violation, by a recipient country or government, of the terms of the agreement would be sufficient reason to withdraw all of the program as affecting that particular nation.

Mr. Clayton. Certainly that is correct.

As I have emphasized here, I would like the committee to fully understand that we have the right in the agreement to stop the flow of supplies immediately at any time, for any reason we may want to

Now, obviously, minor mistakes can always be made. If we stop the flow of supplies because of a report we receive that a certain thing is done contrary to the agreement and the country represents that it has not been done or that it is not contrary to the agreement and we look into it and find they are right, obviously we would not want to continue to stop all shipments.

Mr. Jackson. I think it is fine that we have an American program

for a change.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Secretary, are you through?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir.

Chairman Eaton. I would like to use a little time to ask just one

We are supposed to sell a part of this material to somebody who needs

the food but has the money, is that right?

Mr. CLAYTON. The country receiving it will of course perform the distribution and will make sales of some of it to people who need it, but who have the local currency with which to buy it.

Chairman Eaton. When that money is turned over, it is to be turned

over to our people or to the local facilities?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir; it is our intention to turn it over to the treasury of the local government, but in a special account under conditions which we would outline.

Chairman Eaton. I wondered whether that would be an addition

or a subtraction as far as our funds were concerned.

Mr. Clayton. It would really not be either, because the problem here is dollars and not local currency. These countries require a certain amount of foreign exchange with which to import these goods, so that that will not be altered in the least by the fact that some of the people pay for the supplies they get because they pay not in dollars but in their own money which will not buy goods in the United States.

Chairman Eaton. I would like to suggest that we meet tomorrow

morning at 10:30.

I would like, before the committee retires, to have about 2 minutes of executive session to distribute a document that I would like to have

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p. m., the committee adjourned to go into executive session, and to reconvene on Wednesday, February 26, 1947.)

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1947

House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a.m., Hon. Charles A. Eaton (chair-

man) presiding in executive session.

Chairman Eaton. We have met this morning to consider further, House Joint Resolution 134, providing for relief assistance to countries devastated by war.

The Honorable W. L. Clayton is with us again this morning.

Yesterday, we gave everyone an opportunity to interrogate Mr. Clayton. We meet today in executive session to resume the questioning. We will begin with Mr. Vorys.

FURTHER STATEMENT OF HON. W. L. CLAYTON, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Vorys. The only question I have at this time is one that arose yesterday after you left, and that is: Why is this document marked "secret" on every page and handled with such great secrecy when it is about foreign relief needs for 1947, and contains page after page of statements that have either been in the public press or that are from UNRRA reports or from Import-Export Bank records.

I raised the question in committee and I was told to bring it to your

attention.

Mr. Clayton. Mr. Vorys, of course, obviously, there are in this report many things which could be made public, but information like the break-down of the estimated relief deficits in each country we would rather not be made public for reasons which I gave yesterday.

If it is made public, it gets advertised in these countries and they begin to think that perhaps the figure named is the settled figure, and

that they will necessarily obtain that much assistance.

We would like to keep that flexible as far as we can. There may

be changes in this situation.

The balance of payments and other detailed figures like that, should not be made public as authoritative estimates of the Department of State about those countries.

We got the information in the best way we could and we believe it is about as accurate as could be made up at this time, but we would not

like to publish these figures.

Mr. Vorys. Your statement yesterday was used here when the same situation came up with respect to UNRRA, that it might cause resentment and embarrassment in other countries if there had to be any

changes in these figures.

There might have been some possible excuse when we were examining into what UNRRA, an international organization, would do. However, I cannot see, when we are studying what the United States should do with reference to relief, why we should not first consider the resentment and embarrassment that is caused in our country when we do not know where the money is going, the resentment and embarrassment of Congress when we say, "We do not even know what is the tentative plan."

I think the committee is going to try to preserve the confidence of the Department of State and keep secret everything that should be

kept secret.

On the other hand, when we are pledged to secrecy on matters that any taxpayer would have a right to know, that is, where we think the

money is going, then we are embarrassed.

Mr. Clayton. Of course, Mr. Vorys, as soon as the final figures for each country are fixed in collaboration with other countries, that information will be made public. It will be furnished to Congress and thereby be made public.

We only wish to contain the confidential character of the informa-

tion temporarily until that can be finally fixed.

I agree fully with you. I would like to put all these things right out on the table, but I think there are some distinct advantages here in not disclosing all of this detailed information just at this time.

Mr. Vorys. Is it your idea that we should report this bill to the floor and simply say that the committee is unable to give any estimates of how the \$350,000,000 is to be distributed? Can we give the text of the agreement and not merely a view of what the agreements will be?

We will not be able to give any approximation as to where the money

is to go

Mr. CLAYTON. I would think that the report would name the countries to which it is contemplated furnishing relief, and, of course, it

would give the total amount of \$350,000,000.

It would give this amount of \$610,000,000 as being the estimate of the total relief that is needed by those countries, and I think it would give very good reasons as to why the \$350,000,000 could not be broken down definitely at the present time between the recipient countries.

I think the reasons I gave yesterday would be considered as good reasons, the principal one being that we know there are other countries which will likely furnish relief to these countries and they may do it to one or two individual countries and not to all.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. Vorys. I do not care to monopolize the time of the committee

further on the point.

Any such report would have to be, as far as I am concerned, a statement that the Department of State does not feel that even the tentative break-down can be disclosed and we are therefore bound by their views. It would not be my own view.

I would still consider myself bound by the information I obtained in confidence, even though I felt that the information should not be confidential.

I do not care to press the point further.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Richards?

Mr. Richards. Mr. Secretary, if some Member asked us on the floor of the House how much of this fund would go to Italy, for example, and we should reply that the State Department told us tentatively so much, that might be considered by some people as a commitment to use that amount of money in Italy; is that right?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is what we fear, that people in this country and in Italy will get the idea that if we said a certain amount for Italy,

whatever it may be, that that is what they are going to get.

Mr. RICHARDS. As a matter of fact, to carry forward this program as it should be carried you feel there should be a great deal of latitude in the matter of changes in the tentative plan?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir; we feel so. The allocation should be kept flexible, to be changed in accordance with the changing in conditions.

These figures have all been made up on conditions as they were about

the end of 1946.

Before this program is completed, there might be very marked changes in the prospects and in the conditions in these different countries. Some would be for the better and some would be for the worse, possibly.

We feel we should be able to make changes in the allocation to con-

form to that

Mr. RICHARDS. It is your whole idea that it might be injurious to the whole program to give out these figures now?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir; we think it would be.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. Jonkman. No question. Chairman Eaton. Mr. Smith.

Mr. Smith. I just wanted to make an observation, Mr. Secretary: I hope that when the committee reports this matter out, we are not going to be in a position, when the matter gets to the floor, of having the Members feel that we are presenting a blank-check proposition.

I am conscious of a feeling in the House, at least, that these blankcheck propositions are out from now on, and it seems to me that the point that has been raised by my colleague, Mr. Vorys, is well taken. When we go to the House we ought to be very certain as to how this money is going to be spent, because that question will be raised.

That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLAYTON. May I just comment on that a moment, Mr. Smith. I do not believe this could be referred to as a blank-check proposition, because a blank check generally has no limit. This is a definite figure, and a definite program to be distributed over a certain number of countries.

It is true that we do not finally determine here the amount that would go to each country, for the reasons which I have given. However, the total program is definitely limited.

Mrs. Douglas. Will you yield, Mr. Smith.

Mr. Smith. Yes.

Mrs. Douglas. Could you not make a case, before the House Mr. Vorys, on the basis of the facts Mr. Clayton has given us? I know what you feel. Really, I believe we are stronger if we do not give definite figures country by country in this proposed relief program. An adamant program may not be to our advantage. Let us say for instance we were going to give a certain definite amount to Italy but Italy may have a bumper crop in the spring and might not need all we had planned to give her. Austria may need more than we had planned to give her.

They are in such desperate need in Austria at the moment and in such desperate need in Italy and the other countries on our list that it is to our advantage in seeking to prevent starvation that help given be kept on as even a level as possible. We cannot now know what the harvest will be or what help will be forthcoming from other countries.

Mr. Vorys. There is a question that has been put to me, Mr. Chair-

man, instead of the witness.

I would be glad to answer it if that is proper.

It seems to me that what we are doing is furnishing relief to Russia, which may be a wonderful thing for us to do, but with reference to Hungary, the bread basket of central Europe, the reason we have to furnish anything is because of what Russia has taken out.

The reason we have to furnish food to Italy is largely because of

what Russia is taking out.

When it comes to Poland, I cannot conceive of our financing it so that whatever we send in is not taken out of Poland.

We have no safeguards in the law as to that situation.

This is political relief in the sense that we are attempting to take care of our friends, and leaving someone else to take care of those who, while not our enemies, are in the hands of those who are not acting in a very friendly way now.

I foresee great difficulty on the floor if we have no more information than we have now. I cannot understand how, if we say this is a tentative set-up, that it is approximately, subject to change, we can embarrass ourselves very much abroad if someone wants to take such statements and say it is not tentative; that it is a commitment.

They could, in the absence of figures, pick a figure out of the air and say: "This is a commitment," and it might embarrass us even though it had no basis of fact but that is apparently the way we are

expected to proceed.

Mr. Javits. Will the gentleman yield on that?

Mr. Vorys. Yes.

Mr. Javits. Is it not a fact that each of these countries have a general political situation? I was in Italy and in Greece last December and I will tell you the political situation in either of those places is hotter than it is in the United States.

That is why I made this suggestion yesterday, and asked why did we not negotiate these agreements first and then get the congressional approval. It was not done. Whether it is right or wrong, these people have to eat and they have to eat tomorow and not next September.

I think that this is to be said, taking the situation as it is now: If you set a figure now, the general politics of Italy or some of these other countries would be such that no government could get one dollar less even if it meant that everybody in the country was going to be on very short rations, because that government would be liable to be ousted.

It is said, considering the situation, but those are the facts of life. I would say that is our strongest argument on the floor. There is no reason why we cannot say quite frankly that we ourselves as a committee have studied the picture and that we are satisfied that the proper amounts will be made available to each country really in need.

I will tell you one thing, in my opinion, if we do not go in on the floor with this bill as a unit, then all the fears we have are minor compared to what way happen. I think only if the Foreign Affairs Committee goes in and says: "We are for this bill, we are convinced that it is right, you are taking the word of the committee and not the State Department." that I think it can be passed.

I call to your attention the internal politics of these countries which

are really keen, even more than here.

Mr. Clayton. Mr. Chairman, may I make just a short statement?

Chairman Eaton. Certainly.

Mr. CLAYTON. I want to assure Mr. Vorys that the need in Italy does not arise from any action by Russia in taking anything out of the country. So far as I am aware they have taken nothing out as yet.

It may be that the need in Hungary does arise, at least in part, and perhaps in some other countries, from what Russia has taken out. That I do not know. However, I can assure that even if that should be the case, that these people are in great need, and if we do not help

there will be starvation and great suffering.

I can assure you further, as I did yesterday, that we will take measures, supported by a binding agreement between our country and the recipient country which in our opinion will be effective in preventing anything improper happening with respect to the supplies that we ship, or with respect to the supplies that they produce themselves, or with respect to any other supplies which they may import from other sources. We would prevent their shipping those supplies outside of the country for any reason whatever and would prevent distribution within the country on discriminatory lines.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Fulton.

Mr. Fulton. Mr. Clayton, you have set this figure at about fifty-seven and a fraction percent, as our percentage of contribution of the total relief needed for these countries while the old figure of UNRRA was 72 percent.

Now when you say that about \$610,000,000 is absolutely necessary, what is your method of arriving at the particular figure that gives us

57 percent?

Mr. Clayton. We decided some time ago, that \$350,000,000 was about what we should ask the Congress to appropriate. We thought that that was perhaps as much as we should ask, and we believe if we get that much we can draw other countries into help on a larger percentage than they gave to UNRRA. The South American countries should help, and probably countries like Switzerland and Sweden, that did not participate in UNRRA, are able to help.

Mr. Fulton. Is there any danger of starvation or unrest on account

of our being short-sighted in cutting below the UNRRA figure!

Mr. Clayton. I do not believe so, sir. I think we can do the job, as near as we can tell now. As near as we can tell today, we can do the

job on \$350,000,000, principally because of the probability of getting

other countries to help.

I think they will help. I think the other countries, as I have said, are perfectly able to help and I think they would be perhaps more willing to help if they can do it directly, instead of going through a great cumbersome organization which would make all the decisions itself.

Mr. Fulton. You do not believe that this particular amount could

be criticized on the basis of false economy at home?

Mr. Clayton. Some people might criticize it from that point of view. It might easily be, but I think that we know enough about it to have confidence that in our present lights it is sufficient.

Mr. Fulton. May I make one more point, and this will be my last question. I am one of those people who does not like to give this re-

lief directly to other governments.

Have you any possible suggestion as an alternative procedure? For example, to have us handle it ourselves and follow it right down through to the recipients who are going to consume it, either in groups or individually?

Mr. CLAYTON. I just believe that that would be an impossibility. That is a big word to use, but I think it would, for several reasons: For one reason, it would take almost an army to administer it on

that principle.

Mr. Fulton. Along that point, may I give the background of the question: When some of us were in Europe in 1945 we had lunch with General Eisenhower. We asked him then, because we were disturbed about UNRRA and the number of people we had seen running around, whether there were any particular functions that UNRRA was performing that could not likewise be done by the people who were then occupation troops.

I mentioned the Quartermaster Corps, and the like. Without quoting the general directly, it was my understanding of his answer that he could not at the moment, with no preparation, think of any such

function but that he was not looking for the job.

With that as a basis, could I ask you this: Does not that same

situation occur now?

Mr. Clayton. No, sir, because General Eisenhower must have been speaking of the countries we are occupying. All this goes to countries we are not occupying except a portion of Austria.

Any relief distributed in the American zone of Austria would be

under the eyes of the United States Army.

However, in these other countries we have no Army.

Mr. Fulton. How about your State Department people supervising the handling of it? I do not mean they should make the manual effort of handling it, but seeing that it is done. Could they not supervise to see that it was correctly distributed down to the echelons that we are interested in, so there can be no claim of political control outside of the United States?

Mr. Clayton. That is the intention. The intention is to have this small group that we propose to set up of 28 people in these countries, exercise general supervision. They would of course be attached to our embassies and would be under the direction of our embassies. They

would have all the administrative facilities of the embassy to help

do the job.

Their responsibility will be to supervise and observe the execution of the agreement we have with each country and to see that the supplies are delivered to the right people and that the agreement is observed by the country.

They will have a lot of help. We will have help from newspaper and radio people. We will have a certain amount of help from the local populace who, if they are discriminated against, would make

complaints.

We are not without some resources aside from this small group

that we contemplate establishing.

We believe we can control it effectively. Mr. Bloom. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Fulton. I will yield the balance of my time. Mr. Bloom. In 1945, did not the Army have full control of the distribution in the occupied territory?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. Bloom. Therefore, General Eisenhower was in control at that time because UNRRA could not go in without the request of General Eisenhower.

Mr. Clayton. UNRRA made no distributions in Germany of food

of any kind in 1945.

The Army did the whole job, and even in respect to the displaced persons camps, while UNRRA had certain responsibilities with respect to the personnel and that sort of thing, the Army furnished the food. The Army furnished all the supplies that are necessary and are still doing so.

Mr. Fulton. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. Bloom. Of course.

Mr. Fulton. At that particular time of course the question was up as to the proposed policy for UNRRA, as to how they would go in and

do the job.

Some of us came back feeling that the Army should continue in certain areas rather than have UNRRA step in. While you are correct that that was the situation then, the problem we were discussing with General Eisenhower, and I am not trying to quote him directly, it is in my own words, was what the policy should be in the area.

Mr. Bloom. UNRRA could not go in any occupied country without the Army's requesting they come in. That is the rule of UNRRA.

They could not go in.

General Eisenhower had full control at that time and the Army

practically has it today.

Mr. Fulton. May I just make my point then to Mr. Bloom. I do not know whether he heard the full discussion between Mr. Clayton

and myself.

My point is, why not have people employed by the United States Government do the handling of the distribution in the country, rather than have people employed by a foreign government perform the distribution through funds which we have given under a contract to that government?

Mr. CLAYTON. To begin with, I think if you did it effectively, it would take all this money to pay for the personnel to look after it.

Under this arrangement, these countries use their own existing officers and personnel to do it. They use normal commercial channels. If we had to do it, it would be enormously expensive and we could not find enough competent people.

You have to have people that can speak the language; otherwise they could not do much good. They would have to know the country.

I just do not think we could organize it. It would be too difficult and big a job to do.

Also, it would be deeply resented, I think, by everybody in the

country.

It seems to me that as a practical matter, we have gone as far as we can when we make a contract of the character which we described yesterday with these governments, and then keep people in the country to see that that contract is observed.

I think that is about as much as we can do, and believe that we can,

on the whole, control it by that method.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Javits, would you like to question.

Mr. Javits. I have nothing further. Chairman Eaton. Mr. Colmer.

Mr. Colmer. Mr. Secretary, how long is it contemplated that it would take to dispose of this \$350,000,000?

Mr. Clayton. We think it would either be largely spent or com-

mitted by the end of this year.

We find that it does not pay to try to be too explicit about when shipments will be made.

Mr. Colmer. I understand. I was just trying to get a general idea.

Mr. CLAYTON. It should be committed by the end of the year. Mr. Colmer. I think the think that concerns all of us most, Mr. Secretary, is whether the money is going to do the job or not.

In other words, the question is whether it is going to be expended

for that purpose and whether it is going to reach the goal.

It gets back to the question of administration.

I think, personally, that this is a great improvement over the UNRRA.

If only Congress could be assured that this money was going to be expended for the purpose set out, and the job accomplished, I think

it would be a great comfort.

Personally, I would like to see, and this is more or less off the record, I would like to see a committee from this committee, a subcommittee of one, two, or three, and I would not want to be on that committee, please do not misunderstand me, to go over there in a few months or such a matter and check on it, and see whether it was reaching the objective and come back and report to the Congress.

Our experience with UNRRA was such that the thing is bothersome

to us. I have my doubts.

I have nothing further. I just wanted to make that observation, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Clayton. I think the suggestion is an excellent one. We would welcome it. I would just like to add this:

As to the expenditure of the money for the purpose it would be appropriated for, there can be no question whatever. We have an absolute control of that. If we do not make the purchases ourselves for these countries, they come to us and get approval for the purchase.

There is no question about that but as I understand the point you have in mind, is what happens after the goods get to the country.

Mr. Colmer. Yes; if it is actually going to get into the hands that

we contemplated.

Mr. Clayton. The money will not be spent all at once. It will be released gradually over the year and we can stop it at any time. Even if you assume that a country might not want to keep its agreement, which I do not want to assume, you must realize that it would hesitate to break it because the minute it did, the flow would stop.

Mr. Colmer. That is quite so, and I recognize the almost superhuman task involved in seeing that it does reach that objective and

is not used for political purposes, is not grafted, and so on.

As far as I am concerned, having the great confidence that I do in you, if you could be over there to supervise it, which I recognize is impossible, I would be satisfied on that.

However, we know in dealing with those people over there, there

are so many diversions. It just creates a doubt in my mind.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Lodge, have you a question?

Mr. Lodge. Mr. Secretary, I am personally impressed with the fact that there is a great need and I am also impressed with the necessity for our doing something about it.

Further than that, I realize that safeguards are being taken to prevent what happened in the past; that is to see to it that this relief

in fact reaches the needy.

I think also that it has been fairly clear that the need has been in large part created by the actions of the Soviet Government in cer-

tain of those countries, particularly Hungary and Poland.

That is all water over the dam and we want to relieve the suffering as it now exists. But I take the liberty of returning to a subject which I brought up yesterday and which is perhaps not within the direct purview of this committee but which nevertheless affects what we do here and that is the question of treaties.

I understood you to say yesterday, Mr. Secretary, that the question of supplies to satisfy these relief needs was merely a question of

nrrency

It seemed to me that it might be considered as more than that.

After all, what they want are our supplies.

As I understand this resolution, we can send funds or supplies as we see fit. In any event the funds will be used to purchase the supplies and if they did not have the funds it would not seem to make much difference because we would send the supplies anyway, and in any event we do not intend to be reimbursed for this \$350,000,000.

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right.

Mr. Lodge. Further than that, as I understand these treaties, it not only gives them a mortgage on Italian labor, it also provides that they are to furnish raw materials to the Italians.

In fact, the Italians must furnish coal.

I suggest to you, Mr. Secretary this will increase the need for relief. I yield to no one in my desire to help these people, having seen them

in pretty close quarters myself, but I suggest to you that it might be a good idea to review these problems as related problems, insofar as our future responsibilities are concerned, because these countries at the present time do not have enough even to satisfy their current needs.

I doubt that it can be successfully contended that the burdens placed on them by these treaties will not increase those needs and therefore

increase our responsibilities.

Mr. Clayton. Of course, there would be a burden to the extent that Italy would have to supply coal in the manufacture of the goods which it would deliver as reparations, I do not understand, however, that any of the raw materials that actually enter into the processing of the goods would have to be furnished by Italy.

I understand they would have to be furnished by the people getting

the reparations.

Mr. Lodge. This is largely true about the reparations to be paid by Italy to the Soviet Government. I saw a statement by former Under Secretary Adolf Berle, in which he indicated that this treaty provided not only for the export of the results of labor on these raw materials, that is the finished product, but also that it would deprive these countries of a considerable quantity of their own raw materials, and consumer goods.

Mr. Clayton. Any raw materials which have been imported and which would require the expenditure of foreign exchange, would have to be furnished under the treaty by the country that received the

reparations.

For example, if cotton goods are to be given by Italy as reparations to Greece or Russia, those countries must furnish the raw cotton to

make the goods.

Mr. Lodge. Is it your contention, Mr. Secretary, that the only imposition made by these treaties or rather the only result of these treaties insofar as reparations are concerned, is to make use of the available labor in those countries?

Mr. Clayton. In large part that is true. It makes use of the labor and plant facilities which they have in excess now, beyond their

current needs.

Mr. Lodge. In other words, you would be ready to sav that these treaties, which are regarded by some people as perhaps the best that the hard working Mr. Byrnes was able to obtain under the circumstances, but nevertheless as Draconian in their measures, will not add to the relief needs of the countries involved.

Mr. Clayton. I think that is substantially correct. The relief needs from our point of view spring from the lack of foreign exchange by the respective countries with which to purchase the needed

imports of food and other items.

I don't understand that the payment of reparations in the form in which it has been provided in the peace treaties would be a serious drain on the foreign exchange resources of these countries.

Mr. Lodge. Mr. Secretary, why do we care whether or not we furnish them with the dollars to purchase supplies from us, because we are after all primarily not a seat of dollars from their point of view but a seat of supplies. Why do we care whether we furnish the supplies directly or whether we furnish them with the dollars with which to purchase the

supplies?

Mr. Clayton. We do not care. We would rather do it the latter way if the country itself is able to do the procuring, shipping, and so on, as some of them certainly would be able to do under our supervision.

We would furnish the money as they have the need for it, to pay for the supplies that they themselves buy in our country. We would really rather do it that way, because it relieves our organization

here of the work of making those purchases.

Mr. Lodge. You would rather furnish them with the funds and I can see how that would simplify procedure for you and the administration here and I think it is a good idea, but it does not seem to change the basic problem that what they need is not really dollars but supplies.

Mr. CLAYTON. They can get the things only if they have the dollars. Mr. Lodge. Unless we are willing to give it to them without the

dollars.

Mr. Clayton. If you give it to them without the dollars it is equivalent to your giving them the dollars.

Mr. Lodge. I would rather put it the other way.

In other words, they cannot eat the dollars and they need something to eat.

Mr. CLAYTON. We would hand them the dollars as those dollars are needed to pay for the goods that are being purchased.

Mr. Chiperfield. Mr. Chairman, at that point would the gentleman vield for one second?

Mr. Lodge. Certainly.

Mr. Chiperfield. I do not know whether it has been raised or not, but why could not the International Bank furnish this credit?

Mr. Clayton. This is not a credit. We think to the extent that we have indicated, these countries are not good credit risks. We might make a credit to them and take their note, but we feel it would be a repetition of World War I mistakes. We feel this must be a grant.

The International Bank cannot make a grant. Mr. Chiperfield. Thank you very much.

Mr. Lodge. Would you say that the relief need of the Yugoslavs to which we supplied a great deal, is affected by the fact that they are reported to have a standing army of 600,000 men?

Mr. Clayton. I do not think they have an army of that size now. Of course, if a country maintains a large standing army and if they are not producers but consumers of food and other essentials of life, the extent of need is greatly affected. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. Lodge. In other words, the Hungarians' relief needs have been affected by the fact that there have been several hundred thousand Russian troops there living on the country?

Mr. Clayton. To the extent that troops were living on the country

the extent of need would be affected; that is right.

Of course, I may say to you that the Yugoslavs claim that their troops are working all the time, that they are producing in different

ways. They say that they have helped to repair the railways and put them in operation again and done other things of that kind.

Whether it is true or not I do not know.

Mr. Lodge. May I ask one more question, sir?

One thing I cannot quite understand is in the last sentence of sub-

section d on page 3 with respect to reimbursement.

It is my recollection, Mr. Secretary, that you told us yesterday that as these supplies were sold by the governments in question, the local currency would naturally be ours, but we would spend it for charitable purposes in the country in question.

We do not expect or want to be reimbursed for this \$350,000,000.

Consequently, this last sentence was not quite clear to me.

Mr. Clayton. I said, I think, that we will provide that receipts of local currency for the sale of supplies will be put in a special account and will have to be used for relief needs locally; for hospitals, child feeding, or something of that kind. We would not keep the money ourselves but we would require the Government to put it in a special account and use it for general relief purposes.

Mr. Lodge. That was my understanding. That was why this clause was not quite clear to me. I did not understand that we were planning

to be reimbursed.

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right. You are speaking of the bill?

Mr. Lodge. Yes; that is on page 3, the last sentence of paragraph d. Mr. Clayton. Mr. Lodge, that has to do with reimbursement to procurement agencies here. If the Commodity Credit Corporation, for example, should buy wheat to give to a country, this refers to the reimbursement that is to be made to them for their expenditures.

Mr. Lodge. Then it is a matter of bookkeeping between the various

branches of the Government?

Mr. Clayton. Yes.

Mr. Lodge. Thank you very much, Mr. Clayton.

Mr. CLAYTON. I want the record to be clear on this point. I am informed that in the case of Hungary, reparations payments of \$23,000,000 a year are of a character which would affect its relief needs. We have taken that into account in making these estimates.

Mr. Lodge. Why would that be true with Hungary and not with the

others?

Mr. Clayton. It is handled in a different way.

Mr. Lodge. I understand from an article in The Nation that 8 percent of Rumanian production has gone to the Russians.

Mr. Clayton. I doubt if anybody outside of the Government of-

ficials of Rumania knows the exact amount.

Mr. Lodge. I believe we have a very good man there, General Richardson, have we not?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir; and we have been guided a great deal by

reports coming from him.

Undoubtedly a great amount of their difficulty has come from nationalizing the means of production which inevitably disrupts things greatly for a certain length of time. They put their experienced managers out, they broke up their great estates which were highly organized for production.

The land has been divided up.

I am not commenting on whether that is proper or improper, but I am saying that it does interrupt the continuity of production until adjustments have been made to the new system.

Mr. Jonkman. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Lodge. Yes.

Mr. Jonkman. I am a little confused on this matter of reparations: Is it not true that reparations takes exports? If they did not pay reparations with the exports, they would get exchange. Are they not being deprived of the exchange that we are furnishing them and are we paying the reparations?

Mr. Clayton. No; I think not. They have unemployed working people.

cople. The last figure I saw for Italy was a million and a half. They have unemployed plant facilities. As long as they have that and as long as the country receiving the reparations furnishes the raw materials which must be imported with which to make the goods, it does not deprive the paying country of anything in the way of foreign exchange.

Mr. Lodge. Mr. Secretary, it seems to me, that there is this to say with respect to Mr. Jonkman's remark, and that is that other things being equal, the Italians could perhaps under normal circumstances and without a treaty, import these raw materials, and export them

for American dollars.

Mr. Clayton. They are importing all they possibly can. I am sure I can say that authoritatively, that at the present time they are importing all they possibly can and putting all the people to work that they can, so whatever they have now in the way of unemployed labor and excess plant facilities is really surplus.

I would like to emphasize that the reparations payments do not

start for 2 years, until after the ratification of the treaties.

Mrs. Douglas. Will the gentleman yield.

Mr. Lodge. Certainly.

Mrs. Douglas. Is not that the point? Isn't our immediate job that of getting people on their feet so they will not starve to death after the UNRRA pipe line line runs out? The problem of reparations comes much later. This relief program is expected to run for the calendar year of 1947 only.

Mr. CLAYTON. That is right. Mrs. Douglas. We can sit over here in the United States and be very objective about reparations but remember that much of Europe is in ashes and the Germans and Italians are responsible for this condition.

Now, it is hard to say, "Greece you can have no reparations from

Italy", the Greeks feel very bitter about the Italians.

Mr. Lodge. I said that I recognized that need and I wanted that need to be satisfied. However, we should not on the one hand recognize this need through this resolution and then increase the need through the treaties in question.

Mrs. Douglas. The treaties provide for reparations to come along

Mr. Lodge. We cannot foresee it, but many thoughtful people think

that these reparations will add to their relief needs.

Mr. Fulton. As to that particular subject, Mr. Lodge is on, section 2d is the section about which I made the comment yesterday stating that as drawn it was inadequate.

I still feel that it is a matter of statutory construction. If you would let me or my office know who has prepared that section, I would like to sit down with him and make it more clear, that whole

particular item.

Mr. Clayton. We decided yesterday when we went out after the hearing, that Mr. John Howard, who is here with me today and who is counsel for the State Department, is going to get in touch with you and discuss this matter.

Mr. Fulton. And with Mr. Lodge, because we both objected. Chairman Eaton. Mr. Bloom would like to ask a question.

Mr. Bloom. Mr. Secretary, how about the children. What provision have you made for the children in this matter, which, as you know, is very dear to my heart?

Mr. CLAYTON. I am glad you asked about that. I felt yesterday I should have said something about that and I wanted to this morning.

As you know, the United Nations is making a careful study of the child-feeding job of Europe and are trying to get up an organization and funds to deal with the problem of child feeding.

Mr. Bloom. Is that from private funds?

Mr. Clayton. They would receive private funds to the greatest

possible extent but the base of it would be public funds.

It is a matter which the State Department has not gone into a great deal as yet. We are going to have to do that to decide what our policy will be. It requires a good deal of study and consideration.

We think that our request here is absolutely essential, though, for anything that might be done for the children later on. be the foundation of child relief and if anything should be done in addition to this, we think it should largely be in the nature of special foods like cod-liver oil and milk in different forms, which as you know, are essential in child feeding.

It is possible and perhaps even probable that we may want to come before you at some subsequent date and ask for some modest appropriation as a contribution of the United States to this child-feeding

program of the United Nations.

Mr. Bloom. Why do we not do it now?

Mr. Clayton. Because we have not had time to go into the matter fully and determine among ourselves as to how much we should ask for and the conditions under which it should be granted, and so on.

It is a matter that requires a great deal of careful attention.

We have been working on this \$350,000,000 matter for at least

Mr. Bloom. Mr. Secretary, have we not been working longer on the children's welfare relief than we have on this, and still nothing has

been done with reference to the children?

Why can we not do that now, or why can we not earmark a certain amount of this for the children? You must realize that they are the only ones not getting any relief today throughout Europe. Everyone that can comes in and takes and the poor children get nothing.

Mr. CLAYTON. The state of the children is a very sad one in these countries, but we feel that this bill is essential even for the child-relief

problem, because without this basic-relief program, of course, the children will suffer greatly. There is no question about that.

Mr. Bloom. Why can we not earmark some of this?

Mr. Clayton. I do not see how you could earmark some as being a definite amount that should go to the children of a country because it is impossible for us to police that. This is needed for basic relief for everybody in these countries, including children.
Mr. Smith. Will the gentleman from New York yield?

Mr. Bloom. Yes.

Mr. Smith. Do you believe that this will be limited to the adults, or will not the children get their share, too?

Mr. Bloom. I know that the children are the last ones to be considered over there. The people who are hungry and starving are going to grab and get it.

This is very dear to me. We have fought for this and started it a

year ago in January in London.

If there is one adopted child and two children in a family, and if they get a little food, the mother or father is naturally going to take care of their own children first.

The children over there are literally starving and nobody is taking

any care of them at all.

Mr. Smith. They are all starving.

Mr. Bloom. They have no chance. They cannot go out and fight for this. It is our duty to see that they get some of this. I know this, because I have lived through it.

Mr. Richards. Why not earmark some for the aged and helpless,

too?

Mr. Fulton. May I say to Mr. Bloom that that question has been asked? I asked Mr. Clayton whether this was adequate and whether there might not be some difficulty between the United Nations relief and this figure of 57 percent and possibly a middle ground should be set.

He said that it could not be made any larger because this was the adequate sum that they felt could intelligently be handled at this time.

Mr. Bloom. I am talking specifically of relief for the children, to

see that they get something. That is what I am after.

Mr. CLYYTON. I am sorry that at the moment, when I answered Mr. Fulton's question, that I had forgotten that the United Nations is working on this question of child feeding in Europe and that we may be asked to make a contribution to that. We might want to come before you and present that to you, but it would be a much more modest amount than this.

It would be, we think, largely for supplemental feeding, of things

like cod-liver oil and milk.

Mrs. Bolton. Supplemental things like cod-liver oil, vitamins, and

so on, have no effect unless there is food.

I spent quite some time the other day with a doctor doing work in Austria. The problem is food and not so much medicine. They must eat or there is no effect from all these medicinal things that we are apt to send over.

Chairman Eaton. If the discussion is concluded, the chairman

would like to make a statement or two.

Mr. Hoover has consented to testify on Friday morning, and the Ways and Means Committee chairman has been courteous enough to give us the caucus room at 10:30 Friday morning.

I hope all the members will be there, because Mr. Hoover, apart from the Secretary, is the greatest authority on food in the world.

Mr. Clayton. I cannot hold a light to Mr. Hoover in that respect, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Eaton. I would like very much to have a fine audience

for him. It will be open for questioning, of course.

I would like to make one observation about this legislation: We will meet on Monday, if it is agreeable with the committee, to mark

up this bill.

We have the IRO bill coming up and a bill for a new charter for the Red Cross, and we have a number of urgent matters. If it is agreeable with the committee I would like to have the committee meet on Monday morning at 10:30.

Mrs. Douglas. Do we vote out the bill on Monday? Chairman Eaton. If we get through. I hope we will.

Mr. Vorys. Could I ask one more question? Chairman Eaton. Certainly, you may proceed.

Mr. Vorys. It is the proposal that we put up an estimated 57 percent of the minimum needs for the countries involved.

Is that correct?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. Vorys. Therefore we are not even suggesting that we are going to make sure that they do not starve. They will only get a fraction, a little over half of what they need to keep from a starving condition, from what we propose to do.

Mr. Clayton. This is an absolute minimum. There is no doubt

about that.

It depends upon contributions of other countries.

Mr. Vorys. In reading the bill, it refers to provision of relief assistance confined to the basic essentials of life.

As we hear the explanation, it is to take care of the dollar balance financial deficits. You mentioned in your discussion with Mr. Lodge that it would be better to give them dollars than products, and so forth.

Yet, I do not see how we could furnish the basic relief needs and comply with the law as it is proposed, unless we did what it says, furnish basic relief needs.

If we furnish dollars, and they buy supplies, and we are supplying only a fraction of their relief needs, is it then your proposal that we will require commitments from the nations involved as to rationing and allocation of the food supplied before they get any from us?

Mr. Clayton. That is correct, not only supplies that we furnish but the supplies that they import from other sources. We require an agreement from them on the distribution of all that. You can readily

see why.

If we only required it with regard to our supplies they could take all the rest and do with it as they pleased, and so the purpose of the whole matter would be defeated. The whole object would be defeated,

which is to give relief to all the people who need it, regardless of race, political beliefs, religion or anything else. We can only accomplish that if we get an agreement from these countries with respect to their total food supplies.

Mr. Vorys. With reference to Hungary, where there is going to be \$23,000,000 worth of food supplies going out by way of

Mr. Clayton. That is not food, Mr. Vorys; that is \$23,000,000 of reparations. It may be something else. It is goods. It would not be

In our agreement they have to commit themselves not to export any food whatever for reparations or any other purpose during the time in which this relief is being furnished. The recipient country must bind themselves to do that.

Mr. Vorys. You may have said that yesterday. I hope you see fit

to leave that statement in the record.

Mr. Fulton. You spoke of the form of agreement generally that you intend to have. Would it be possible for us to have some sort of an outlined form of such an agreement that could be used for our session Monday, if you would submit that?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, sir.

I used this as a basis for my remarks yesterday and I will leave that memorandum that it may be incorporated in the record.

Chairman Eaton. It will be included in the record at this point.

(The memorandum is as follows:)

Agreements between the United States and recipient governments

1. Purpose of relief. 2. Needs to be met.

3. Methods and controls of procurement.

4. Shipping.

5. Methods of distribution.

6. Utilization of funds accruing from sales of United States supplies.

- 7. Proper utilization of United States supplies, locally produced supplies and similar supplies from outside sources.
 - (a) Ration systems.(b) Price controls. (c) No discrimination.
 - (d) No diversions to nonessential uses.(e) No export.

8. Effective crop collections.

9. Reports, information and statistics required by United States.

10. Freedom of United States representatives to observe, inspect, travel.
 11. Freedom of United States press and radio reporters to observe and report.
 12. Publicity reference United States relief.
 13. Right of United States to stop or alter program of United States assistance

at any time, for any reason.

14. Any other agreements deemed necessary to insure proper conduct and effectiveness of distributions.

ADMINISTRATIVE PLAN

At Washington headquarters a small policy staff will coordinate the United States relief program. It will be attached to the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs.

Also in Washington will be an operating division whose duties will cover procurement, fiscal and budgetary matters, and the responsibility of screening and approving operations by recipient countries. Officers in this division will work closely with procurement officials of receiving governments.

A staff of trained observers will be stationed in the field, two to four in each recipient country. They will be responsible for observing distribution, and negotiating with cabinet officers concerning rationing, price controls, disposal of local currency proceeds, and similar matters to insure just and impartial distribution of United States relief supplies.

The administrative plan will require approximately 35 officers and clerks in the Department in Washington and approximately 53 officers and clerks in the

field.

The estimated cost for this staff will be from \$500,000 to \$700,000 for 1 year.

Mrs. Bolton. On what basis are Rumania, Bulgaria, and those

countries omitted, as well as Yugoslavia?

Mr. CLAYTON. Regarding Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, our studies do not show that the need is there. We base this on minimum needs, and it does not show on the basis of minimum needs that they are in need of help.

Rumania is able to pay.

We will not do this for any country able to pay. Czechoslovakia can pay.

I am glad you asked that, Mrs. Bolton, because I neglected to men-

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m tion}$ it.

That, by the way, was the basis on which UNRRA gave relief. They only gave it to the countries which could not pay or furnish it themselves.

I would like, Mr. Vorys, before leaving to make clear that in case we furnish these countries with money, we will furnish it only for the purchase of supplies, under our supervision.

There will be a check of the contracts they make here in every particular and it will only be furnished as they need the money to apply

to the contracts that they have made.

Mr. Bloom. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question following Mrs. Bolton's question: Another reason, with a country like Rumania which has the ability to buy all the food required, is the idea of keeping the proper distribution of food. There is shipping as well. You must distribute the amount of food you have here to the countries that need it and not only to the countries that have the money to buy it.

Mr. Clayton. That is right.

Mr. Lodge. Mr. Secretary, is it true that we recently shipped a certain quantity of dollars, or gold dollars, to the Poles?

Mr. CLAYTON. What was the question, please?

Mr. Lodge. That we shipped a certain quantity of money to the Polish Government?

Mr. Clayton. No; we released to the Polish Government their own gold which we had frozen for a long time. We finally released it to them.

Mr. Vorys. We recently refused to carry through a \$90,000,000 import loan to Poland, as I understood it from the papers, because we disapproved of the way their government was acting. Is that not right?

Mr. Bloom. It was a \$50,000,000 balance to Poland. There was a \$50,000,000 amount left off from the balance they were to get and that

was held up temporarily.

Mr. Vorrs. That was held up because of political objections. That is, our objections to the way they had carried out the thing.

Mr. Clayton. In the case of both Poland and Czechoslovakia our negotiations were suspended.

Chairman Eaton. I will ask Mr. Chiperfield to take the chair. I must be on the floor at this time and I would like to thank Mr. Clayton before I go.

Mr. Clayton. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. Douglas. Mr. Secretary, that we may get this relief picture in its entirety as far as we can: Do you believe that Byelorussia and the Ukraine would also need relief, if Russia would not help them?

Mr. Clayton. That is right. These two Republics of Russia still

do require some assistance but we feel that the Russian Government

can pay for it.

Mr. Vorys. To come back to this situation with reference to the Would it be possible that we would furbalance of the Polish loan: Would it be possible that we would furnish relief, if we could get a satisfactory agreement for our furnishing relief, if we still object to the Polish Government to such an extent that we would not make them a loan?

Mr. Clayton. Mr. Vorys, as I said yesterday, in some of these countries, we do not know whether they will make this agreement or

not.

They may not choose to make this agreement with us. In that case

we do not furnish the relief.

We feel that the agreement is fair, and we think it is an agreement that this country is entitled to ask for. If a country wants to sign it, all right; and if they do not, we do not go into that country at all.

Mr. Chiperfield. Are there any further questions?

Mr. Fulton. What effect may these agreements have on the recognition of governments we may not want to recognize as a State Department policy? Is there any effect there?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir. Of course as to Poland, you know we have

an ambassador in Poland and they have one here.

Mr. Fulton. We have recognized the Polish Government?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir; we have an ambassador there and they have one here.

Mr. Fulton. Are we in that same position on the new election,

accepting these people as elected?

Mr. CLAYTON. We still have the same opinion regarding the elec-

tion in January.

Mr. Fulton. On the treaties that come up, will the fact that we have made any such agreements limit the action that can be taken on the treaties?

Mr. CLAYTON. Do you mean these agreements? Mr. Fulton. Will they cut across the treaties?

Mr. CLAYTON. No.

Mr. Javirs. Yesterday I asked you about the internal economy of these countries, which of course, materially affects what is going to happen after 1947.

Task now whether a provision in this bill, which would ask you to consider that as one of the factors you are dealing with, would con-

cern you too much?

Mr. Clayton. I am afraid it would. I feel it would go so far that it would not be able to be handled. Things like that are very intangible.

We know one or two countries where the administration is not all that is to be desired. Of course, you could say that about a lot of countries.

I am fraid that would make it embarrassing for us to try to inter-

fere in all their general financial and economic problems.

Mrs. Bolton. Would it be possible at all for us to have what one might call a rought draft of the form you had that you expect to set up with these countries in contract form, or do you consider that a rough draft?

Mr. Clayton. All the effective provisions of the agreement are named here, and all that we could supply you would be a lawyer's draft with the words put in. I think you have all the substance here,

Mrs. Bolton.

Mrs. Bolton. The import of them is so great and meanings other than the real ones have been imposed upon them, so I think perhaps

we are a little troubled over the actual words.

Mr. Clayton. I think if you will look carefully at this outline which I am giving to the stenographer, you will find that provision is made here for covering all the points we could possibly cover in an agreement of that kind. I can assure you that the agreements will be very carefully drawn by competent lawyers, and they will be in good shape.

Mrs. Bolton. I speak of it because of Mr. Eaton's few words, that we will go on the floor to probably a very difficult psychology, and every kind of loophole that we can cover here would be advisable.

Mr. Clayton. Of course we would not be able to submit a final definitive draft of agreement, because the agreement would be a subject of diplomatic negotiation and it might be shown that in some cases we were wrong about some details. We would like to retain a certain amount of liberty of action, assuring you that we would never depart from the basic principles.

Mrs. Bolton. Perhaps Mr. Crawford, the secretary here, could give

us all a copy of that so that we could be considering it.

I would like very much to have that, if it is not asking too much.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Chairman, a question, if I may.

Is it proposed, Mr. Secretary, that these agreements will be substantially alike in all cases?

Mr. Clayton. I really see no reason why there should be any great

difference.

Mr. Fulton. On this matter of the children. In respect to the reformation of this paragraph 2 (d) that we have spoken of, I would

like to give you an idea on that.

I have spoken with representatives of the Friends committee with reference to using that reimbursed money for that specific purpose. One of the things I would like to recommend that you do is to take that specific reimbursed mony and allocate it in the particular country where it was to be used, allocate it for a certain class, such as the children.

Mr. Clayton. We had that possibility in mind. The only thing regarding children is, that the provision of the supplemental food that they need requires foreign exchange and local money will not buy it. It is another import, you see.

I refer to milk, cod-liver oil, and things of that kind.

That money perhaps can be used for administration or obtaining locally certain things that would be useful. I doubt very much if it could be used for the things that are really necessary, such as cod-liver oil and milk.

Mr. Fulton. Then to follow that thought through to a conclusion, that was in the back of my mind on asking whether this \$350,000,000 is adequate—could something be worked out on the foreign exchange that we would then have in these countries, which might take an extra dollar balance of a small amount?

As you may recall, I was one of the ones yesterday that objected to the countries coming in here with advances and coming to our departments and saying that they could not tell how much in advance they were dating their requests. There was no control in the act over that

dating of the request?

If your man could work out some method prior to his meeting Mr. Lodge and myself regarding these foreign balances, so that we could, by an additional dollar content here in the bill, take care of these children through the funds that we are receiving, somehow, maybe in the future, as a reimbursement.

Mr. Clayton. I do not quite understand the last remark you

made about the funds we are receiving as reimbursement.

Do you mean the countries receiving funds?

Mr. Fulton. Yes. We have those funds in there, but the question

is, they cannot use them outside without dollar balances.

Mr. Clayton. In all of these countries the problem is foreign exchange. They cannot exchange their money for ours, so that although they might receive large sums of local money in the sale of these goods, it would not buy things outside.

Mr. Fulton. My point is that therefore you would have to have an

additional dollar authorization, possibly in this bill.

Mr. CLAYTON. If we are going in for the child-feeding program, it would be necessary to get more money; yes.

Mr. Javirs. I think I see the gentleman's point; and I think it is a

good one.

You are going to give this \$350,000,000 away.

Mr. Clayton. The local collections have to be used internally but

for purposes which we specify.

Mr. Javirs. Mr. Fulton suggests that you allocate a certain proportion of the internal money, wherever it may be, and say, with respect to that, you will fund that in dollars but we will have a claim against that foreign exchange, so that when the country recovers in 1949, 1952, or 1955, that they will repay themselves.

For instance, Greece will recover some day.

Take a certain percentage of this figure and say against that we will lend you dollars but you will say that ultimately we will get that back because we will convert this foreign exchange into dollars at some future time.

Mr. Clayton. Of course, what you are talking about now is a loan

and we think this should be a grant and not a loan.

Mr. Fulton. It is a grant of relief foreign exchange against the funds reimbursed.

As I say, it is a problem and I would appreciate your man in the Department before he talks with Mr. Lodge and myself, and Mr. Javits now, to scan this particular problem.

Mr. CLAYTON. We will take that into account, but if you are going to do it in that way, I just submit that the holding of the paper money

of the country by us is really no security.

If we get a note signed by that government, or by their central bank,

it is just as good or better.

Mr. Vorys. Mr. Secretary, I wonder if Mr. Fulton is familiar with the way the UNRRA distributions were made, for instance in Greece, where the proceeds were required to be put into a fund to be used again for further relief purposes; is that not correct?

Mr. Clayton. That is correct.

Mr. Vorys. It was the theory, at least, and possibly it turned out to be the practice, that by this form of furnishing relief, you multiplied the benefit that could be furnished to the country, and I would imagine that in your agreements you would require that the proceeds be used not, let us say, for armament, but for some form of relief activities or rehabilitation that could be conducted by the country within its own boundaries.

Mr. Clayton. That is right.

Mrs. Douglas. Is that not what you said, Mr. Clayton?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is what I said.
Mr. Fulton. This enters into it, because granted the country itself can furnish the food and clothing, nevertheless they will need the

medical supplies, and so forth.

It is my position now, that why not finance some of those things for the children on a basis not of keeping the money that the country may give back, but take a certain portion of it and date it ahead so that it can be repaid at a later date, but make additional credits which may make additional dollar authorizations necessary at the present time.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Javits aptly points out, it might be in the

form of a loan, but the problem is there.

We simply bring it up at this time.
Mrs. Douglas. With all due respect to you, Mr. Fulton, I do not see how we could mix two programs together with any success. We contemplate here a relief program and have drawn a set of strict conditions which must be complied with. We say: "If you want relief from us, you must follow these rules." If we suddenly half way along require that this relief be paid for-then it is not relief we are talking about but a loan. Countries will not accept the basic rules we have laid down if it is a loan, will they. Mr. Secretary?

Mr. Clayton. No, I do not think it would.

We think that these countries require this help as grant.

We do not think that their present or future prospects are of a character which would permit us to receive a piece of paper from them and consider it really a loan for this kind of consumable import.

To get on their feet properly, we think this has to be a grant and I think that any amount we might consider for child feeding, or

child supplemental feeding, ought to be of the same character.

Mr. Vorys. Mr. Secretary, you used a phrase yesterday that the furnishing of relief by American administration would be deeply resented by the countries involved.

I do not understand whether you have in mind that this is to be identified as a grant, or a gift, or a humanitarian act by the United States of America and these countries or not.

Are we, in other words, in order to preserve the pride and selfrespect of these countries, to attempt to conceal the fact that the United States is giving away food and relief supplies?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir, we do not intend to conceal it, we intend

to provide that it be made clear to the people by the press and radio

of the country.

It is only right that it should be done and that is our intention, but we do think, Mr. Vorys, that the distribution of the supplies should not be confined to people who have not the local money with which

to pay.

That really is not the problem. The heart of the problem is that the country itself does not have the kind of money that it needs to buy these supplies, but when we furnish that money and they buy the food and bring it into the country, then many of the people who are hungry because they do not have enough food in the country as a whole, are able to pay for other food with their own funds.

We think when they are able they should be permitted to do so and instead they should be asked to do so and that these funds should be segregated in the country for use of perhaps transportation in the

country of the food.

Some of these countries are big countries.

We therefore deliver the food at the port of the country. receive it, take it in, and transport it by rail or by truck. They have to have people to supervise it and handle it. They have to pay for that of course.

Some of the local funds could be used for that purpose, because

they are expenditures within the country.

Mr. Vorrs. That is what I was getting at: It seemed to me that one benefit we can get out of it, other than the satisfaction of furnishing relief, would be the possible gratitude of those to whom we furnish it, and that if any of our supplies were sold in that country, there would have to be considerable publicity given to the fact that neither that government nor our Government was making money on relief supplies, but that the proceeds were being used for a charitable humanitarian purpose.

Mr. Clayton. You are absolutely right, and also we would see to it that the prices charged were reasonable prices and not black-market

prices.

They must be reasonable prices to the people who receive the sup-Those who could not pay with their local currency would get the food just the same.

Mr. Lodge. Mr. Secretary, as I understand it, you have stressed the fact that this question revolves around the lack of foreign exchange.

Would you say this: That the question of foreign exchange depends in considerable part on the general economy of the country, and therefore reflects the condition of that economy and consequently reflects the needs of the country, and the country's ability to meet its own current needs?

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes; I think that is right.

Some countries have been able to recover, and to resume the export

of their goods and services quicker than others.

In some countries, the devastation was so great that the local population is not yet able to produce enough to satisfy their own local needs, let alone export.

Poland is one such country. Poland normally exports grain.

Rumania normally exports grain:

In the first country, Poland, the destruction of the working stock on the farms, the implements on the farms, lack of fertilizer and all those things, make their production of food crops below normal.

Mr. Lodge. In other words, to the extent that a country cannot export its own products, to that extent it cannot obtain foreign exchange, and to the extent it exports its own production for reparation, it cannot obtain foreign exchange?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is absolutely right.

Rumania is a country that ordinarily exports a lot of wheat.

They have had this terrrible drought and they do not have enough

for their own people, either wheat or corn.

Mr. Lodge. I personally favor giving the State Department a wide latitude in these matters but I wonder if you would be inclined to tell us whether in your opinion the distribution of these supplies and funds will be handled through the local Red Crosses in the several countries involved?

Mr. Clayton. I have some questions about that.

Usually, the Red Cross only distributes supplies where people are not able to pay. It is possible that the Red Cross might be used in some cases.

Mr. Lodge. Would we in that case have to satisfy ourselves that the Red Cross was free and unfettered, such as our American Red Cross is, or whether it was in the hands of an alien-controlled puppet government.

Mr. CLAYTON. We would at least have to provide for the way in which the food was distributed and we would have to have an organization which could check and police the administration of that agree-

ment. That is what we expect to have.

Mr. Lodge. My only concern is your concern, which is to see that the needy people get the stuff.

Mr. Chiperfield (presiding). Are there any further questions?

Mr. RICHARDS. I have one thing I would like to ask:

Suppose you are unable to reach an agreement with these contributing nations in regard to any particular country.

Do you intend to go on in there anyway with what funds you have?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir.

Mr. RICHARDS. None at all?

Mr. CLAYTON. No, sir.

Mr. Richards. You mean if you cannot get an agreement with these other contributors you are not going in?

Mr. CLAYTON. Oh, I did not understand. I thought you said if

we could not get an agreement with the recipient country.

Oh, ves, we would intend to go anyway.

Mr. Richards. Take a hypothetical case where one of the other contributing countries would want to concentrate all of its aid in one country instead of a number of countries.

That could very easily develop into a race between the United States and that country, and maybe a race between different greater contributions there, and it could develop into a racial or political ideologies or something like that.

You are going in there anyway?

Mr. CLAYTON. We would furnish our supplies where we think they

are most needed.

However, if we find that one or two or more countries, for reasons of their own, wish to concentrate their relief on one of these countries that needed relief, we would reduce correspondingly our contribution to that country because we have a target for a certain total amount.

Mr. Richards. And we might correspondingly reduce our influence

in that country when we stay out?

Mr. CLAYTON. In any case, these countries will know of the leading part that we have played in this matter, and not only of the money that we are furnishing but of the leadership that we are furnishing to try to get other third and fourth and fifth countries interested in joining it.

Mr. Richards. I was just a little afraid of our scattering our supplies everywhere, where one or two of the other nations might, for political reasons, concentrate their aid at politically strategic points.

Mr. CLAYTON. There is of course a possibility of that. If, for example, one donor should take it upon itself to furnish all the relief to a particular country we could concentrate in other countries.

I do not think we would be sorry for that.

Mr. Richards. As you said, your principal object is to relieve suffering. The political point is to be considered but that is secondary.

Mr. CLAYTON. Yes, I think so.

I would just like to make clear that a lot of the food, of course, will be wheat, which must be processed. It must be milled into flour and that makes it necessary that a great deal of the distribution be through commercial channels.

That is the best channel, really, for it to be handled through.

Mrs. Douglas. Are we really safe on our wheat? When I see all of the bread everybody is eating everywhere, I wonder. We are not eating up all the wheat are we, so we will have none to export?

Mr. Clayton. It is getting pretty tight.

Mrs. Douglas. Could we do something about that?

Mr. Clayton. The wheat situation is getting pretty tight. Grain as a whole is average. We have a surplus—not really a great surplus but we have ample corn, oats, and other grain, rye and so on, to supply all the needs that our transportation facilities and the port facilities will accommodate. Wheat is getting very tight, and from about April and March on, about half of our total exports will have to be other grain than wheat.

Mrs. Douglas. What will that mean?

Mr. Clayton. Of course in some countries they like corn and in some countries they even prefer it, as for example Moldavia where we are going to ship corn.

The people all eat corn and do not want wheat. In other countries

they can use a certain amount of corn.

The wheat situation is getting very tight.

Mrs. Douglas. Should not some warning be given to the American public? We do not need to eat so much bread. We waste it. We do not need to eat bread when we eat big meals.

I think we are being terribly short-sighted.

Mr. Clayton. I think that warning ought to be given again.

Mrs. Douglas. Who should give it, the President?

Mr. CLAYTON. It is something that ought to be handled through, I

imagine, the Department of Agriculture.

Mrs. Douglas. I think we should bring it up with the chairman of this committee. I think this committee ought to talk about it and come to some decision.

Here we appropriate funds for relief when we are not going to have the things that we are appropriating money for, or one of the

great things.

Mr. Clayton. We are going to string the wheat out as far as possible, but it is going to be necessary for some of these countries to use other grains which they are not accustomed to using. It is pretty hard to change the eating habits of people, even if they are hungry.

There are some countries that will eat only wheat, others eat only corn, and others only rice. In India, there are sections where they will almost starve before they will eat anything but rice, and the

same with wheat in other sections.

It dates back centuries.

Mrs. Douglas, as a matter of fact, that wheat situation is under

consideration right now.

Mr. Lodge. Mr. Secretary, I understand that the purpose of this bill is to relieve the needy, irrespective of their ideology. However I wholly applaud your desire to see to it that insofar as possible, these people recognize that we have provided this relief.

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Lodge. May I ask whether Mr. Benton, the Assistant Secretary of State for Press and Cultural Relations, is going to cooperate to the end of disseminating among these people the idea that we provided these supplies?

Mr. Clayton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Lodge. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

Mr. Chiperfield (presiding). If there is nothing further, the

meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene Friday, February 28, 1947.)

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1947

House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.

The committee met in the Ways and Means Committee room, New House Office Building, at 10:30 a.m., Hon. Charles A. Eaton (chairman) presiding.

Chairman Eaton. We will come to order, please.

We have the distinguished honor this morning of welcoming as a witness before our committee the Honorable Herbert Hoover, who is without doubt the best-informed person on the question of food supply. It gives me great pleasure to ask Mr. Hoover, now, to address us.

STATEMENT OF HON. HERBERT HOOVER, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Hoover. Mr. Chairman, I rather hurriedly prepared a very short statement on the problem before this committee. I have been rather busy for the last 48 hours and could not give as much attention to it as I would like. I would be glad to amplify it in any way the

committee may request.

To this proposed appropriation of \$350,000,000 must be added large sums for areas under the American flag in Germany and Japan and Korea. In addition, two other important funds are in the offing to which our Government is expected to contribute. Those are the United Nations Refugee Organization, to look after displaced persons in Europe, and the United Nations child-feeding program. I suggest to the committee that, although other congressional committees may be dealing with these other relief programs, you should, at least, have all the proposals before you, so that you may consider the demands for relief upon the United States for the balance of this fiscal year and during the next fiscal year.

I have made no personal inquiry into the relief programs except that of Germany and Austria and the children's fund. I have brought the committee a copy of my report on German agriculture and food requirements and should be able to furnish such information on

Austria in a few days.

In view of the world shortage of food and the great strains that are already upon the American taxpayer, I have thought it necessary to

recommend that we hold the German and Austrian programs to the very minimum under which public health and ability to work can be sustained.

I would like to suggest to this committee that relief to the countries which are proposed under this appropriation, in view of the very same considerations, should be put on no higher levels than those we

have proposed for Germany and Austria.

I have especially favored aid to the United Nations project for the special feeding of subnormal children. This fund to which you will be asked to contribute, however, would take some part of the relivelihood of the countries that it is proposed to serve under this \$350,000,000 appropriation, and also, as I have set up child feeding in Germany and Austria, that should in turn take some of the load off of the proposed United Nations children's fund.

Now the total of all these claims upon the generosity of the United States comes to a very large sum. I might introject somewhere from \$1,200,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000 to cover the period up to the end of

this next fiscal year.

We must not forget that these sums are supplemental to the five or six millions that we have already spent on civilian relief since the

war from our own American sources.

Charitable relief by the Government is today a double tax on the American people. It is not only a direct burden upon the taxpayer, but these unremunerative and unbalanced exports keep up prices and keep up the cost of living. In their misery, these peoples abroad believe that our possibilities of giving are unlimited. They do not realize that our taxes, Federal and local, are now, 2 years after the war, still taking about 35 percent of the whole national income, so that it is in the interests not only of ourselves but of the whole world that we stop, look, and listen in connection with these appropriations.

Now America, even with all of our burdens never has, and I hope never will, cease to do its utmost to prevent starvation in any country, but I am completely convinced that from now on we must limit our

charitable giving to the sustaining of human lives alone.

We should bring governmental relief to an end as soon as possible. We should encourage it by encouraging the assumption of this burden by well-equipped organizations. Moreover, I believe we should begin to secure repayment of these sums. We have the full right to demand efficiency and economy in the use of public funds for relief, and we have further right to see that they contribute to that productivity and the peace which alone will relieve us of these burdens.

Therefore, I would like to make a series of suggestions to the committee of some policies and methods that should be placed either administratively or legally into this proposed appropriation. These suggestions are not in criticism of the proposed legislaton but in the hope they will be helpful in accomplishing the real end which America

desires.

The first of those is, I suggest that no relief other than food, medicine, seed, and fertilizers should be furnished under these appropriations. There may be some cases of limited clothing supplies, especially for children.

Second, I believe that relief from our contributions to these funds should be limited to United States products and to the transportation We should not use American dollars for purchase else-I may say that supplies from other quarters could be contributed from other governments who have surpluses.

Thirdly, none of this fund should be used for countries which are able to pay in cash or to secure credit or supplies through other

Fourthly, a further careful estimate of the needs and costs of this relief in each of these countries should be made after full consideration and examination on the ground by specialists appointed by the United States Department of Agriculture, the United States Public Health Service, and the International Emergency Food Council.

These estimates, except for Austria, in my view, should first include

the period from the end of UNRRA until the 1947 harvest.

At that time the whole relief problem should be taken up afresh in the light of the situation that then exists.

I will elaborate that point a little later so as to make it a little

more clear as to the next fiscal year.

In view of the world supplies and the needs of the taxpayer, any further relief program beyond that period to the next harvest, I believe, should be calculated, or any program, as I have said, should be calculated on no higher basis than that we have proposed for Germany and Austria, where obviously experience and the readjustment of programs, we are certain we will be able to maintain public health and ability to work.

Fifth, this distribution should be continually under the supervision of, and satisfactory to, specialists from the agencies I have already

The problem of inspection of the distribution of food is a matter

for experts.

Sixth, no obligations or promise should be entered into with any country for any specific amount of relief. The distribution should be put on a month-to-month program, terminable at any time.

There are many reasons for such an action that are implied in the

emergency nature of the situation.

Moreover, difficult policy questions arise in connection with relief to peoples whose governments are said by our Government not to have

kept their promises or agreements with the United States.

Another such difficult question is that of the governments of small countries, which are maintaining military forces far beyond any necessity for police purposes and as a criteria to their necessities; there is an easy calculation, and that calculation is to have an army or military force not more than one-half of 1 percent of the population.

Any mobilization beyond that point keeps men from producing food or producing the things that could be exported to pay for food, and therefore becomes a direct drain on the American taxpayer.

We have no desire to fail to do our full part in alleviating the starvation of women and children, and civilian men, merely because of the actions of their officials, but at some point American patience and American humane action is likely to be exhausted.

Seventh, no food from relief or from domestic production in these countries should be used for political pressure, and there should be no racial or other discriminations.

Eighth, no relief should be given where either commodities or cash are going out of that country for reparations or the purchase of arms.

Such commodities or such cash could be used to pay for food.

Ninth, in my view any nation receiving relief should now begin to obligate itself to pay for the cost of it. That obligation should either be to the United States and the other donors to this same fund, or preferably to a fund to be established by the United Nations for future famine relief.

The nations receiving reparations from relief countries should be asked at once to defer reparations until these relief costs are repaid. Justice of this proposal lies in the fact that this relief obviously serves to preserve the manpower productivity of that country and

therefore its ability to pay reparations.

Both the nations under reparations and those who are not should agree to a definite assurance of repayment by placing a tax of, say, 5 or 10 percent on all exports from that debtor country, to be paid for in the currencies of the countries which receive such exports, and these payments would have, of course, to be held up, not to begin for 2 or 3 years.

In addition to these nine suggestions, I have one further: I believe that if this fund is to be administered with efficiency and economy, the committee should provide that there be appointed an administrator of the fund who can coordinate the various agencies of the Government in procurement, in shipping, in inspection, in these different

countries.

That is the more necessary as four or five relief funds are going to

be in operation coincidentally with this one.

Now the administration of relief is not as some people seem to think, a job for welfare-trained people, as much as I appreciate their great qualities and their usefulness to the human race; administration of

relief is a tremendous job in logistics.

It is the job of procurement of vast amounts of foods, of preparation of shipping, its transportation not only overseas but on land, and its delivery to certain specific points. The questions which arise of distribution after this food has once arrived in a given country are not difficult, if there is a predetermination of the supply that will be offered for the following 30 days.

If, during that 30 days, the distribution has not been carried out to the satisfaction of the administrator, then the supplies can cease and, in my view, if all the agencies of the Government were brought into cooperation, such a special administration would not need 20 men.

I am therefore not adding a burden of any consequential order upon

this appropriation.

Now in conclusion, and I would be glad to amplify this rather condensed statement at any point that the members of the committee may ask, but I would like to emphasize that it is such methods as these that would give some protection to the American taxpayer. It would contribute toward bringing an end to this universal giving, and yet it would deprive no needy country of relief.

It only calls for cooperation on the part of these governments with the United States to secure efficiency and economy in the use of relief, and in the restoration of productivity which is fundamental for the recovery of the world and in the promotion of fundamental freedom and peace.

Gentlemen, if there is anything further to add to that, I would be

glad to do so.

Chairman Eaton. We are deeply grateful to our distinguished visitor for this most illuminating statement.

We have 25 members of this committee all filled with questions that

they would like to have answered.

I propose that we take perhaps a half hour now and give each member a chance to ask one question.

We are then going into executive session, because we want to discuss

some rather intimate matters with our distinguished visitor.

Mr. Hoover. There was one paragraph that I think I ought to amplify and it might tend to clarify the minds of the members before we begin on questions.

The need of relief will extend over the next fiscal year. The proposal in this legislation is for relief only up until January 1, 1948, and

therefore is for only half of the next fiscal year.

Further, as I have said, there is no mortal man who can determine what the requirements of these various nations are going to be after the next harvest and determine requirements of each nation after harvest at the present time. Therefore, what I intended to indicate here was there should be some provision in this legislation that some time after the forthcoming harvest, say the 1st of September, the chairman and the ranking Democratic Member—I am only just making a pro-forma suggestion—of the Appropriation Committees of the House and Senate should pass upon the use of the balance of this fund that may remain in hand at that time, and as to its distribution over the whole fiscal year instead of only the first half of the fiscal year.

We must bear in mind that there is a tremendous shortage in world food. I am advised that the amount of food available for distribution to the countries, which it has been stated that this fund will apply to, will not cost, or represent the expenditure of, more than about \$125,000,000 before the next harvest. That is not a question of need; it is

a question of supply.

I would like also to amplify a little further this question of examination on the ground. I may give you a very pertinent example: Last February I was called upon by the President to take a hand in the world situation. I found that the demands which had been formulated by the different nations as to the food that they would require to get through until the harvest of 1946, amounted to a total of breadstuffs and fats alone to something over 31,000,000 tons. As we had apparently available in the world at that time somewhere under 14,000,000 tons, the situation looked absolutely hopeless. Having had some years of experience during the first war with estimates and with the fact that people in great misery expect to be cut down sometimes, I concluded that nothing would serve except to examine these needs on the ground, and with skilled staffs of technicians who could sit down with the technicians of those countries it was possible

to determine fairly accurately the amount month by month for each

country that was required to prevent starvation.

When we had canvassed the problem over the entire word, we found that instead of thirty-million-odd tons being needed, if we were to hold to the very minimum levels necessary to prevent mass starvation, that we could succeed with somewhere between 17,000,000 and 18,000,000 tons.

Therefore I suggested in my statement that there should be an examination on the ground. These situations look very different from that viewpoint than they do from statistical conclusions.

The Government possesses men in its various departments who are skilled in these problems. It is only a short job, a matter of a week or 10 days for each country. Such an inquiry can quickly determine what minimum program will prevent the loss of life for the given

period.

Therefore the amounts of food required are uncertain because of accurate estimate of the needs before harvest, but they are also confused by the lack of knowledge as to what the forthcoming harvest will be. These proposals are also deficient as they provide only for one-half of the fiscal year and I take it you will want to cover for the entire fiscal year rather than meet the problem again in a deficiency appropriation.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Chiperfield.

Mr. Chiperfield. Mr. Hoover, thank you for your most helpful suggestions.

I will have a question or two to ask you in executive session.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Bloom.

Mr. Bloom. No questions at this time, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Vorys. Mr. Hoover, I have questions to ask you later, too, but I wondered about this question: You mentioned that no obligations or promises should be involved in this program.

On the other hand, we have been told that there should be no public discussion of the needs of the various countries, for fear some sort of commitment might be implied by a mere discussion of the needs.

Do you see any reason why our committee should not be able to tell the House of Representatives and the country, the general estimates of the needs of the various people?

Mr. Hoover. The difficulty in my mind is that I do not believe, except for Austria, there has been any examination on the ground.

Once there is an investigation on the ground there is no reason in the world why the monthly program necessary should not be published.

If you will recollect when we made the examination of the 39 countries last year we published the exact program which was needed to prevent mass starvation in each country, month by month.

There is no reason that should not be done again.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Kee.

Mr. Kee. Mr. Hoover, I noticed that in your statement you said it was about time for us to stop, look, and listen.

I suppose you referred to the need of securing sufficient information upon which to base our action in this matter.

Of course, in the matter of making this appropriation, all we have to act upon is the informattion now before us.

From this testimony and information now before this committee as to the needs of the countries of Europe, is it your judgment that we

are justified in authorizing this appropriation?

Mr. Hoover. I think you are warranted in authorizing \$350,000,000 if the administration will undertake to carry out the suggestion I have made here. Under that, you will get revised estimates, and after the harvest, 1947, the whole matter could be reviewed again, in cooperation with the Congress, or the representatives of Congress.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. Mundt. Mr. Hoover, in executive session, I expect to ask you some questions about the relationship of this program with Poland.

I agree 100 percent with the appointing of an administrator on

relief.

If I recall in your suggestion, you spoke of an administrator of this fund. Should he have charge of this fund alone or all of the various feeding and relief agencies to be set up for children and for other ages?

Mr. Hoover. That would require a little thought.

The occupied territories are administered by the War Department. They have a food administrator in the War Department—Mr. Tracy Voorhees—who is doing a very efficient job as far as the areas are concerned.

These funds under United Nations will not be under the United States control, either the one for the displaced persons or the one for children. But if we had someone as administrator of this particular fund I have no doubt he could coordinate all of these activities.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Jonkman.

Mr. Jonkman. Mr. Hoover, you just referred to the Army administration of these foods, and in your fourth suggestion you mentioned three agencies to make the estimate. Do you propose to still continue the Army as an administrator of these foods after the estimates have been made?

Mr. Hoover. My statement refers only to the food for the countries

under this appropriation.

The Army does the administration in the occupied areas only, and it is not proposed that the Army should administer the food under this appropriation.

Mr. Jonkman. I had reference to the occupied areas.

Mr. Hoover. The Army must continue in control of that administration.

Mr. Jarman. Mr. President, the chairman very appropriately referred to you, in introducing you, in some such language as "the out-

standing authority in the world on relief."

While I have no question, I wish to express to you my deep appreciation, which I feel sure is shared by the people of the United States generally, of your great accomplishments, not only in the immediate past but after World War I, and what I am sure you are destined to do in the future, not only directly for suffering humanity, but indirectly, in view of the good will and other benefits coming to this country, for your own countrymen. Thank you very much.

Chairman Eaton. The chairman calls the attention to all present to the fact that that is a tribute from a leading Democrat to a most distinguished Republican.

Mr. Merrow. Mr. Hoover, this bill proposes an appropriation of

\$350,000,000 by the United States.

As I understand it, part of the money is to be spent in countries that are dominated by the Soviet Union. I understand further that the total sum to be appropriated to care for relief after UNRRA ends is to be \$610,000,000, with contributions being made by other countries. There is no indication that the Soviet Union is going to contribute. I think that in countries where the Soviet Union dominates she should help feed the people.

I want to ask this: Do you think that the suggestions which you have made are entirely sufficient to prevent the use of the relief funds that are to be spent by the governments dominated by the Soviet Union from being used to advance the interests of the Com-

munist Party in those countries?

Mr. Hoover. I think we will have to look a little further back. The situation in the Soviet Union is one in which I do not think they have any surpluses for anybody. The short crops in part of the Ukraine and other areas are such that the Soviet Union will have

enough difficulty to get food in the next period themselves.

They have, however, resources with which to buy food for themselves, so that, as I understand it, they would receive no food under these appropriations. I have made the suggestion here that conditions should be made that not only no food, but no commodities of any kind should go out of these countries for reparations during the period of this relief.

Chairman Eaton. Mrs. Douglas.

Mrs. Douglas. Mr. Hoover, I notice on page 5, in a paragraph toward the bottom of the page, that the suggestion is made that

the appropriation before us of \$350,000,000 should be repaid.

That seems to be a radical and new idea in the relief program as we now envision it. Could you explain a little further what you have in mind? Do you think, for instance, that the whole \$350,-000,000 should be repaid by countries receiving relief? And if this is to be a loan and not a relief program, can we ask relief countries to live up to the rather strict set of rules which we are laying down?

Mr. Hoover. I see no incompatability in asking repayment under these terms, which are extremely modest, long-deferred, and easy

terms.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Judd.

Mr. Judd. Mr. Hoover, in your second suggestion, you ask that relief from these funds be limited to United States products and transportation; that we should not use American dollars to purchase supplies in other lands.

Now, as you have truly said, we cannot forecast the sort of harvest that will be reaped this year in these various countries; but it is also true we cannot forecast what our American harvest will be.

Is it not possible that shortages might arise here, where it would be more disturbing to our own economy to insist that all the money be spent for American products than it would for some of it to be

used in other countries which might have surpluses?

Would you advise us to write into the legislation, this flat prohibition, in view of our inability to forecast our own harvest and supplies?

Mr. Hoover. Mr. Judd, of course it is very difficult to anticipate a year and a quarter or a year and a half in advance, all the needs

that will arise.

I assume that for the supply of food that is required for this program, we would never be in a position where we could not furnish it from the United States.

The tonnage represents a comparatively small part of even a normal

agricultural harvest.

If we had, of course, a universal drought, the situation might arise which you mentioned, but I assume that if we have a situation like that, Congress will be in session and will be able to modify everything.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Fulton.

Mr. Fulton. Mr. Hoover, this act proposes to put funds and food into the countries through the foreign governments as channels, by

making contracts with them.

I do not want to sustain the "ins" any government that there may be in any of these countries. I think probably putting the supplies through the channels outlined, might operate to do that very thing.

Do you suggest any other methods of distribution to those countries, through our own people, possibly, or the Red Cross, or some

other such agency?

Mr. Hoover. One must bear in mind that all of these countries have a certain amount of food supply. They are all rationing their population. Whatever the imports are, they must be assimilated into their rationing systems. It is impossible to separate the imports from the

domestic supplies.

Therefore, the primary dependence still must be placed on their rationing system and the only thing that we can do by way of control is to determine what would be a sufficiency to them, and then expect the country to see that they carry out distribution honestly. It is to check such action that I suggest there should be no contractural period. If they failed to carry out the very proper conditions which we laid out, then the supplies could be stopped.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Lodge.

Mr. Lodge. Mr. Hoover, do you consider that the four treaties to be considered by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will have a significant effect with respect to relief and economic needs?

Mr. Hoover. I have suggested here that the countries who are going to collect reparations should agree to defer those reparations until

this food has been paid for.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Colmer.

Mr. Colmer. Mr. Hoover, in one of the suggestions you made you raised two questions: The questions are of those countries that have

not kept their commitments with this country and also of those countries that are using their wealth to build up their arms.

I am just wondering if you have had opportunity to study the pending bill sufficiently to determine where that is taken care of in that

bill?

Mr. Hoover. I do not think it is possible to make reference to that subject in this legislation. I only mention here that there is some embarrassment. Naturally we will find ourselves in a difficult situation, and if they have some warning of American attitudes they may be more cooperative. It is a very difficult question. I have not attempted to solve it by legislative formula.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Hoover, through your great experience in this field I should like to hear your considered opinion as to whether or not this program, as it is presently contemplated, and with your suggested amendments, can be depended upon to actually deliver this aid down to the grass roots of the recipient countries without undue fear of diversion of the supplies into the black markets of the countries concerned, or the channeling of the aid from the American people past the individuals who need it and into countries totally unrelated to the subject needs?

Mr. Hoover. There are a number of problems involved in your question: In the first place, I have never found any difficulty about determining whether food is being taken out of a given country. That is a matter of some inspection at the border which is not difficult to arrange. The passing of consequential amounts of food into channels

that go over frontiers is not so difficult.

The other questions you raise are factors of good internal administration. If the government is strong, if it is devout and able, none of those questions arise. But they do arise in proportion to the weakness of the government. Therefore it is only possible to get approximate effectiveness, and by determining the monthly need, and only supplying that much per month, and by holding the termination at any moment, we have an instrument by which major ills can be corrected.

Chairman Eaton. There seems to be a very large surplus of clothing and food already supplied our Army and not being used, or with any necessity of being used.

Could these be shipped as a part of the relief program?

Mr. Hoover. I have been searching the Army surpluses and I think we have diverted everything we could lay our hands on to Germans and Austrians. If there are any more about, I would like to know about them.

Chairman Eaton. Ladies and gentlemen, we are grateful to you for being here, and we will now go into executive session.

We are sorry to dispense with your delightful company.

(Whereupon, at 11:25 a.m., the committee went into executive session.)

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

MONDAY, MARCH 3, 1947

House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a.m., Hon. Charles A. Eaton (chairman) presiding, in executive session.

Chairman Eaton. I would like to make a little statement before we

begin.

You are all familiar with the great new development that has been

suddenly brought upon us.

We have reached the point where it is necessary, as I see it, for this great country of ours to make an announcement through the President, of its world policy. We cannot escape that.

So far we have been negotiating on grounds assumed by the other

party to the necessary negotiations and on their terms, mainly.

This bill, as we started in on it, is a simple, plain attempt to extend the relief assistance formerly provided by UNRRA, which ceases on the 31st of March, with reference to these five countries.

That is what it is and it involves \$350,000,000.

Just what the ultimate result will be as this great new challenge develops, and what the reaction of the American people will be to it, no one can predict. However, we must handle this bill today, in my judgment, against that background.

As far as I am concerned, I would like to see us go through this bill and work out our views. I would like for everyone here to express

themselves and take their part.

I must depend on you gentlemen with legal minds for guidance on such matters, and the financial-minded men will be heard from with-

out any doubt.

With that little preliminary, I would say I have asked Mr. Tyler Wood to come up here today. In view of Mr. Hoover's policies that he has left with us, I would like for everybody to say something, take this bill up line by line and modify it.

Mrs. Bolton. You say there is to be a statement made on our policy. That has not been made so we still are just a little in the dark as to

what form that will take, are we not?

Chairman Earon. That you may have no doubt as to the position of your Chairman, I made this statement after the conference, which ex-

presses my views.

"The hour is here, when the United States must announce that it accepts its own destiny as the chief world power. We must fulfill the demands of that position no matter what the costs, if we, especially, along with other peoples, are to survive as freemen."

63

The issue before the world, members of the committee, is very simple and very, very important. Shall freedom reign or slavery in this

wide world, and slavery is now in the saddle.

There is no doubt in the world that if Russia takes over Greece, then Turkey, then Arabia, then India, then comes around to China, Russia will hold the world in the hollow of her hand, and what happens to us will be of enormous and unmeasurable expense and cost, and perhaps an ultimate failure.

The issue in the world today is between freemen and slavery of men,

and that issue is going to be fought out and settled.

Mr. Bloom. Mr. Chairman, answering Mrs. Bolton, the statement that the President is supposed to make either today or Thursday would have nothing to do with the relief measure we have before us today. That would have to do with the situation that exists in Greece and Turkey and has nothing to do with relief.

Mrs. Bolton. I know that.

Mr. Bloom. What we have before us is merely a bill for relief.

Mrs. Bolton. May I suggest to my eminent colleague that the chairman said we should consider this on the basis and background of our whole financial policy.

Chairman Eaton. We cannot consider it intelligently any other

way, possibly.

Mr. Judd. You said this bill merely extends UNRRA; is that right? Chairman Eaton. No; it does not extend UNRRA, but UNRRA ceases this month.

Mr. Chiperfield. I was not able to be at the first hearing and only part of the second, so I have not gone into this measure as much as I

would have liked.

I thought of it more as a food problem, perhaps with medicine, seed, and fertilizer. But when I go into this so-called secret document, I find we are not only going to furnish food, seed, and medicine, but to the extent that these other countries do not have exchange, we are going to furnish them free all kinds of material they need, such as industrial needs.

All you have to do is read this document and you will find it.

For example, let us take Italy. Besides the foods of which we are going to pay our share, there is coal, industrial oil, cotton, wool, jute, rags, paper, copper and steel products, nickel and tin, and so forth.

In other words, to the extent that they have a deficit and import

these products, we pay our share of it.

I think the first thing for us to determine is how far we will go. I wanted to have a bill that would furnish food, seed, and fertilizer, and help starving people, but for us to rebuild these countries, I do not feel I can go that far. I do not disagree with anyone else with a different opinion, but for myself, when I look into this program that is exactly what we are going to do.

I think now is the time to stop, look, and listen, and at least know

where we are going.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Wood is here, and perhaps he can comment on that.

STATEMENT OF TYLER WOOD, DEPUTY TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Mr. Judd. What is this secret document?

Mr. Chiperfield. It simply shows the imports that are necessary for 1947, and the amount of credit that they have. It then shows a deficit of so many millions, and to make up that deficit they are importing not only food products but products like the type I have related.

Mr. Bloom. Mr. Judd, those were documents given out at a recent meeting of the committee. Each member received one of those docu-

ments. I do not believe you were here at the time.

Mr. Judd. I was not at that meeting.

Mr. Wood. Mr. Chairman, may I just comment on the question? Mr. Chiperfield asked if there was anything wrong with his statement. There is nothing wrong with his statement as far as the computation

of the relief deficit is concerned.

As far as this bill is concerned, however, it is particularly provided that the imports bought with the money, if appropriated, would be confined to food, seeds, fertilizers, and things of that sort. That is the plan—to confine the use of our contribution to the basic essentials of life.

I think it would be a mistake administratively, if you were to confine our help specifically and solely to the three items mentioned by Mr. Chiperfield. The great bulk of our help would go in the form of these items, but, as the program develops, it might be wise to provide small amounts of other basic essentials, such as medicines, clothing, or cotton for the production of clothing, or coal.

Let me discuss briefly the method and reason for our figuring the relief deficit this way. Obviously, any economy, in order to continue operating, must import certain things such as raw materials which the country does not produce itself, or, for example, repair parts for fac-

tories.

Let us take a textile factory in Italy: If the Italians cannot make the necessary repair parts to keep that factory going, they must be im-

ported.

The way we went at it was to study very carefully (as Mr. Clayton told you the other day, this study was carried on during a period of from 4 to 6 months) those things which are minimum essentials as imports for these countries to keep them from falling back into economic chaos.

Those other things, Mr. Chiperfield, are listed there.

In each case you will find the imports of food, seed, and fertilizer, with the possible exception of Austria, are greater than the total amount of these relief deficits. I do not think it can be said there is any other proper way to figure this relief deficit than to consider these minimum essential things that must be imported into a country.

We are not, however, proposing those items be bought with the funds

which are asked for here.

Chairman Eaton. How are they to be bought?

Mr. Wood. If you will look at these studies you will see that in each case certain exports of the countries concerned can be brought into the calculations.

They can buy some of those things from the proceeds of their own

exports.

It is also possible that other countries who join in assisting these needy countries might feel that they wanted to make available certain items or money for certain items which we ourselves might feel were

not the items we wished to provide.

There may also be certain other assets in these countries. For example, in the case of Italy you will notice we have included \$101,000,000 of the so-called nontroop pay account, which was recently made available to the Italians. That was the money that was made available to the United States Army in Italy for purchase of various things the Army used which could be bought with lira. We have returned the amount so used by us to the Italian Government.

There you have \$101,000,000 which is considered as a deduction from the relief deficit and that would be a source of funds for purchase of

necessary coal by the Italians.

Mr. Bloom. Now to get right down to the statement made that Mr. Chiperfield brought up: We have proposed here an authorization for \$350,000,000. Is any part of this \$350,000,000 going to be spent for the items such as lumber and wool which Mr. Chiperfield related?

Mr. Wood. No, sir. It is conceivable, however, unless it were definitely prohibited by the legislation, that it might at some time be wise to spend a small part of it for a little raw cotton, for example.

We mentioned, I think it was in Mr. Clayton's statement, a few basic essentials of life, primarily food, medical supplies, seeds and fertilizer, and possibly in some cases clothing and materials for the manufacture of clothing, fuel, and things of that sort.

However, there is no thought that our contribution would be used

for rehabilitation or reconstruction.

If, as is the case today, Italy has a considerable amount of excess cotton-textile capacity, if it develops that they need clothing for their people, it is far better to send in a little raw cotton than it is to manu-

facture the clothing and send it over there.

Chairman Eaton. What is the meaning of this secret document; is it simply to present the condition of the country to which we are sending this relief without any reference to this bill whatever or is it given to us with the idea that it may be necessary for the proceeds of this bill to take up these matters outlined as Mr. Chiperfield has related?

Mr. Wood. It goes somewhat beyond that. It is also an attempt to show you the process by which we arrived at the figures for the relief deficits of these countries. In other words, that is why we have these tables to which Mr. Chiperfield has referred, to show exactly how we did arrive at these relief deficits, what items and in what quantities, in broad categories, we considered to be essential imports.

Mr. Chiperfield. You have United Nations reports similar to this?

Mr. Wood. Yes, sir.

I do not know that it goes into as full detail. I have a copy of the report.

Mr. Chiperfield. Could I at a later date have a copy of it?

Mr. Wood. Yes, sir.

Mr. Vorys. I have a copy of it before me here, and the recommendation for Italy "Relief and assistance required" is \$106,900,000, whereas

the report here is \$158,000,000.

I might mention that this United Nations report is a public document given out to the press, so that there is no secrecy connected with it at all. It is a rather full analysis that the committee, including our American representative's recommendations as to what the needs would be. It is a report of the special committee on relief needs after the termination of UNRRA.

The United States representatives were Mr. Harold B. Cleveland and Mr. Peter Strauss, and the result of their deliberations was in the case of Italy, for instance, that the total relief needs would be \$106,900,000, and this secret document on which the \$350,000,000 authori-

zation is made includes \$158,000,000 for Italy.

Mr. Hoover the other day said that Italy had no deficit at all from studies that either he or his associates had made.

Mr. Wood. May I comment on that, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman Eaton. You may.

Mr. Wood. We, of course, would not accept completely, without studying it ourselves, any final conclusion that the United Nations committee reached, and we found certain serious underestimates, in our opinion, and mistakes in the estimates of the United Nations committee as regards the relief deficit for Italy.

We come out with \$158,000,000, as against \$109,000,000 as the figure

of the United Nations committee.

The main difference is their estimate in the need for food imports. The major part of that difference is due to the fact that I think we can show very clearly on the basis of the information we have from several surveys that have been made there and from our own embassy and their people in Italy that the United Nations committee overestimated the domestic production of cereals in Italy in the cropyear 1946–47 very seriously.

They also assumed a very much higher extraction rate that is feasible in Italy and they also overestimated the caloric value of some of

the domestic crops.

Mr. Lodge. Did you take Mr. Hoover's figure of, I believe, 1,900

calories as being the measure in computing your relief deficit?

Mr. Wood. We took between 2,000 and 2,200 calories for the "average consumer" in the urban areas. The "average consumer" includes all people in urban areas, the light workers who get only the basic ration, and the heavier workers and other categories who get supplemental ration in addition. I believe Mr. Hoover's figure applied only to the "normal consumer" the person who gets only the basic ration, without any supplementary food. This "normal consumer," under the standards we have calculated in our proposal would come down rather close to Mr. Hoover's 1,900 calories.

Mr. Lodge. The reason I asked is because it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that one very important thing we have to consider in connection with this bill and in connection with the background which Mrs. Bolton commented on, is that this bill as we finally report it out will

probably be considered by us to be a precedent.

Judging by the present deterioration in world affairs, there will probably be quite a few other bills for us to pass and therefore it

might be useful for us to go into some detail in order that we may have the most accurate and useful precedent.

Mr. Wood. We put in this secret document the basis we used, and

it was 2,000 to 2,200 calories.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. It is indicated under each country?

Mr. Wood. That is right.

We tried, gentlemen, to give you in this as complete a statement of the assumptions we made as to essential imports, as to the level of caloric intake there should be in a country for purely relief purposes, and to show as clearly as possible just how we did arrive at these deficits.

I would certainly be prepared to try to defend a level of caloric intake for the average consumer in cities, in urban areas in these countries of somewhere between 2,000 and 2,200 calories, particularly if the normal consumer under those circumstances is down well below 2,000 calories.

It sounds reasonable to me. I do not want to question Mr. Hoover's judgment in that respect, but that seems like a fairly minimum standard to try to aim for in these countries if we are going to try to bring relief to them.

Mr. Lodge. That is practically Mr. Hoover's statement?

Mr. Wood. I would say it is slightly above what Mr. Hoover was talking about for Germany.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. Javits. May I be permitted a word about Mr. Chiperfield's views. I think they should be given more profound analysis. I would like to make this point: Mr. Chiperfield has put his finger on the whole thing. This is a bill which is to give the relief assistance based on a margin. The difference between the economy of the country and food, and you cannot do that unless you analyze the margins of each country.

If you want relief for 1 year or 2 years, then you must enable these countries to get on some kind of an economic basis themselves.

If you want to go on giving them relief forever, then by all means eliminate their whole export and import proposition and give them just what they need for food and not a penny more.

Let us look at each of these items to see if they are justified, and look at them in terms of trying to get an economy in the countries needing relief assistance as rapidly as possible that will not require

relief.

Mr. Chiperfield. I might be willing, as far as I am concerned, to give food freely, but as far as other rehabilitation is concerned I might want to put it on a loan or credit basis.

When you have a deficit, ordinarily a loan is required, but this bill

proposes to make up our share of the deficit by an outright gift.

Mr. Javits. I think, Mr. Wood, it comes down to this: Whether we are going to review the economic position of each of these countries or whether the State Department is.

Probably some happy middle ground between that is necessary but the fact that the review of the economic situation is essential in order

to determine relief needs is in my opinion incontrovertible.

Mr. Chiperfield. It is easy to talk about food for starving mothers and children and so on in a country, but when you investigate the evidence, you find not only the bare essentials to keep these countries

going are included but we are expected to make up part of their deficit. I think it is something we should be giving attention.

Mr. Vorys. Mr. Javits was not on the committee when we originally had UNRRA presented to us, and it was explained not secretly but publicly that in order to get Europe and the war-devastated countries going they needed not only food but seed for food next year, and so forth.

We spent hours here on the dividing lines between relief, rehabilita-

tion, and reconstruction.

It was to be done on an international basis.

Now the country thinks we have abandoned that method of procedure and we are going to proceed unilaterally to provide relief. Not rehabilitation and not reconstruction.

However, this bill definitely provides for rehabilitation, reconstruc-

tion, and general economic health, and it so states.

Look in the "whereas" at bottom of page 1: "Whereas for humani-

Mr. Lodge. It so states there but it seems to me that the first paragraph on page 2 is rather misleading.

Mr. Vorys. Let us read what is before us:

Whereas for humanitarian reasons-

that is what the world and this country think we are talking about and in order to promote healthy economic conditions abroad which are essential to the security and economic well-being of the United States and the world, the Government of the United States desires to assist in the furnishing of such relief.

Now, in the first paragraph of page 2 it says:

Relief assistance herein authorized to be provided shall be confined to the basic essentials of life, particularly, medical supplies, food, and supplies for agricul-

We do not say in the bill what those basic essentials are.

It seems to me we must fish or cut bait in this legislation, and we must either go on to a minimum relief program, not rehabilitation, not all the rest of it at this time, and attend to that, just the immediate basic program, and then leave the rest of the problem for further consideration by this committee and by Congress; or we go at it half-baked and our country goes bankrupt because we did not see the long-time program, and plan for it.

Mr. Javits. Mr. Vorys, the facts of life are more profound than what the American people anticipate of them. Do you think the American people would ever take on Greece, and yet we know they are going to take on Greece. It is the essence of this, that we are not passing relief into an indigent home; we are passing it to a working country. If we wanted to finance an indigent home, this bill would

not be \$350,000,000, it would be \$3,000,000,000.

The facts of life are such that when you have a working country you have a marginal difference between what is produced by work and what is needed to eat. This bill is written in terms of eating. Although it is in terms of that, it is premised upon a foreign exchange position which represents working. If you want to analyze that position that is fine, but let us not fool ourselves or anybody else, by thinking that these countries are going to stop working because we do not want them to.

Mr. Judd. If we are going to do that, let us write it into the bill. Mrs. Douglas. Mr. Chairman, I am a little confused, I must say at this point. I would think it was clear that this bill and the words which Mr. Vorys read from the bill: "Whereas, for humanitarian reasons," and, "in order to promote healthy economic conditions abroad," I would think from all the discussion we have had, that the reason those words were written in was not that this is an economic rehabilitation program we are supporting in this bill—we are not making loans for iron and coal and so forth. We are giving these people food, giving it to them, so they may use their money to buy the iron and pig iron they need. If they use their money for food, they are going to remain right down where they are now, on their knees. They will never be able to get up off their knees.

We are making loans for "humanitarian reasons." We are making loans "in order to promote healthy economic conditions abroad." That wording would seem absolutely proper. Of course, it is possible

to word it a little differently to further protect ourselves.

Are we going to give pig iron?

Mr. Wood. We are not.

Mrs. Douglas. Why do we not let Mr. Wood answer questions in the first place instead of finding suddenly we are all wrong and

wasting time.

Mr. Wood. Might I just say this, to review very briefly: Every comment here has been very pertinent. I can perhaps summarize it: What we are saying is, there are certain absolutely essential things which a country must import. We have studied those in the case of each country.

If they are unable to import those things, they are actually going to

fall back into chaos.

That, in broad terms, is what we mean by the minimum import requirements of a country. They do not include anything for reconstruction or rehabilitation, as is made perfectly clear.

That, in broad terms, is what we mean by the minimum import requirements of a country. They did not include anything for reconstruction or rehabilitation, as is made perfectly clear in here, so far as the things that we put into these balance sheets are concerned.

Take machinery: We are not talking about importing machinery, except to replace things that break down, to keep them at their present level of capacity to produce. For this purpose they will need also to

import such things as repair parts.

Mr. Javits, you put your finger on it: This is not a bill to rehabilitate these countries. We feel they must get this minimum of food to permit them, as you said, Mrs. Douglas, to buy certain of these other things, for repair and so on, with the proceeds of their own exports. Otherwise they will collapse. In addition, if they are really to get on their feet ultimately they must get loans to pay for those reconstruction items which will be necessary to make them going concerns, and which are not included in our calculations of minimum essential imports shown in the document before you.

Those loans are just as essential in the long run to put them on their feet, but we are trying to cover here in the proposed relief appro-

priation only those things which it is not wise and proper for them to buy with borrowed money. They should not saddle themselves with interest payments for the purchase of items which they consume immediately and which do not add to their productive capacity and ability to earn foreign exchange.

That is probably the only important point on which I would like

to differ with Mr. Hoover.

These countries should borrow money for those things that will really further build them up, allow them to increase production further, to export additional items for which they can get foreign exchange to pay for additional imports.

All those things we want them to borrow for and they should borrow

for them.

We have tried to put into our calculations a minimum of imports which they should get without having to borrow for the purpose.

You can express it. Mr. Chiperfield is quite right. The minimum imports cover things besides food. You can, however, express the deficit in terms of food, seeds, and fertilizer and so on.

It is our intention to limit the use of the United States money for those things and not allow them to buy pig iron, steel, machinery, and things of that sort, with proceeds of the United States contribution.

Mr. Lodge. Would it not be a good idea, then, to have some clause in this resolution which would differentiate between what you referred to last week as construction items which would be the subject of loans and items other than basic essentials of life which would be included in this bill in order to clarify the bill, and further to clarify the sentence which Mr. Vorys read on page 2, which offhand seems to be slightly at variance with the sentence at the bottom of the first page?

Mr. Wood. I was wondering if perhaps it would solve the problem, and I think it would be perhaps more accurate in this statement at the bottom of page 1, to say: "In order to prevent the development of

unhealthy economic conditions."

That is really what this bill is for.

Mrs. Bolton. To do what?

Mr. Wood. To prevent the development of unhealthy economic conditions.

Mrs. Douglas. They are not healthy now?

Mr. Wood. That is, having them become more serious.

Mrs. Douglas. The further deterioration?

Mr. Wood. That is really what we are talking about in this bill, frankly, and we believe they should borrow money for the purpose of buying items needed to raise them from their present levels.

They are now, God knows, at levels which can hardly be called

satisfactory.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. Chairman, if they do not get this relief now, it will not be any good to give them loans in the future, because they need this to keep going at this present level at least.

This would eventually, we hope, put them in a position where they can request a loan from this country in order to rehabilitate their

country and carry on their industry.

Chairman Eaton. If we furnish food and medicine for these people, they will then be in a condition to help themselves; and if we do not do that, they will not be in such a condition.

Mr. Wood. They will help themselves in many ways if we furnish them food. They can use their very meager earnings from exports to buy the very essential repair parts and some of this pig-iron and so on, and they will also be in a position where they will get up over the border line and become at least fair risks for loans.

If we force them to borrow the money for these relief deficits, they will never get up off their backs, and that is why I would humbly beg to differ with Mr. Hoover on the point he made that in every case we should make these amounts a kind of receivers' certificate or a loan.

This may be the way to handle it in Germany, and I think that is what Mr. Hoover had chiefly in mind, because Germany has the raw materials and natural resources to come back and ultimately to pay off such a debt; but in the case of Austria or Greece, why long before this war their economies were falling apart. They were flat on their backs as far as their foreign-exchange position was concerned.

You remember how the failure of the Credit Anstalt in Austria started the whole series of banking crises which wound up in the banking panic of the early thirties in this country. Greece was in default

or her foreign debt long before the war.

If you saddle further debt on these countries for these relief purposes, it seems to me you are just kidding yourself if you think the loans will be paid.

If we can supply these relief items free and let them borrow for the things that really further develop their economies and their ex-

ports, we have a hope of putting them on their feet.

Mr. Lodge. May I ask you a question there? Instead of doing what I understand is going to be done, that there people will sell this produce and then put the proceeds in a fund to be distributed for other charitable purposes within the nation, would it not be more simple for the nation to make a deposit in this fund before selling? In other words, they receive the food, they make the deposit in the bank there right away, as though they were paying us back.

Mr. Bloom. You mean in their own money?
Mr. Lodge. Yes; in their own national currency.

Mr. Bloom. Does not that only provide for those people who can

pay? That percentage would be very small.

Mr. Woop. If this suggestion were adopted, the Government of each country would be paying into the special fund money to cover supplies both for those of its people who could afford to pay and for those who could not. I think it would be unwise to charge them in this way for the food that they will distribute to indigents. Our plan was to have them distribute certain amounts of this food to indigents and not charge them and put into this special bank account only the funds actually obtained from the sale of these goods to people who could afford to pay for them.

That procedure would not have the effect of unbalancing their budgets. We have seen the problems that arise from badly unbalanced

budgets in such countries.

Mr. Lodge. I thought it might facilitate our supervision of the ex-

penditure of these monies.

Mr. Judd. Furthermore, it prevents their using the funds to maintain an army and makes them use it for essential imports. I think there is merit in this proposal. Otherwise we will be giving it to them to

sell and they use the return for something other than the rehabilitation

of their country.

Mr. Wood. No, sir; because we were very careful to provide that the money the local government obtains from its own citizens be set up in a special bank account where we would have a say as to its use so there would not be that possibility.

Mr. Judd. If we have complete control we may be able to do that? Mr. Wood. That is right. If we have complete control, and if we had any indication that things were not going as they should, we would

stop the supplies.

I was glad to see Mr. Hoover say that we should not give a lump sum to a country but rather give it to them as they need it. We should work out plans carefully and just give them enough money from time to time to pay for their necessary imports. We would have a thorough control over that, Mr. Judd.

Chairman Eaton. Have we sufficiently discussed the background of

this bill so that we can discuss the bill itself?

Mr. Jackson. I am a little disturbed, Mr. Chairman.

I have been looking at this thing with some of the other members of the committee from the standpoint of its being most direct with specific assistance in certain items.

I am concerned about the point Mr. Chiperfield brought up this morning. I have supported the bill in principle and general since it

first came out.

However, if this assistance is going to take the form of anything other than the items set forth herein, in the way of direct assistance to the grass roots, if it is going to take a form of anything which might conceivably be used for the purpose of rehabilitation in an industrial or commercial sense, then I cannot support it.

Mr. Chiperfield. Will the gentleman yield?

It certainly does in an indirect way. There is \$100,000,000 worth of steel products, for example, to Italy, there is so many million dollars of lumber. I do not know whether you would call that reconstruction.

Mr. Jackson. You cannot eat a piece of pigiron.

Mr. Wood. It is repair and replacement, Mr. Chiperfield, as well as we can figure it out. We have been careful to include in our estimates of essential imports nothing for reconstruction.

Mr. Chiperfield. There is \$100,000,000 for steel products. What

does that consist of?

Mr. Woop. Steel products would consist of items such as those

needed for the repair of railroads, for example.

On page 9 of the document on Italy, you will see there the figures in the first column are tonnages, and the second column shows dollar value. I believe you were looking at the tonnage figures.

We have steel products, in dollar value, \$8,000,000, iron scrap \$9,000,000, pig iron, \$2,000,000, for use in a country of 46,000,000 people.

Mr. Smith. In view of Mr. Hoover's testimony, is there any disposition on the part of the State Department to review this bill, or to incorporate some of the suggestions that he made?

Chairman Eaton. It seems not only our privilege but our duty to rewrite the bill in accordance with the information this committee

possesses.

Would you approve of that, Mr. Wood?

Mr. Wood. I certainly could not disagree, Mr. Chairman.

As I said, I would hope that the committee in its wisdom would not deem it wise to make these relief appropriations in the form of loans.

That is the main question.

I was quite interested in going over Mr. Hoover's suggestion to see how very close in most respects they were to the suggestions that we had made.

For example, the tight control that he recommended, the periodical

allocations and the careful supervision and review.

The fact that we ought to keep this to minimum requirements and not involve ourselves in reconstruction and that sort of thing. I noted his statement was that we ought to limit what we do to keep the program in line with the probable availability of supplies.

I think the committee would be interested to know that throughout our discussions, and studies on the subject of the necessary food imports, we have consistently been in touch with the Department of Agriculture, to find out what was the likelihood of the availability of the food items that we included in the essential imports.

In any case where it seemed unlikely that the quantity required would be available we have cut it down to that. We agree there as

well.

Mr. Hoover's statement about limiting our aid to the basic essentials was another item which struck me. We have already covered that

point pretty thoroughly.

The only points on which I would be inclined to differ and I say, this very humbly, because I have the very greatest respect for Mr. Hoover's judgment in such matters, would be the question of whether these countries should be given the money for these essential relief supplies or whether we should loan them the money.

Mr. Lodge. I think Mr. Hoover's point with respect to that is that

the money should be paid back ahead of reparations.

In other words, if there were no consideration of reparations, he might not hold this view.

It seems to me that that injects an entirely new thought into the

matter.

If these countries are generally going to be called upon to pay reparations, some of these countries, it then seems to me that it puts an entirely different comprehension on the financial aspects of this resolution.

Mr. Wood. As Mr. Clayton brought out there are only two of these countries really involved in the payment of reparations.

Chairman Earon. To whom are the reparations to be paid?

Mr. Wood. They are to be paid to Russia, Greece, and others.

Chairman Eaton. But not to Amercia?

Mr. Wood. Not to America.

Those two countries are Italy and Hungary. Mr. Byrnes gave pretty clear evidence that he was not satisfied with the draft treaties, but that they were the best which could be negotiated under the circumstances.

We have the treaties negotiated now, and of course they are sub-

ject to ratification by Congress.

We have in certain of these draft treaties an agreement that certain reparations be paid. They are considerably less than were originally asked for. Mr. Lodge. That is \$105,000,000.

Mr. Wood. It seems rather difficult to us since the negotiations have gone that far and in Mr. Byrnes' words, he got what he called not entirely satisfactory but the best he could get, and we are very much interested in having these people get out of their present status and into a peacetime status.

It seems to me a little difficult to say now in a relief bill, "the countries concerned shall pay back these amounts before they pay reparations," because again, from our economic analysis it places upon them

just a further burden which their economy cannot bear.

Mr. Lodge. It seems to me that you get yourself there into a very wide field, Mr. Wood, because while personally I feel that the American taxpayer may be willing to provide relief, I wonder if he is willing to provide reparations.

Mr. Lodge. Mr. Hoover said the payment for relief should precede

reparations.

Mr. Bloom. In case payment for food should be made before any payment should be made on reparations; is that right? That was the suggestion?

Mr. Wood. Yes.

Mr. Bloom. Suppose some of these people do not pay for the food. They would not have to pay the reparations.

If they do not want to pay the reparations they do not pay for

the food.

Mr. Chiperfield. Mr. Chairman, is this not a fact, that we are being asked to pay for food to go into Hungary and right now they are paying \$23,000,000 reparations. Is that not right?

Mr. Wood. Actually, at present prices, more than that.

Mr. Chiperfield. They are taking out of that country \$23,000,000?

Mr. Judd. And it could be used to pay for food.

Mr. Wood. That is the one case. In Italy, they have excess capacity in certain items and the raw materials are furnished by the people getting the reparations.

Hungary is the one other case where reparations are paid and there is not any question that if Hungary did not have to pay those

reparations, Hungary would not need this relief.

There is no point in kidding ourselves about that.

On the other hand, here is a treaty that has been signed now. We know that the amount at least is fixed. We are not just dealing with indefinite and astronomical figures, because the amount is fixed. I think it is a question for the Congress and the committee to decide; do we want to go in and relieve the suffering and starvation which would take place in Hungary under those circumstances or do we not?

From what I have seen in my own travels around, a program of this sort with the American gift identified, the way we propose to have it done, with the publicity involved, I think we can give a tremendous lift to the ideals of freedom in Hungary, if we do it this way.

Mr. Fulton. Why do you do it through the Government in those countries? That is what I really question in this bill. In the case of Poland and Hungary, you are tossing funds in the hands of the Government and they are under pressure from outside sources and then we are just enabling that particular agency of the people to be squeezed further.

I do not want to put it in the record now but I have gone back all through the relief program, since 1920, and have looked at the way we handled relief. We did not always do it through the Government.

Mr. Wood. In this particular case, Mr. Fulton, there seem to be but two alternatives: You either use the Government of the country where you are giving the relief as the means of getting this relief into the commercial channels, watching it carefully at all stages with plenty of publicity, or you go out and set up a perfectly huge administrative organization to run soup kitchens all over the country and I think the cost of that would be really prohibitive and we would not accomplish any more, I think.

Using the Government itself is not going to be a bar to the proper use of the relief under the provisions we would lay down and the full observation we would maintain, or to the knowledge of the people who are getting it as to the source of the relief. I am sure we can accomplish that and still use the Government and avoid this tremendous

cost which would otherwise be saddled upon us.

Mr. Chiperfield. Mr. Chairman, may I make two more comments and then I am through?

Chairman Eaton. Proceed.

Mr. Chiperfield. In Mr. Truman's message he suggested ending the relief program this year, and Mr. Hoover said it should go further and include delivery into next year.

Mr. Wood. I would say that our best estimates at the moment are that if we put this amount of food into these countries, with the possible exception of Austria, by the end of this year, they will not need this kind of relief further.

I just cannot possibly—I am not wise enough or farsighted enough to guarantee that but I say that honestly we think there is a good possibility.

Mr. Chiperfield. Do you think there is \$350,000,000 worth of food

available?

Mr. Wood. The Department of Agriculture tells us so.

Mr. Vorys. That is directly described by Mr. Hoover, who quotes Dr. FitzGerald, who says there is \$125,000,000 in food available up to this fall, and for these countries, and if we are talking about food there is no use trying to figure how you can send them any more food than that.

Mr. Wood. I might say this, in that connection, that we have over the week end conferred with the Department of Agriculture on exactly that point and they tell us that food shipments from the United States to those countries, through the balance of this year on the basis of the present allocations planned would amount to over \$300,000,000.

We are not proposing that this be entirely confined to food. say, there will be some medical supplies. There would possibly be

some fertilizer.

Therefore, the Department of Agriculture, I believe is willing to say that as far as the projected food shipments under this bill are concerned, they are not in excess of the present plans and thoughts as to availability.

Mr. Chiperfield. May I make my final comment now and I address myself to my Republican colleagues: We voted for a \$6,000,000,-

000 cut, and \$250,000,000 of this is in the 1948 Budget.

If there are no "sacred cows" are we going to bring out a bill which will be the first one to break the line? Think it over.

There is \$250,000,000 in the 1948 Budget.

Mr. Wood. That is right.

Mr. Vorys. Mr. Wood, would it be possible to do this? It seems to me that in view of the matters that our chairman brought up, that involve Greece and other countries, and our budget, in view of the fact that we have the children's fund, the refugee fund ahead, in view of the fact that the President only asked for \$100,000,000 to finish out fiscal year 1947, why would not the best thing for us to do be to put this bill through for \$100,000,000 so the administration could appear promptly before the appropriations committee and get the \$100,000,000 to take care of the immediate situation and then do a little more studying before we go ahead with the rest of the program, which may be for larger and which may be for a smaller amount.

I am of course interested in what you relay to me as what the Department of Agriculture says, but it seems to me that when a former President of the United States, chosen by the present President of the United States, makes the flat statement that there is only \$125,000,000 worth of food available, in a public hearing, that we are not in very good shape to go to the floor and say: "Well, we have heard

otherwise, and we think Mr. Hoover is incorrect."

The immediate thing, it seems to me, we could do right now, would be to get out a bill for \$100,000,000 that would show that we are interested in the relief situation. It would be a small enough amount that it would not overly encourage countries to go high, wide, and handsome and load up their budgets with a lot of rehabilitation as is in here and presented to us.

It would of course require a cautious approach by our people, but it would certainly take care of the needs here for a few months until we could take a second guess at this and have our committee, at least,

fully informed as to what was going on.

Mr. Mundt. Mr. Chairman, I think there are several meritorious suggestions that have been made by Mr. Vorys. It would give us a little opportunity to do more studying on this.

Charges have been made that Hungarian reparations will be on

the shoulders of the American taxpayers.

You pass that off very glibly by saying that the reparations are fixed.

You might say the American public, the Congress, is a rubber-stamp

body. It does not have to sign that treaty.

If we follow this pursuit it gives us a little chance to explore a little further this reparations problem, and make our position known to the Senate that we do not believe you taxpayers should pay those reparations and perhap before they O. K. those treaties something should be done to express the facts that in view of these relief needs all over the world, that reparations should be stepped back and let relief have the first claim.

Mr. Woop. I did start my statement by saying, "subject to the ap-

proval of Congress."

Prior to the negotiations of the treaty there was no idea as to how much reparation payments there would be. We at least have tentative assurance on that point now.

Mr. Mund. It would also give us a chance to explore a little fur-

ther, the actual figures of this thing.

I am greatly distressed by the fact that Mr. Hoover tells us that there is just one man in America who does know how much food we have and his name is FitzGerald. I have never even met the man but he is the man quoted as the ultimate authority.

I think we ought to check in, at least, and see why he is the man

who is supposed to know.

Mr. Wood. It is Mr. FitzGerald we were talking with over the week end on this subject.

Mr. Mundt. Since the reports from Mr. FitzGerald are \$2,000,000

apart, I think we ought to have Mr. FitzGerald before us.

Mr. Bloom. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vorys mentioned Mr. Hoover, and all the people attending the meeting the other day will remember I asked Mr. Hoover a specific question: "Do you favor, Mr. Hoover, the amount asked for in this legislation, \$350,000,000?" and Mr. Hoover said, "Yes."

The suggestion made by Mr. Vorys is to reduce the amount from

\$350,000,000 to \$100,000,000.

Now the amount suggested by Mr. Hoover is \$350,000,000. there are any other suggestions, we may write that into the bill. But the amount, if you now want to bring up that question and amend the bill and have Mr. Vorys make that motion so as to amend the bill, vote on that and then make your other suggestions whenever you want to, but the amount is the first thing to be considered, and Mr. Hoover specifically said that he favored the amount \$350,000,000.

Mr. Chiperfield. He covered 2 years, too. Mr. Bloom. That is another thing. Mr. Chairman, to proceed in an orderly way, if there is a motion made here to amend the bill, you can then make it for 1 year, 2 years, or anything you want; you can make it conditional upon any terms that you want, but the main thing is, shall we appropriate or authorize an appropriation of \$100,-000,000, \$200,000,000, \$300,000,000, or \$350,000,000, as provided for in the bill. You may make any conditions you want.

Mrs. Bolton. I confess I am not in complete agreement with the ranking minority members on this. Regarding the matter of orderly procedure, I think we need to do a great deal of discussing of the background involved, because whatever step we take is a step into a very new world. I should be quite unwilling to have a motion made to change this bill at this moment. We have a great deal more discussing to do before we take up possible changes in the bill.

I would like to say just a word about the Greek situation in that regard: Greece, of course, needs help desperately. On the other hand, we know quite definitely that the economic methods in Greece

are shockingly bad.

Therefore, I would like to have a little more assurance that in our whole procedure of assuming responsibility for the economics in Greece, we would be stipulating that they should be handled in a more adequate fashion.

For instance, if we include Greece in this relief bill, we should have the assurance that we have people over there who really know economics, who know how to handle economics of other countries, who

have an understanding of those matters, and from a very long

experience.

I know of no one myself in this country who has such experience. I would suggest, that it might be conceivable that we could request England to transfer some of her highly trained civil servants who will be leaving India very shortly to be those upon whom the responsi-

bility of economic methods in Greece would rest.

The questions that we are faced with are all very great, grave, and far-reaching questions. My own impression of the situation is, that these countries should have relief as soon as possible. Even so, I would be very regretful if we leaped through any action on this particular measure. Surely we cannot act upon it without giving serious consideration to the implications presented by our eminent chairman, suggested in the beginning, without knowing the wide reach of the whole problem that lies ahead of us and the whole new world into which we are stepping.

Mr. Bloom. I think I am right in making this statement. Perhaps Colonel Wood can say more about it, but the fact is that after several months of consideration by the State Department, a committee was very carefully organized, and they are now stating that condition you speak of, the economic codition in Greece, for the purpose of saying what is necessary to be done there, and also for the purpose of the loan that they have asked for from the World Bank. I think

that is so.

Mrs. Bolton. I am quite aware of that.

Mr. Fulton. When will Paul Porter return to this country?

Mr. Wood. I cannot tell you exactly. He had hoped to return by this time, but as Mrs. Bolton indicated, he found the situation even more difficult than expected.

Mrs. Bolton. It happens that I know something of this situation

and I cannot but feel very strongly about it.

Mr. Wood. As far as it bears on the food and relief problem, we are proposing to make sure in our administration of this program that the use of their indigenous and imported supplies in food be improved. I know it can be helped immeasurably.

Mrs. Bolton. I will be only too happy if Mr. Porter brings out

something.

Mr. Wood. Even in this connection our plans are well devised, I think, to put really able people right in the embassies to handle such problems as the relief program goes forward. Right now, they have in the embassy the agricultural and commercial attachés and monetary experts, and so on, and the American Ambassador knows what the situation is.

Mr. Hoover indicated there had been no surveys of this situation. I could show the committee a complete filing cabinet with data and

surveys on each one of these countries.

However, if I might just carry on for a moment to comment briefly on the suggestion of Mr. Vorys, I do not like to take a negative point of view but we must remember in this connection, one, that the \$100,000,000 figure for the fiscal year 1947 was an estimate made and put into the budget forecast back early in November.

It now appears that actually, so far as the obligation and commitment of funds is concerned, it will be necessary to use more than \$100,-

000,000 before the end of the fiscal year because we must not forget that after the funds are available for commitment it takes probably 2 months and certainly not much less even with the greatest celerity of action, to translate those funds into supplies arriving on the other side and flowing through the channels of distribution where they can actually be used.

Mr. Lodge. May I interrupt you right there, Mr. Wood. Did not Mr. Hoover say that this whole subject should be reexamined after

the 1947 harvest was in?

Mr. Wood. Yes; and I quite agree with him. As a matter of fact, we would be reexamining this whole subject in the State Department every day. That is why we suggested the periodic allocations, and I would welcome the opportunity, to come before the chairman of this committee and any members of the committee who would wish to be present sometime in September after the harvests are in. I think that is an excellent suggestion.

Mr. Bloom. Mr. Chairman, I would move, sir, that since there is a little difference here with reference to the figures and the testimony before this committee, that Mr. FitzGerald be asked to appear before

the committee in executive session and let us find that out.

Mr. Mundt. I second the motion. Mr. Lodge. I second the motion.

Chairman Eaton. I wonder if the committee could meet tomorrow

on this bill again.

Mr. Bloom. I suggest this: If Mr. FitzGerald can come there to-morrow, that would be all right but I do not think it is necessary to have any further debate on this bill until we clear up the question made by Mr. Vorys and Mr. Mundt with reference to the testimony of Mr. FitzGerald.

If he can come up here, if Colonel Wood thinks he could have him

here tomorrow, I have no objections to coming here tomorrow.

Mr. Wood. I would certainly try and will let the committee clerk know about it.

Mr. Bloom. Unless notified otherwise, in executive session on this at 10:30.

Mr. Smith. Why in executive session?

Mr. Bloom. We are looking for information. Now Mr. FitzGerald might want to give us something in executive session that he would not give us otherwise.

Mr. Sмітн. He could do this anyhow, could he not?

Mr. Bloom. Not so well.

Mr. Smith. It is done every time.

Mr. Bloom. It is done every time and it gets out.

Mr. FitzGerald is going to testify against something that Mr. Hoover said. He told Mr. Hoover one thing and Colonel Wood says something else.

I do not object to open session but I think the committee can get better information and more exclusive information in executive ses-

sion than he would give otherwise. It makes no difference.

Mr. Smith. It seems to me we have had too much executive session, Mr. Chairman, and the American public today finds itself up against a buzz saw. As you so well said, all of a sudden we have had this

Greek thing sprung on us and that is about the situation. It is about time the American people are learning the facts.

Mr. Bloom. This is a very serious situation. Mr. Smith. I yield the balance of my time.

Mr. Bloom. Mr. Smith, this was not sprung on us at all. England made a certain statement and we had to pick up the ball. That is how it came about. It was not any act of ours, and we have to take the situation in hand. That is why.

Mr. Jarman. Mr. Chairman, because of my thorough agreement with reference to the gravity of the situation and in view of other references that have been made, I just wanted to ask Colonel Wood

one or two questions.

As I recall, Secretary Clayton stated that this study had been in progress 4 months; is that right?

Mr. Wood. Four to six months.

Mr. Jarman. How many people were engaged in that study?

Mr. Wood. I would just have to make a guess, but I think at one time or another, the people working almost full time on it would perhaps amounts to about six.

I would say there were 20 or 30 people involved from time to time

just in this country.

Now we have had cables back and forth between all the embassies in these countries and all the agricultural and commercial and financial people in the embassies of these countries have worked from time to time on this. It is almost impossible to give you a categorical answer. It has involved the work of many people spread all over the world.

In addition, of course, we have had the benefit of a great number of surveys. For example, the United Nations sent a subcommittee on devastated areas, on which some of our people were represented, all over these areas. They took about 2 months, I think, for their trip.

It has been an extensive thing. I would say that the people here in Washington who have put all these data together would be six or

eight.

Mr. Jarman. Six or eight in addition to those around the world?
Mr. Wood. And there have been a lot in the Department of Agriculture. It has not been confined to the State Department.

Mr. Jarman. They were patriotic American citizens who had the

interests of this country at heart, were they not?

Mr. Wood. Yes, indeed.

Mr. Jarman. They were not doing that in the interests of any other country were they?

Mr. Wood. I should think not.

Mr. Jarman. Refresh my memory as to how the 57 percent contri-

bution of our and the \$350,000,000 was arrived at.

Mr. Wood. The two, of course, are related. We finally came out with a figure for total relief needs of these countries of \$610,000,000. This figure of \$350,000,000 was in some respects a figure based on judgment and in part picked out of the air. We had given 72 percent of the UNRRA funds. We thought it ought to be less because there are many countries, as Mr. Clayton explained, or at least some countries, that have recovered now to the point where they can help on this

thing, such as Sweden and Norway. We think we could get more help

out of the Argentine, for example.

We thought our proportion ought to be less than 72 percent. We got it down to a figure of 57 percent by considering those various aspects of the situation and applying our judgment to it.

Mr. Jarman. And the 57 percent makes our \$350,000,000? It is

57 percent of the total?

Mr. Wood. That is right.

Mr. Jarman. Now while it was taken out of the air, as you say, in a way, it was taken out of the air by competent people after 4 months' study?

Mr. Wood. That is right.

Mr. Jarman. They did not just grab it out of the air, it was taken out of the air by competent people with the interests of this country at heart after mature study?

Mr. Wood. Yes.

Chairman Eaton. May I interrupt at this point. I have to go on the floor to get \$400 for Switzerland, and before I go, let me say that our stenographic work for the committee has increased so rapidly that I had to put a young lady at work, and I would like to have authority to engage her for the committee.

Mrs. Bolton. I would be happy to so move.

Mr. Javits. I second the motion. (The motion carried unanimously.)

Chairman Eaton. Thank you very much. I will turn the meeting over to Mr. Chiperfield.

I understand we will meet tomorrow at 10:30. If possible, we will have Mr. FitzGerald here.

Mr. Fulton. May I report to the chairman I have rewritten paragraph 2 (d) on a technical basis. I will give you these copies for tomorrow.

Mrs. Douglas. That figure you were talking about that was taken out of the air was not the \$610,000,000 figure, but the estimate of what we should contribute, or \$350,000,000?

Mr. Wood. That is right.

Mrs. Douglas. Was not that figure of \$610,000,000 estimated as the needs of certain countries when the UNRRA line ran out for the next 6 months?

Mr. Wood. It was estimated as the needs for the calendar year 1947, and after deduction of the UNRRA shipments to those countries.

In other words, the UNRRA shipments were taken into account. You will notice from this study that it is based on the minimum import requirements for the calendar year 1947 of these countries, and it was felt, as I said in response to Mr. Chiperfield's question that if this were done, with the possible exception of Austria, they should be able to get along after that with loans for reconstruction purposes and should not require further relief assistance.

Mrs. Douglas. This estimate there was the bare minimum of what

was felt the need would be for a relief program?

Mr. Wood. That is correct.

Mrs. Douglas. If the relief program were to be stretched out, you would really be defeating your own purpose?

Mr. Wood. Yes; the relief ought to move in quickly and in substantial volume.

Mrs. Douglas. It ought to move in now?

Mr. Wood. As soon as possible.

Mrs. Douglas. Was there not always a question of time involved as to whether or not we and other contributing nations could appropriate enough money quickly enough to meet the request for supplies and to get them to the spot where they were needed in time to prevent starvation?

Mr. Wood. That is right.

I might just add there that the time element is extremely important, because if sufficient food is not sent in during the calendar year 1947 these countries perforce will have to spend the proceeds of their exports to maintain and repair their plants and for some of the other

items in their lists of minimum essential imports.

If they did not do that, then their exports in 1948 would be reduced by certainly a substantial amount. If there were any substantial lack of essential maintenance and repair, and we would have a dislocation of the system on which we are depending to keep their economy going after 1947, the whole plan would be thrown out of alinement.

Mrs. Douglas. We really defeat the end we are striving for if we

are too slow?

Mr. Wood. If it is very slow, it would be bad. If it were just a

few weeks, they might be able to recover the lost ground.

Mrs. Douglas, Mr. Judd at the beginning of the meeting said he understood this was a continuation of the UNRRA program. Would you clarify that for us?

From my understanding of the UNRRA program, this is in no

way comparable to the UNRRA program.

All the welfare agencies are left out. The whole program of stamping out malaria, and so forth, is left out. There is nothing of this scope in this program at all?

Mr. Wood. UNRRA was a rehabilitation as well as a relief agency. Mr. Judd. I was objecting to the statement of the chairman the

same as Mrs. Douglas was.

Mr. Jarman. In view of what you just said, Colonel Wood, what do you think would be the effect of reducing this amount to \$100,000,000 which has been proposed?

Mr. Wood. I think it would be very serious, Mr. Jarman, because in the first place it might very seriously jeopardize the continuity

of the operations.

As I say, the \$100,000,000 was an estimate during the early part of November and naturally had to be more of a guess than we have to make today.

If you slice it off at \$100,000,000, we have to come back for another

authorization and appropriation.

We get into all the problems of whether you have the money and could commit it in accordance with a well-planned schedule of shipments or whether you could take up the allocations of food in time when they are made available in the Department of Agriculture.

I think it would make the situation administratively very difficult, and might cause a gap or break in the supply line to these countries

which might be very serious.

Mr. Jarman. You spoke of the \$100,000,000 last November, and the acting chairman spoke of \$200,000,000.

Are those figures in the budget?

Mr. Wood. Yes, they are in the budget. They are on the expenditure budget, which is the \$37,500,000,000 that everybody is talking about, and the estimate is that of the \$350,000,000 that is in the budget, \$100,000,000 would actually be spent in the fiscal year 1947 and \$250,000,000 in the fiscal year 1948.

Mr. Jarman. I have two more questions: You do not agree at all, do you, with the statement of Mr. Vorys a while ago that coal is a

basic essential of life?

Mr. Wood. Did you make that statement, Mr. Vorys?

Mr. Jarman. He referred to the line 7 on page 2 of the bill where it says, "provided shall be confined to the basic essentials of life," and he said coal was another part of that.

Mr. Wood. I can certainly think that under many circumstances

coal might be a basic essential of life, Mr. Jarman.

I do not anticipate that under this bill we would be shipping coal into many of the countries. I think we would confine our shipments there to food, medical supplies, and possibly some fertilizer, but I certainly would not want to be in a position of saying that under certain circumstances coal might not be one of the basic essentials of life.

As a matter of fact, as we now see it there would be no coal imports to any country from the proceeds of these funds with the possible exception of Austria.

I think we might wish, if the Congress and this committee were willing to see that done, we might wish to have the latitude of being

able to ship a little coal into Austria.

Mr. Judd. Why do you not define that in the bill?

Mr. Wood. We might do that, if you like, but we should be careful

not to tie ourselves up too inflexibly.

Mr. Jarman. What he had in mind I think was the coal item in the general tabulation of needs which is before you and which totals \$610,000,000.

As I understood your testimony, I understood it to mean that that general tabulation of needs for any of the countries was not proposed

to be met by this.

Mr. Wood. That is correct.

What we have said is that here is a tabulation of needs so basic that they do not involve any rehabilitation or reconstruction but just involve keeping a country from slipping way back to the point where none of this is any good.

We propose with the proceeds of this appropriation, if given, to ship in chiefly food. In fact, in practically every case the amount that we feel the United States might ship in is less than the food.

to say nothing of fertilizer and other things.

I want to make it clear we are not proposing to use these funds, if granted, to ship in things like steel and pig iron or anything of that sort and that this list of essential imports does not mean that we would propose to ship in any or all categories in that list.

Mr. Jarman. That is exactly the point I was trying to get em-

phasized.

I just used coal as illustrative since Mr. Vorys mentioned it. That

was the point I wanted to have emphasized.

Now I have one more question: Of course, the people of the United States are naturally very humanely disposed. It is natural for us to wish to relieve suffering humanity wherever possible, and yet there are many other reasons in addition to humane ones, are there not, for this legislation?

Mr. Wood. I should say there are. There are many of them. That is a big and broad question, but if you have smallpox or diphtheria

next door, it is not a matter of no interest or concern to you.

I could talk on this at length about what I have personally seen in the way of a threat to our way of life that is inherent in the kind of conditions under which people have to try to sustain life in certain of these areas of the world.

It certainly is of grave concern to us, it seems to me, as to whether we can prevent those conditions from continuing or from getting worse.

We want to do what we can about it.

Mr. Chiperfield. I do not know whether we are going to be able

to save the patients Hungary and Poland or not.

.Mr. Jarman. From a selfish standpoint alone, there would be ample justification for this legislation.

Mr. Wood. That is right. There is real hope, too.

Some of you who have traveled around some of these countries in

Europe have seen the true reactions of many of the people.

Mr. Bloom. Following up what Mr. Jarman said, if we should reduce the authorization in this bill to \$100,000,000, you must remember the discussions that occurred for months at the United Nations General Assembly in New York City before we got anywhere near this.

If we should reduce our share which is 57 percent, to \$100,000,000, the other contributing Nations would feel that they would have to do the same thing and altogether we would not get \$200,000,000 for this relief program.

Mr. Wood. I think it would certainly have an effect on them.

Mr. Bloom. According to the figures that we plan, the percentage

was \$610,000,000 altogether and our share was \$350,000,000.

If we reduce it to \$100,000,000 would they not feel that if the United States can only afford to pay \$100,000,000 of this that they have the same right to reduce their figure.

Mr. Wood. It would have an effect, a tremendous effect.

I do not believe the suggestion was that the committee finally decide here to limit our total to \$100,000,000, but that we do the total suggested in two steps. Even so, I feel certain that many other countries would be just waiting to see what we would do.

The United States takes the lead here. We are talking about \$100,000,000, even though we may have some general idea that it may be \$250,000,000 more later. I am sure it would reduce the amount we

could go after other countries for.

Mr. Vorys. May I throw out a further suggestion: Suppose this present resolution were cut down to \$100,000,000 and then at the end where it says: "The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports," cut out the world "quarterly" and have something like this:

The President shall submit to the Congress reports of expenditures and activities under authority of this joint resolution and shall negotiate agreements with respective recipient countries for submission to the Congress in authorizing relief in addition to the amounts herein authorized.

That is the best thing I can suggest to carry out one thought that has arisen here a number of times and that is, if we knew what the agree-

ments were going to be, we could act more intelligently.

At present, we are simply told what it is hoped the agreements are going to be and there is very broad latitude given as to what those agreements should be and some of us have had the experience in the past that protective agreements do not furnish all the things we thought.

For instance, we remember the agreements we were going to have for repayment of lend-lease, and the difference between promise and

performance was considerable.

However, in this situation, look at these countries we are talking about. Here is Austria, still under the Army and under a four-power

proposition and no chance for a peace treaty for quite a while.

Here are two ex-enemy countries, Italy, and we have Mr. Hoover's statement that Italy does not need this help, and Hungary, where we have this problem that we are in substance going to pay reparations. We have Poland where the chances of making agreements look

We have Poland where the chances of making agreements look exceedingly slim, but I am sure we want to help the Poles if we can help them instead of just helping the Communist Party in Poland. Over the week-end we hear that the Greek problem involves \$200,-

Over the week-end we hear that the Greek problem involves \$200,000,000 or so, and China, which I cannot help but feel was mentioned here for window dressing, because the amount mentioned is trifling in response to China's total relief needs. \$60,000,000 for 450,000,000 people, whose caloric food average is less than any of them in Europe, and we are not going to do anything for China from what we hear.

Why not say, "Here is some relief right now," and the President is authorized to report—not back to the Senate for a two-thirds vote, but to report relief agreements to Congress, to be authorized by

majority vote?

Mr. Bloom. I say this: The same as in UNRRA, if we should authorize an appropriation here of \$350,000,000, the Appropriation Committee would maybe appropriate \$100,000,000 of that, the same as they did in UNRRA, and appropriate as it goes along, but at least we should give them the implement to use to do what they want to do at the time.

They must go and get the appropriation, but if we reduce it here, I am afraid that you are going to find all the other countries doing the

same thing and the people will become discouraged.

Following the other question of Mr. Jarman, as to what the great reason is behind this, if we should lose the Balkans, if we should lose Turkey and Greece and they go into other countries down there, which they can take immediately—they do not have to take them because they can just go in there—we would lose possession down there. That means a great deal to us and one thing I have in mind is the oil situation and if we ever lose that I want to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, we have lost a great deal and we had better be careful.

Mr. Chiperfield. I have had a number of Members ask for recog-

nition.

Mr. Mundt. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Hoover made a great deal of the importance of having on-the-spot investigations and studies by qualified experts in the field of relief. As I understand your answer to

Mr. Jarman's question, those on-the-spot investigations have not yet taken in any of these countries.

Mr. Wood. No; I did not mean to give that impression.

have been continuous.

Mr. Mundt. No. special missions have been sent over to make a

specific study leading up to this?

Mr. Wood. There have been continuous investigations by the people in the Embassies in these countries, in addition to which there was this investigation, on which we had really expert people, made by the Devastated Areas Subcommittee of the Economic and Social Council.

There has not been in these countries a formal investigating committee from the outside, but let me assure you that, for example, we went into Poland this summer and Ambassador Lane and his whole staff were spending a great deal of time, not only in Warsaw, but all over the country, looking at the condition of the crops and interviewing people in various places.

In every country we went into, except Yugoslavia, where that was a very difficult thing to do, and which has not been included here, there have been most searching and continuous examinations of these

questions by fully qualified people.

It has not been as was the case with Greece and with the United Nations Devastated Area Subcommittee, a formal commission that went in, but, as a matter of fact, such commissions and such investigations when they do go in, must rely very largely upon the data, and material and background collected by our people in the Embassies.

Mr. Mundt. One of the reasons I asked that is on page 3, where you

are talking about Greece, it says—

Sufficient wheat imports are included to provide the non-self-supplying population with about 2,000 calories per person per day-

and then you arrive at a figure of 350,000 metric tons.

It seems to me you have too many variables to arrive at anything

definite, such as 350,000 metric tons.

In the first place, to adopt 2,000 calories might mean the Hoover suggestion or it might mean 2,500. But to arrive at 350,000 metric tons, I see nothing to indicate here that you have arrived at anything to show what percentage of that population is included in the category

of non-self-supplying population.

Mr. Wood. That has been very carefully worked out. We have checked many times on the figures as to the total production of wheat and various other grains. That is not just a guess by any means. We also have the data on the number of farm people and the number in urban areas. No figures covering the whole country can be completely accurate down to the last decimal point; I quite agree with you.

Mr. Mund. To give enough wheat to bring the calory intake up to 2,000 calories per person, which you say this would do, does it mean that this other \$25,000,000 worth of food which is going to be made available to Greece will supply them with a calorie intake of much

more than 2,000.

Mr. Wood. That 2,000 includes all food including wheat. Wheat is just one of the elements. It is really the residual element to bring up the calories to 2,000. We figure all the local production, what part of that should be amassed and available to the city dweller, the imports of peas and beans and things of that sort.

Mr. Mundt. This statement is incorrect, on page 3?

Mr. Wood. Let me look at that.

What ought to be read into that is that all the foods available for the urban population have been taken into account and the figure of 350,000 metric tons is the residual figure to bring it up to the 2,000 calories.

Mr. Mundt. Wheat plus everything else?

Mr. Wood. Yes.

Mr. Javits. The point is that Greece's relief need is all wheat. the money you are going to spend is for wheat?

Mr. Mundt. Not according to them, they have \$23,000,000 worth

of other food.

Mr. Javits. When I was in Greece, I got the exact estimates. We have a fellow right in the financial mission in Greece who is a very good man. They all checked this figure. It was 357,000 tons. That is what they need to buy. That is the nubbin of their whole problem.

Mr. Wood. They also need to import some meat and sugar and some pulses. Of course, grain and wheat particularly supply many cal-

ories. It is the most economical way.

On the other hand you do need some proteins in order to have a

diet that can sustain health and life.

In the next paragraph, "b" under there, Mr. Mundt, you will see we are talking about imports of fish, pulses, and cereals other than wheat. I think you could cover the whole caloric intake necessary with wheat, but it is certainly desirable and I might say almost necessary to have some meat, sugar, fat and pulses.
Mr. Richards. I have a question I want to ask: There are \$610,-

000,000 needed for minimum relief.

It is proposed that we contribute 57 percent.

Those figures were based on certain proposed commitments from Great Britain and other countries?

Mr. Wood. They were taken into account, yes.

Mr. Richards. I believe it was mentioned that Great Britain proposed that they wanted to have \$40,000,000?

Mr. Wood. The amount of \$40,000,000 from Great Britain was just

for Austria.

Mr. Richards. Since the bottom has fallen out of things in Greece, it is hard for me to conceive of Great Britain abandoning relief to Greece and still giving to these other countries.

Do you anticipate Britain will fall down on her proportionate share

of this, in view of what happened in Greece?

Mr. Wood. We have taken into account, sir, in figuring our Greek problem, that Great Britain would not be able to assist much in that

It is true, of course, that in respect of certain commodities that can be bought in the sterling area, so called, Britain could still help, in spite of the fact that she could not supply things that require dollars for their purchase. We have considered that question very carefully and I might say I do not want to give the impression here that I think my prophetic abilities are infallible nor are those of our economic experts.

That very fact that Britain may be able to help less in this over-all problem than perhaps we even pessimistically have estimated, is another terribly important reason for having this the full total of \$350,-000,000 available as soon as possible.

Mr. Richards. Even that amount might be lower than your esti-

mated minimum of relief?

Mr. Wood. I was wondering whether in that connection, it might not be possible to proceed on the assurance that we are not going to assign all this money out immediately and perhaps authorize appropriation of the full amount, if the committee and the House feel that it is justified, and then require that when some of these main agreements were made with these countries and have been negotiated, we come back and report on them to the Congress.

If they should not be regarded as satisfactory at that point we would not have committed more than a small proportion of the money and the Congress could, if it thought the agreements unsatisfactory,

take whatever action seemed necessary then.

Mr. Chiperfield. Why does the fact that Britain is pulling out of Greece affect the minimum needs?

Mr. Wood. It does not.

Mr. Bloom. She is not pulling out of Greece? Mr. Chiperfield. I should not use that word.

Mr. Wood. I think we all understand what is meant there.

Mr. Richards. How much was originally proposed for Britain to contribute?

If Britain falls down, and it is entirely possible that she may, the whole thing will be on the United States, practically?

Mr. Wood. No, sir.

Mr. Bloom. What is Canada doing?

Mr. Wood. Canada has always been a strong helper.

Australia and New Zealand I am sure would want to do something. I cannot speak for them.

The Norwegians are going to help, I feel confident. I think

Sweden will help, also.

Mr. Judd. Is there not somewhere a table saying what it is anticipated each country will be able to give?

Mr. Wood. No, sir; because we do not know that.

One of the things, to get them really signed up, one of the things that must be done, in order to get specific pledges of help, is for us to decide what we are going to do.

We go to them and say: "Here is what we are going to do. Now

what will you do?" Then we get them to sign on the dotted line.

We cannot today tell you what these other countries are going to

do, exactly.

Mr. RICHARDS. According to your figures, you might say we have obtained 18 percent from Britain and that allows 10 percent for the rest of the nations altogether.

Now if Great Britain would probably have to fall down, I am just

wondering about that.

Mr. Wood. It does not mean they have to fall down in all respects. As I say, there are certain items available for purchase with sterling.

Mr. Chiperfield. In the program that we put into operation in Italy before the UNRRA program could get under way, there was involved \$148,000,000 for relief supplies.

I have asked one of your men and find this is not a secret. We furnished \$134,000,000 of the cost and the United Kingdom furnished \$14,000,000.

Mr. Richards. Then, on account of supplies she had on hand or could purchase, I understand she was able to furnish more in another

country than she could in Greece.

If they get out of their relief proposition in Greece, and as important as Greece is to the British Empire and everybody knows it, I just cannot figure where they will get in the picture anywhere else at all.

Mr. Wood. As I say, we know they are going to help to spend \$40,000,000 in Austria, which is almost half of the quarter of \$350,000,000.

Mr. Judd. Does that still stand! Mr. Wood. That still stands.

They are supplying, for example, wool in Austria which is an essential import. We would not generally supply that, because wool is

available for purchase with sterling.

Mr. Judd. What it really amounts to, is that we are debating whether we should make an initial payment of \$100,000,000 or an initial payment of \$350,000,000? Is that not it? The others are not going to come through to \$610,000,000, and there is no use kidding ourselves or kidding the people.

Mr. Wood. I would say the assumption that the others would pick up that balance is not beyond the bounds of possibilities but is on the

optimistic side; yes.

Mr. Lodge. I wanted to ask Mr. Bloom whether or not in the conference they had with the President, the question of deterioration in Britain's position had been considered in connection with this particular bill, which was our immediate problem.

Mr. Bloom is not here now, however.

Mr. Wood. Regarding Dr. Judd's question as to whether we are unduly optimistic: You might bear in mind that the Argentine, for example, has not made any very great contribution to relief during the UNRRA period. They never joined UNRRA. They did make available some wheat, but it is well known that the Argentine is a country where some of these relief supplies will be available for export.

We are hoping that the Argentine and other countries will prove a much larger contributor to the total in this case, than in the case of UNRRA, and that might well go to overbalance considerably the lack of supplies that we might find in the case of other countries.

It is for that reason I am not quite willing to go as far as you are, admitting the uncertainty of it, and reach the conclusion that the \$350,000,000 would necessarily be only a first payment.

I am not ready to say that I feel sure we could not get the balance

taken care of by others.

Mr. Judd. There is a real advantage, however, in being candid and saying this is recognized that it is not at all impossible that further payments will be required?

Mr. Wood. I would certainly agree with you on that.

Mr. Judd. I can support a program better when the cards are on the table and we know that it is not to be impossible that there will be further payments. Mr. Wood. I am trying to be just as frank as possible and yet not mislead or give impressions about our thought that are wrong.

Mr. Jarman. Is not what you just said about the Argentine, or the probability rather, true of other South American countries such as

Brazil?

Mr. Wood. Brazil was a member of UNRRA and Brazil made a very substantial contribution to UNRRA and as for the others except for special items like sugar and so on, they do not have any great amount that they could make available.

Your two real sources of any substantial amount of supplies in South America are the Argentine and Brazil and I would not expect that Brazil would be in a position to better her UNRRA proportion

very materially so our main hope is Argentina.

Mr. RICHARDS. A great deal has been said about agreements with recipient countries, how you would go in there and so forth, but little has been said about agreement with the contributing countries.

Now as I understand this, this is a double-barreled thing. You have tried to seek an agreement with the recipient countries, on how these goods will be distributed and so forth, and so on, and then you were trying to get an agreement with the contributing countries as to what supplies will go into that particular country, and so forth.

Mr. Wood. We had not intended to formalize that particularly but rather to informally sit down, say with the Canadians, and say: "We are sending in these items, what have you available that is included in

the list of essential imports of these countries?"

I do not believe we would formalize an agreement with them on that

subject; it would be a matter of coordination.

Mr. RICHARDS. That would open up the field for duplication of relief services if you do not have some kind of a formal agreement like that.

Suppose two or three of the contributing countries have relief supplies of the same kind. We go in there with the same thing.

Perhaps we have the same situation here.

Mr.-Wood. That is one of the reasons why I would plead for the greatest degree of flexibility possible in the type of items we could put in within these limits set, so that we can do as effective a job as

possible.

For example, if we find that fertilizer is not available in some other contributing country we could supply that, and some other country could put up wheat. In such a case we might want to reduce the amount of wheat we had originally planned to supply a given country and put in fertilizer. It is possible that while our present thought and intention is that except for Austria, probably, we would not send any coal to these countries with United States relief funds, it is entirely possible that some other country might come along with a greater contribution of food for relief than we had estimated, and we might want, if the Congress gave us the anthority to do so, to ship in coal instead, which might be badly needed, too.

That is not our present intention except possibly in Austria.

Mr. Mundt. In this somewhat mythological table by which you have allocated these percentages, Argentina has been set apart for some substantial contribution to this fund? It seems to me she can well do so, being quite a bread basket down there.

Mr. Wood. We certainly are hopeful that some of these countries

will contribute something substantial.

Mrs. Douglas. Can we not go after some of the German money that is hidden in Spain and Argentina and use some of it to feed some of the starving people in the world?

Mr. Wood. I am not so well informed as certain others on that par-

ticular aspect of the problem.

Mrs. Douglas. I think this committee might well try to uncover some of the hidden money and use that to feed people.

Mr. Kee. That is looking for the end of the rainbow.

Mrs. Douglas. I know there is money in Argentina and there is

money in Spain.

Mr. Vorys. Perhaps all you people know the answer to this, but what is the planting season for, say, wheat, or whatever they are going to grow? They are going to grow a lot of stuff in Europe this year. When do they plant it?

Mr. Wood. A great deal of the planting is done in the spring

months. By that time we want to get the seed in there.

Mrs. Douglas. That is one of the reasons for urgency, is it not?

Mr. Wood. Yes; it is.

In many cases the UNRRA funds are likely to take care of most of the requirements for seed, but there certainly will be some additional required, especially in the light of the terrific freeze they have had in Europe this winter. Some replanting of the fields may be necessary.

Mr. Chiperfield (presiding). Are there any further questions?

Mr. Wood. Mr. Chairman, may I make just one other brief statement to get it on the record?

Mr. Chiperfield. Certainly.

Mr. Wood. I would urge the committee not to write into this bill a provision that every dime's worth of this money must be spent in the United States. That is not because it is not expected that most of the money will not be spent here but there might be circumstances in which we ourselves, if we sat down as a group, in facing the practical situation, might decide it would be better to buy something outside the United States. If we got into a very short wheat position, for example, and wheat could be bought in the Argentine, some flexibility would be most desirable.

In other words, if we tie our hands so completely that we must spend every bit of this money in the United States, I think it might redound That money could be spent outside the United to our disadvantage. States, only where it was clearly in the interests of the United States

not to do so. I anticipate very little of that.

Mr. Chiperfield. Do you think your estimates will be incorrect in view of what is happening in the wheat market?

Mr. Wood. Do you mean as regarding the wheat?

Mr. Chiperfield. Yes. Mr. Wood. Well, if the price continues to go up, we might well find

ourselves not able to ship in as much wheat as was expected.

Mr. Judd. Furthermore, the more wheat you buy in this country with that money, the higher the price goes. That is the question I raised with Mr. Hoover.

Mr. Wood. For that reason, we should have some flexibility.

Mr. Chiperfield. One other thing: In your estimates of, say, 2,200 calories or 2,300 calories for the various countries, did you raise your sights pretty high so that if they did not have other help from other countries, you would still not have a starvation level?

Mr. Wood. No, sir; this is an honest attempt to try to figure out the

minimum.

Obviously, you can get along as the Germans have, for example, on less than that, but in view of the accumulated amount of malnutrition developed, it cannot be done without further starvation and disease.

Mr. Chiperfield. You do not believe that it should be held down to

the amount of relief the Germans are getting?

Mr. Wood. I certainly think it is rather difficult to say that your allies or those who helped us in the war, if there is a real shortage, should not have some priority, particularly if you are, as I feel this program is designed to do, really and seriously at a bare minimum. I have never lived and I hope to God I never have to live on 2,200 calories comprised of the items we are talking about here.

Mrs. Douglas. You lose weight very rapidly?

Mr. Wood. I am sure none of us could work the hours we do today

if we had to work on anything like that caloric intake.

Mr. Mund. Do you contemplate following that by giving a larger allocation to the Poles or the Greeks than to the Italians and Hungarians?

Mr. Wood. We feel this particular program is the kind of a mini-

mum we ought to try to shoot at everywhere.

Mr. Mundt. We should give a different caloric advance to our friends?

Mr. Wood. Actually, there will be no great difference to speak of.

When you speak of the Italians, they were actually cobelligerents with us during the last period of the war. They certainly stand under

somewhat of a different heading than do the Germans.

The nub of this whole question is that I would doubt very much that the "normal consumer" in any of these countries, if we carried through this program, would be living at a level substantially different from what the Germans would if we follow the program Mr. Hoover recommends for Germany.

Mr. Judd. Colonel Wood, I have been grateful for the frankness with which you have dealt with us here, which is better information than we sometimes get. I wonder if you would mind stating something of your own background for the record, and your experience. I think it is always valuable to know something about the man in

evaluating his testimony.

Mr. Wood. I am the son of a Presbyterian minister, to start with. I was born in South Africa of American parents, and I came here when I was 14 years old. I had the usual education. I worked in industry for a while, 3 or 4 years, with the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. I then went into the investment banking business and was head of a New York stock exchange firm for 15 years, dealing with all sorts of industrial production, distribution, and management problems, in connection with our banking work.

I came down here shortly after Pearl Harbor at the request of General Harrison in the War Production Board to do a 3 months' job for him in straightening out the problem of machine-tool production and the use of used machine tools which was being worked on by about 16 different agencies in the Government. I got that thing on the track and was about to go back when another job popped up and I finally wound up in the War Department on General Somervell's staff working entirely in connection with the production and distribution side of getting the matériel of war to our troops abroad. I was here in Washington all the time, however.

Mr. Wood. I am very familiar with the supplying of things abroad?
Mr. Wood. I am very familiar with that, and I also got considerable familiarity with handling and organizing large organizations to do these jobs. I was concerned at one stage in the Army with reorganizing the Surgeon General's procurement operation, which was bogging down very badly. When I finished that they put me into the Signal Corps to do the same thing. I wound up by working in the War Department in charge of planning and putting into execution the industrial demobilization at the end of the war. My job was to prepare for this in such a way as to insure that we did not do as we did following the last war and let people turn out war goods indefinitely and then find out we did not need them. We were rather proud of the way our plans did work. We planned in advance what we were going to do when the war ended and were in a position to go ahead and do it promptly so industry could be relieved of the problem of war production and get right back into production for peacetime.

That, in a nutshell, is my experience.

I went into the State Department quite by chance. I went in with Mr. Clayton and he tossed into my lap the problem of our representation in UNRRA, and I have been in charge of the relationship of the United States Government with UNRRA. I have been a member of the Council and a member of the Central Committee.

Therefore, I think I have had a very real opportunity to see what are the pitfalls and errors. I think I have been able to bring about some improvement in connection with some of the operations of

UNRRA.

We are talking here about a purely American operation. I was one of 48 in the Council and one of 9 in the Central Committee, so I could not always get the things done there that I thought should be done.

Mr. Judd. I am grateful for your description. I am sure you are

qualified.

Mrs. Douglas. I want to ask a question with regard to caloric levels. The act is that the Poles, Hungarians, Italians, and Greeks, and I would imagine the Austrians, but certainly the four first countries, must have been living all through the war on a very much lower caloric diet than the Germans.

I might suggest at this point, that just to get the whole level of health up to a point where it is equal in Europe the countries mentioned might need a slightly higher caloric content in their diet.

Would you not think so? Certainly the Poles, Hungarians and

Italians were not living as well as the Germans.

Mr. Wood. I do not know that I can agree with you on that. That was certainly true right after VE-day. Since that time there has been relatively greater starvation in Germany, for example, and, let us say, Austria, then there has been in some of these other countries.

We are talking about degrees of starvation, when we talk about this at all.

Mrs. Douglas. I am talking about long years of starvation, while

the war was going on.

Mr. Wood. I would say it is hard to distinguish but on the whole I would weigh the balance on the side you have indicated.

Mr. Chiperfield (presiding). If there are no further questions,

we will adjourn.

Mr. Wood. I am very grateful for the tolerance of this committee in hearing me talk so much. I am very eager to get a real understanding on the part of everybody here as to what we are trying to do because I think it is the right thing to do.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., the committee adjourned to reconvene at

10:30 a. m., Tuesday, March 4, 1947.)



RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1947

House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C.

The committee met in executive session at 10:30 a.m., Hon. Charles

A. Eaton (chairman) presiding.

Chairman Eaton. The committee will be in order, please. We have with us this morning Mr. FitzGerald. I will ask him to identify himself.

STATEMENT OF D. A. Fitzgerald, Secretary General of the International Emergency food council (on Leave From the United States Department of Agriculture)

Mr. FitzGerald. I thought there might be three comments I might make to this committee which the committee might find of some help

in connection with the question before it:

As I understand, this committee has raised a question about the availability of supplies, particularly from this country, which might be purchased with such funds as Congress appropriates for this purpose.

The estimates which have been furnished this committee by the State Department include, roughly, 1,500,000 tons of cereals for ship-

ment to the countries being considered by this committee.

In the last calendar year, 1946, these same countries received from the United States about 2,000,000 tons of cereals. The current supplies of cereals in the United States plus the prospects for the 1947 crop indicate that the total available amounts during the current year should be equal to the availabilities during the year in which 2,000,000 tons were shipped to these countries.

There are other demands and other needs for United States grain supplies but it appears to me, Mr. Chairman, that an estimate of the availability of 1,500,000 tons of cereals from both old crop and new crop supplies for these particular destinations during the balance of

this calendar year is not an unreasonable estimate.

I should suggest that there is good likelihood of those quantities being available during the calendar year 1947 from both old crop and new crop supplies.

Cereals is the biggest item in the suggested program. The other

items included pulses, meat, fats and oils, and dairy products.

In all instances, the quantities of the other commodities, which are indicated in the very tentative program are moderate. In fact, they

are in some instances modest.

In the case of beans and peas, the program includes some 55,000 tons, which would represent no more than 5 percent of this country's production of those commodities.

In the case of fats and oils, the total suggested is 50,000 tons, which would represent only about 2 percent of the total fats and oils produc-

tion of the United States.

In the case of meat, the tentative figure also is 50,000 tons, which would represent one-half of 1 percent of the annual United States

meat production.

The second point that I thought might be helpful to the committee, Mr. Chairman, would be a brief statement on the calorie levels which are contemplated for the non-self-supplier, particularly in relation to the calorie levels which have been discussed for Germany.

The normal consumer ration in Germany is 1,550 calories per person

per day.

Certain groups of consumers, the heavy workers, the children between the ages of 14 and 20, get more rations than the so-called normal consumer, and the average ration of all consumers in Germany is about 1,750 calories. The higher ration levels for the heavy workers, for adolescent children and for other categories in the population, bring the average nonfarm ration up to 1,750 calories a day.

In addition, there is a small quantity of nonrationed foods, fresh vegetables, and fruits in the summertime, and a certain amount of

relief packages, and quite a small black market.

Average calories obtained from those sources is something in the neighborhood of 200 calories per person per day on the average for the year, so that the average consumption of the urban dweller in Germany is something in the neighborhood of 1,950 calories.

As I understand the matter that is being considered here, the cereal and food imports that have been suggested would provide for an urban ration of 2,000 to a maximum of 2,200, which is only, as you will see, very slightly in excess of the rations which have been suggested as an irreducible minimum for Germany.

The third point is that I consider it doubtful whether the level of imports suggested in this program will in fact permit the maintenance of the urban consumption at the target level of 2,000 to 2,200 calories.

During the current crop year food collections in at least three of the countries that are under consideration was substantially less than the

State Department has taken as a reasonable collection goal.

I believe we should insist that these countries make every possible effort to collect their own local indigenous supplies for distribution to urban consumers, and I endorse, as a consequence, the lower import targets which the State Department suggested in this document, though I fear that for some countries at least these imports will not suffice to maintain the target ration of 2,000 to 2,200 calories for urban consumers. These countries will not be able in my opinion to collect and distribute as much of their indigenous supplies as has been suggested here in this document, which means that while there has been set up a target of 2,000 to 2,200 calories for the urban consumer, I think it is unlikely that this level of urban consumption will in fact be achieved.

Mr. Chairman, I thought these comments might answer some questions which I understand are before the committee. I am now at its service.

Chairman Eaton. Mr. Vorys.

Mr. Vorys. Dr. FitzGerald, former President Hoover said before us:

I am advised that the amount of food available for distribution to the countries which it has been stated this fund will apply to will not cost or represent the expenditure of more than \$125,000,000. That is not a question of need; it is a question of supply.

Later on, Mr. Hoover said that was on a basis of 1,250,000 tons of food.

That does not compare with the statement you have made.

I wonder if you could tell us who advised Mr. Hoover to that

effect? Who were his advisers?

Mr. FitzGerald. Mr. Vorys, I cannot positively answer that question. I do not know who else Mr. Hoover may have talked to in

connection with the supply picture.

I did have a brief conversation with Mr. Hoover before he came up to your committee here last Friday. In discussing the matter with him, I indicated that the projected program of imports to these countries, out of the old crop, might not be more than 1,000,000 tons, or 1,250,000 tons in addition to those being paid for by UNRRA.

However, for Austria, Greece, and Italy, at least, any cereal requirements for the last 4 months of this calendar year could be met

out of new crop supplies.

I have, here, a very rough monthly program of shipping schedules which suggests that for the countries under consideration here 600,000 tons of cereals could come from the new 1947 United States crop. The total out of old and new crops would thus be 1,500,000 tons or a little better.

I do not have enough copies of this schedule to go around but there

are a few here.

Mr. Vorys. You mention a rough estimate. Who made this rough estimate?

Mr. FitzGerald. I made this estimate.

Mr. Vorys. On the calorie proposition, Mr. Hoover said:

The program, of which I have the documents of the United Nations here, was decided on a basis of 2,300 calories. There is no nation in Europe today outside of the old neutrals who have 2,300 calories.

Was that an accurate statement or not?

Mr. FitzGerald. Mr. Hoover was speaking of continental Europe. He was excluding the United Kingdom, I am sure.

Mr. Vorys. There are two things in it:

One, he says that the United Nations document, which totals about \$583,000,000 of relief needs, was based on 2,300 calories.

Mr. FitzGerald. I believe there are two observations which should

be made there, Congressman Vorys.

First, the United Nations' study was based on the average calorie consumption of the entire population, including the farm populations. The farm populations in all countries, including European countries, have a higher caloric level of consumption than the urban populations, because they grow the food.

The differential varies but I would guess it is not less than 500 or 600 calories per day. That is the difference between the average

farm consumption and average nonfarm consumption.

The United Nations 2,300 calories is the average of the farm consumption and the nonfarm consumption. It probably represents 2,700 or 2,800 average for farm consumers and 2,000 or 2,100 for the nonfarm consumers.

Mr. Vorys, You mentioned normationed calories in Germany as

Mr. Vorys. You mentioned nonrationed calories in Germany as averaging 200 a day, and it has been mentioned to us that that goes as high as 600 calories a day in Italy.

That includes what we speak of as the black market circulation of

food; is that not true?

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes. It also includes, Congressman Vorys, this fact; that in the case of Germany, all foods except fresh vegetables and fruits are rationed. Potatoes, for example, are rationed in

Germany.

On the other hand, in Italy not so many food items are rationed as in Germany. The important comparison, I think, sir, is between the average urban calorie consumption in Italy, and the average urban calorie consumption in Germany. It is my opinion that the average annual calorie consumption in Italy of rationed and nonrationed items, including the black market, is something in the neighborhood of 2,100 or perhaps 2,200 calories per day, as compared with around 1,950 in Germany.

Mr. Vorys. Thank you.

Mr. Mundr. I have just one question. I wonder if you can determine the calorie intake of the European farm family?

I do not believe you could do it in South Dakota. How would you

do it in Europe?

Mr. FitzGerald. It is a rough estimate at best, Congressman Mundt. What they do is to estimate total farm production. From this is deducted estimated sales, the estimated quantity of grain fed to livestock and used for seed. The balance, representing the total annual farm family consumption, is translated into calories and divided by the number of people in the family. While it is rough at the best, I think it is within 10 percent of correct, sir.

Mr. Mundr. That is the only question I have, sir.

Mr. Jarman. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman, but I do want to comment that it occurs to me as very probable that there has been definitely cleared up the difference of opinion of Mr. Hoover and Mr. FitzGerald about that supply situation.

I judge from what Mr. FitzGerald says that it is quite probable that Mr. Hoover was referring to the old crop and probably was quoting him, or rather using his information, having overlooked the new

crop phase of it.

Mr. FitzGerald. I think also, sir, that Mr. Hoover was of the opinion that the situation should be looked at again after the new

crops came in.

I am satisfied that Greece and Italy and Austria will need supplies in addition to their 1947 crops and I have estimated some 600,000 or 700,000 tons of cereals from our new 1947 crops could be made available in 1947.

I want to make it clear to the committee, Mr. Chairman, that after the 1947 crops are harvested, all these countries could get along on their domestic cereal production for the balance of the 1947 calendar year, but if they use up their indigenous crops at that added rate, they would certainly run out in February or March of 1948.

Mr. Smith. Mr. FitzGerald, is not the nub of the whole situation one of supply rather than of need? We want to give all that is necessary, but are we not limited in the supplies that we have to give?

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes, sir; I think so. May I expand upon that?

Mr. Smrn. Yes, indeed.

Mr. FitzGerald. In 1947 the United States can, with no adverse effects on its own domestic requirements, export at least 12,000,000 tons of cereals. There is an impact on transportation, as we all know, but as far as the United States supply itself is concerned, at least 12,000,000 tons of wheat and corn could be exported from this country

without impinging upon any domestic requirements.

The question is, Mr. Smith: What international distribution should be made of that 12,000,000 tons? The world requirements are very substantially larger than that, but in thinking of the relative needs abroad, I personally consider that 1,500,000 tons to this particular group of countries is a reasonable distribution, or is a reasonable portion out of the 12,000,000 tons.

Mr. Smith. Now, that 1947 crop would be available in the last

quarter; it would not be available before that, would it?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right. I am speaking of the supplies available in the calendar year, part of which comes from the 1946 crops and part of which comes from the 1947 crops.

Mr. Smith. I have no further questions.

Mr. Judd. Mr. FitzGerald, I asked Colonel Wood yesterday about some of his background. Do you work in the Department of Agriculture?

Mr. FitzGerald. I have since 1935, sir; yes.

Mr. Judd. You are there now?

Mr. FitzGerald. I am on leave of absence from the Department of Agriculture now, Congreeman Judd, working with the International Emergency Food Council.

Mr. Judd. What has been your field in the Department of Agri-

culture?

Mr. FitzGerald. Agriculture and agricultural economics in the

Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Judd. Do you think we ought to limit the expenditure of this money appropriated under this bill to the purchase of supplies in this country?

Mr. FitzGerald. I shall try to give you a considered opinion, Congressman Judd. If I had to administer such funds as Congress ap-

propriated I would prefer to have some leeway.

I say that for this reason: It is possible, though not probable, that late in 1947, some of the needed supplies might be available from other sources, and the effect would be, as a consequence that you might get a little more supply for your money than you could in a higher-priced market.

Mr. Jupp. It might also be wise to buy it abroad because that

might tend to lower prices here for our domestic consumers?

Mr. FITZGERALD. That is right, sir, but as a general rule, I think

the money should be spent in the United States.

Mr. Judd. However, if it is adverse to our economy to spend it here and beneficial to the hungry countries to spend it elsewhere, those are two points in favor of it?

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes, sir.

Mr. Fulton. I am interested in the matter as representing a city

district, southern part of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Along the line of Mr. Judd's questioning, I might add that I feel this is the largest agricultural subsidy the United States will have this year, so I am pointing that out to the farm members here that there was never such given to maintain the steel prices as there is for the farm prices in a thing like this.

Be that as it may, I think it should be done.

One of the things that has shocked we city farmers is this: There is this tremendous amount of potatoes that is unused and because of the shortage of railroad cars, evidently cannot be moved.

I would like to hear your opinion, if I might, first, on the transporting of those potatoes possibly by use of some of the Army equip-

ment not now being used.

Secondly, as to the possibility of delivering those potatoes fast alongside the wharves on river ports and using our large fleet of barges that we have on the Mississippi, taking them down to New Orleans.

Mrs. Bolton. It seems to me that pertinent to that is the demonstration we had yesterday of potato bread and potato cakes, and

everything else.

Mr. FitzGerald. The difficulty encountered heretofore in using potatoes, of which this country has more than it knows what to do with, has been the relatively high cost.

Potatoes and cereals provide about the same thing in the diet;

namely, calories and carbohydrates.

Fresh potatoes, on a pound-for-pound basis, are worth about one-fifth as much as cereals because of the very high-water content of

potatoes.

The military authorities in Germany are now buying some of these potatoes at a cost at local loading points in the United States of 4 cents per hundred, sacked, which, incidentally, is less than the cost of the sack. When they get to Bremen the calorie cost of those potatoes is as high as the calorie cost of cereals. They lay down for around \$23 a ton at Bremen, while cereals lay down for around \$115 a ton, and five times 23 is \$115.

Now the alternative to handling fresh potatoes with all the water

in them is to rehydrate the potatoes.

I have not checked up on the cost of dehydrating within the last 6 months but prior to that time, the cost of dehydrating potatoes was sufficiently high so that by the time the potatoes got to the destination the calorie cost was much higher than that for cereals.

Whether there are any cheaper methods of drying, using Army equipment and things of that kind, frankly I have no opinion.

I would be inclined to doubt it.

Fresh potatoes are difficult to move. They must be racked and so forth, or the upper layers smash the lower layers and they begin to rot.

Another difficulty in handling fresh potatoes from interior points is the car situation. Potatoes in Maine and Long Island, which are close to port and which can be moved in some instances by truck, should be, in my opinion, moved immediately.

Potatoes in North Dakota and Minnesota or in Idaho are very

wasteful of internal transportation which of course is so tight.

Mr. Fulton. That was my point on the river transportation.
Mr. FitzGerald. I would like to verify this statement later if I may, Congressman, but it is my understanding that the barge transportation down the Mississippi now is being used almost to capacity on grain going to New Orleans.

Mrs. Bolton. May I suggest that after all if we could use potatoes,

it might be better for the starving people of the world.

Mr. Lodge. What is the definition of a normal consumer?

Mr. FitzGerald. A normal consumer, outside of very small children, is the lowest category of consumer in any country. It is the standard ration for the consumer who is not doing such work as would entitle him to a supplemental ration. It includes, for example, the office worker, the housewife, and the unemployed.

Mr. Jonkman. That will be average?

Mr. FitzGerald. No, sir, it will not be average.

Mr. Lodge. It is truly subaverage?

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes, sir. In Mr. Hoover's report, he indicates on page 6 the categories of non-self-suppliers in urban population.

Mr. Longe. He includes children there?

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes, sir, children 1 to 6 and 6 to 15, adolescents 15 to 20, normal consumers 20 years and up.

These later are the consumers in Germany that get the basic 1,550

caloric basic ration.

Moderately heavy workers get a supplemental ration, bringing their consumption up to 2,000 calories or more. Extra-heavy workers get a calary ration running around 3,000 calories a day.

Mr. Lodge. Could you give us an idea to what extent you think that

\$125,000,000 figure could be, or should be, increased?

I was interested in your comments to Congressmen Vorys and Jarman, but I wondered to what extent you felt that figure was on the pessimistic side.

Mr. FitzGerald. I think supplies would permit shipments to these countries you are interested in of 1,500,000 tons if it were desired to

extend the period of shipment until the end of the year.

Mr. Lodge. That would include cereals only?

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes, sir. You can supply, as Mr. Hoover indicated, 1,000,000 or 1,100,000 tons from stocks and in addition get 400,000 or 500,000 or 600,000 tons from new crop supplies.

I think 1,500,000 tons at \$120 a ton would be \$180,000,000.

Mr. Lodge. You would run that figure up as to cereals to \$180,-000,000?

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes; if you wish to cover the entire year.

Mr. Mundt. I was interested in what you said in response to the statement of Dr. Judd as to whether these supplies should be bought domestically or not.

It seems to me your answer, while certainly true in determining economics, that we occasionally might be able to buy more food for a

given amount of dollars abroad, ignored one phase of Mr. Hoover's statement which I found to be rather convincing. That was, if we limited our purchases to American supplies, it would leave what surpluses were available in other portions of the world for countries having exports or finances with which to purchase them; they could then secure those to supplement that ration, or perhaps if the country were charity-minded, they might contribute to the pool, so the over-all relief would be greater in that case.

Mr. FitzGerald. Congressman Mundt, I would agree with you in practically all circumstances. The only possible variant would be that in which a spot situation developed where there were satisfactory supplies from some other source which for one reason or another were not being taken up; and this would be, for the very reason you sug-

gested, the exception.

Perhaps it would be an exception that would not take place at all

in 1947.

Mr. Mundt. I have one other question about potatoes. I live in a State where potatoes are being distributed free for use as fertilizer,

so the cost of getting the potatoes is nothing.

A fellow was in my office yesterday with an intriguing idea and I am not enough of a seafaring man to know whether it has any merit or not, but he said that by shipping these potatoes either in dehydrated form or otherwise down the river by barge and making them available at seaport, they could then be delivered to the countries abroad vir-

tually free by this process.

We have tied up in anchor all over this country a lot of Liberty ships. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and France, those countries all have a surplus of seamen who can man those ships and operate them. He said to make those potatoes available free, make these ships available free, let foreigners man them, let them sail them, let them supply the fuel if they have it, if they do not have it, we supply the fuel; but it will decrease the shipment tremendously and enable you thereby to deliver these potatoes abroad at a price which would make it a worth-while relief practice.

Does that program seem to have any merit or not?

Chairman Eaton. Does he provide for the cost of bringing those potatoes from South Dakota to seaboard?

Mr. Mundt. Shipping them by barge at very small cost, down the

river.

Mr. FitzGerald. Congressman, I think the suggestion has a good

deal of merit in some respects.

However, the technical people tell me, sir, that shipping potatoes by barge down the Mississippi from now on is not practical because of the hot weather that would be encountered, in the rather slow trip down the Mississippi and the boat movement out of the Gulf.

Mr. Mundt. That would be in their natural state. In a dehydrated

state that would not be the case?

Mr. FitzGerald. That is right, but the problem of dehydrating, sir, would be the financing of the cost of dehydration, which was running at one time, as much as 20 cents a pound for dehydrated potatoes.

Mr. Mundt. That would at least enable our \$350,000,000 appropria-

tion to supply a lot more food for Europeans.

Mr. FitzGerald. As I understand it, sir, the \$350,000,000 appropriation is not for the German people.

Mr. Mundt. That would work in more than one country. The

Greeks have seamen, too.

Chairman Eaton. I would like to ask a question to clear up something in my own mind to which I have never had a satisfactory answer.

What kind of oils have you for food?

Mr. FitzGerald. They include such items as lard, cottonseed oil, and soybean oil. The latter are usually processed into margarine or shortening.

In addition, there are a great many oils used for industrial purposes.

Chairman Eaton. First we need fats and oils for food?

Mr. FitzGerald. The big four in that are lard, soybean oil, cotton-

seed oil, and peanut oil, and, of course, butter.

Mr. Vorys. Is not an important item for that recalculation next fall to make sure that seeds and fertilizer are available in, let us say, these six countries immediately, or whenever they plant things for the crop season? Is that not an important item in the thing?

Mr. FitzGerald. It is an item of some significance.

Mr. Vorys. Does that come out of UNRRA?

Mr. FitzGerald. Not entirely, no. There is an opportunity and a

need for some fertilizer and for some seeds this year; yes.

The time unfortunately is getting very short. Austria particularly is badly in need of 6,000 tons of nitrogen. That is around 36,000 tons of ammonium nitrate.

If Austria does not get it, then the estimated yields that can be assumed for next year's Austrian crop will not be achieved even though weather conditions are normal there.

Mr. Fulton. What is the estimated cost of that? Mr. FitzGerald. It runs around 60 a ton f. a. s.

Mr. Vorys. While you are verifying that, I confess, I was merely

additionally confused by your statement about calories.

We understand, we laymen, that of course exactly how much a person eats, their caloric content, is a highly individual matter and a matter of expert guessing, but we have heard during the relief years of UNRRA, and so forth, about a caloric basis.

We heard that we are a 3,000-calorie country, and that 2,000 calories

would give a diet above starvation but an austere diet.

Now we have heard Mr. Hoover's flat statement that the United Nations estimates are based on 2,300 calories, that no country in

Europe gets that except the old neutrals.

We have his suggestion that the German caloric rate of 1,550 be raised 250, which would bring it up to 1,800, and we have his suggestion that a caloric rate no higher than that would be sufficient to prevent starvation in these countries.

Those are some caloric statements we have had. We all understand when you talk about a population that children get less than workers

and farmers get more than city people.

However, I had thought we could discuss a whole country in terms of its caloric consumption as expressing about the shape its food supply is in.

Are we all wrong in determining the calories for countries? Mr. Frzgerald. I think it is a proper figure, sir.

Mr. Vorys. As to whether the calories are received black market or unrationed or not, that is a matter of internal government and not food supply. Therefore, what we are interested in is net caloric intake, approximately, for a country.

For instance, you mentioned a figure for Italy.

Mr. FitzGerald. I mentioned about 2,100 for the urban consumer. I am sorry, I have qualified it again.

The whole caloric discussions are very confusing.

When we speak of the United States having a caloric consumption of 3,000 or better, that refers to the total number of trillions of calories consumed in any one day, divided by 143,000,000 people. It is a national average taking in rural people, taking in children, taking in you and me, taking in minors and everybody.

That average runs around 3,400 for the United States.

As a country's national average consumption drops, the urban caloric average, the average consumption of the urban consumer, tends to drop more than the average consumption of rural consumers because the rural consumers produce the food and eat it.

The confusion exists because in the United Nations' study, they used a figure for these countries that is comparable to this United States figure of 3,400. They used some 2,300 as the average national

caloric consumption.

When you break that national average down between your urban and rural consumers average of 2,300, you get an urban average of 2,100, approximately, and a rural average of 2,500 or 2,600, depending upon the number of urban people and the number of rural people.

Mr. Vorys. Does that include unrationed or black market? Mr. FitzGerald. That includes everything that they eat.

Now let us leave aside the rural consumers who grow their own food and concentrate for a moment on the urban consumers, whose average consumption is 2,100. The average urban rationed consumption, that is, the average consumption of rationed foods by the average urban consumer in Italy, is in the neighborhood of 1,400. The difference between 2,100 and 1,400, the average urban rationed consumption, is made up from free supplies, black-market supplies, gifts, and shipments by relief societies, and so forth.

While the average ration consumption of the urban population is 1,400, the average ration consumption of a child, say from 1 to 3,

may be only 1,200.

The ration consumption of a heavy worker who gets supplemental

ration supplies such as bread, may be as high as 2,000.

Mr. Hoover's 1,550 calories for Germany is the number of calories of rationed food an adult gets who is not doing work that entitles him to a supplement.

Mrs. Douglas. Then it is higher than in Italy?

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes; the ration is, because more food is rationed than in Italy and in Germany there is less unrationed food than in Italy.

Mrs. Douglas. The basic minimum of food in Germany is higher than that of Italy?

Mr. FitzGerald. I think not.

Mrs. Douglas. You gave the figure of 1,400, and Italy is 1,500.

Mr. FitzGerald. But the average Italian gets around 600 calories or 700 calories a day of nonrationed foods while the average German gets around 200 calories a day of nonrationed food.

Mr. Jarman. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

It is 3,400 calories for us in the United States, and 1,400 calories in Italy or Germany?

Mr. FitzGerald. About 2,300 is the comparable figure in Italy.

Mr. Jarman. Ours is 3,400?

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes.

Mr. Vorys. The comparable figure in the United States to 1,400 in Italy and 1,550 in Germany, would be whatever our sugar ration is because that is the only ration we have now, which would be a couple hundred calories a day, or something like that?

Mr. FitzGerald. That is exactly right.

Mr. Jarman. I am curious to know what account was taken in those

calculations of the difference in waste here and in Europe.

For instance, you go in a cafe here and buy a meal, and in many cafes you do not use all of it and in the home it is the same way. In Europe the wastage is practically nil.

I wonder whether the amounts wasted are included in the calorie

figures.

Mr. FitzGerald. Waste is not counted. That is the calory value

at the retail level.

Mr. Jarman. Which makes the difference really considerably less, does it not?

Mr. FitzGerald. It makes it some less, unquestionably. Mr. Jarman. The waste is much greater here, naturally.

Mr. FitzGerald. In Europe generally, the loss between the retail and the actual intake is probably in the neighborhood of 100 calories a day.

Mr. JARMAN. Have we any figures for that?

Mr. FitzGerald. No; I expect the Department of Agriculture would have, sir.

Mr. Jarman. In reply to the gentleman from Connecticut, you say

\$180,000,000 is estimated as being necessary for cereals alone?

Mr. FitzGerald. That much would be necessary to buy 1,500,000

tons of cereals at \$120 a ton.

Mr. Jarman. That is about half of this \$350,000,000 in this bill, or \$175,000,000 would be. What is your opinion of the necessity and the desirability of the \$350,000,000 authorization for the over-all proposition?

Mr. FitzGerald. May I put it this way, sir: I said that I thought it would cost at least \$180,000,000 to buy the million and a half tons of cereals which I thought could be made available in 1947. I also feel, sir, that it will require at least a million and a half tons of cereals during 1947 to maintain the urban caloric consumption at 2,000, or 2,100.

In addition to those cereals, the rather roughly estimated 50,000 tons each of meats, beans and peas, and fats, which have been suggested for this schedule, would be needed in order to maintain the ration of 2,100 and furthermore would be needed to maintain some reasonable degree

of balance in the diet.

I am not an expert on this subject, but the medical and nutritional people say that there are physiological minimums for proteins and fats.

These quantities here are calculated as necessary to maintain those physiological minimums and these minimums are very low.

Mr. Smith. What is that in dollars, now?

Mr. FitzGerald. As estimated by the State Department, the meat is \$40,000,000; fats, \$30,000,000; pulses, \$11,000,000; and dairy products, \$35,000,000.

In one country, Austria, where I was recently, the meat ration for

all consumers was 30 grams per person per day.

That is 210 grams, or slightly under half pound per person per week.

Mrs. Bolton. That is similar to England?

Mr. FitzGerald. The English ration of all meats, bacon, canned meat, fresh meat, is about 2 pounds a week. Their ration of fresh meat is a shilling a week, which is something under a pound but in addition to the fresh meat they get a bacon ration, and canned meat, and so forth. I can get you the entire schedule if you desire it.

Mr. Fulton. You were going to get me the statement of needed fer-

tilizer. What was that amount?

Mr. Bloom. What does that fertilizer figure up to?

Mr. Javits. It is \$296,000,000 altogether. Mr. Bloom. That does not include fertilizer?

Mr. FitzGerald. Are you calculating wheat at \$180,000,000?

Mr. Javits. Yes. It is a total of \$296,000,000. Mr. Bloom. You do not have the fertilizer, seeds, or medical supplies in there?

Mrs. Douglas. China is not in this estimate, is it?

Mr. FitzGerald. No. This is for European countries only.

Mrs. Bolton. These are supposedly things we are giving to prevent starvation and do something about health?

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes, sir.

Mrs. Bolton. Are we calculating in that fats for soap which is one of the top necessities for any kind of health? You mentioned the fats; are they all edible fats?

Mr. FitzGerald. These are all edible fats.

Mrs. Bolton. Therefore, you make no calculation whatever for the possibility of soap for the prevention of typhus and other diseases of ${
m filth}\, ?$

Mr. FitzGerald. That is right.

Mr. Judd. Mr. Chairman, I want to make sure whether this \$296,000,000 you figured up is just for 1947 or for the fiscal year covered by House Joint Resolution 134, which ends in June 1948. money is available to June 30, 1948, according to the bill.

Mr. Bloom. I think Dr. FitzGerald quoted the figures of the State Department there, so that would be the figures of this resolution.

That is what he quoted.

Mr. Judd. Does that cover the rest of this year, 1947, or is it to cover through the fiscal year 1948?

Mr. FitzGerald. May I put it this way:

The quantities and costs which I have discussed here are for the calendar year 1947.

Mr. Judp. That is what I thought.

Mr. FitzGerald. I am not familiar with the exact wording of the resolution. It is possible, for various reasons which you cannot foretell now, that some of the shipments will slop over into 1948.

Mr. Judd. Is it not also probable that the demand and need will be greater in the first half of 1948 than in the last half of 1947 when

they have their own crops?

Mr. FitzGerald. That is entirely possible although it would be my understanding that by 1948, it is hoped that these countries would be sufficiently recovered economically so that they could pay for all or a very substantially larger proportion of their food import requirements.

Mr. Judd. They will need more stuff from abroad but will not have

to get it gratis?

Mr. Mundt. Dr. FitzGerald, the time for making useful and effective the fertilizer for the 1947 crop must be running out pretty fast.

Mr. FitzGerald. Yes, it is.

Mr. Mundr. What would be the last date on the calendar when they could effectively use that fertilizer?

Mr. FitzGerald. They said in Austria, effectively as late as April

15.

Mr. Mund. This being true, the processes of legislation being what they are, first through this House, then through the Senate, then through the appropriations committees of the House and the Senate, we know that the time will not be long enough.

It would seem to me, therefore, that UNRRA should direct as much fertilizer to those countries as is possible at this time, rather than sending food supplies. This bill will bring the food but it cannot possibly

get the fertilizer there by the 15th of April.

Mr. FitzGerald. I think that is an excellent suggestion.

Mrs. Douglas. What other countries would have their crops affected if they were unable to get fertilizer immediately?

Mr. FitzGerald. All of them would.

Mrs. Douglas. At the General Assembly, over and over again, country after country emphasized its need for fertilizer and for this coming crop.

Mr. FitzGerald. In the case of Austria, the original plan had been to produce 60,000 tons of nitrate—that would be 360,000 tons of am-

monium nitrate—in the Linz plant.

A very cold winter made it impossible to get coal to the Linz plant and they only produced 36,000 tons of ammonium nitrate and it will

adversely affect the yields in Austria.

Mr. Fulton. I think we should clarify these statements on averages. Statisticians have a group of averages. In the United States, you were speaking of our total consumption of calories per day, which gave us about 3,400 for the total arithmetic average, which is the total

population divided by the number of people.

Although you speak of average statistics for the other elements in general necessity, you really meant for Germany what we call the modal average. The modal average is the one that occurs the most number of times after taking out specific classes of items and things which can be eliminated from the total because of special characteristics.

Mr. FitzGerald. That is right.

Mr. Fulton. When we were speaking here each time, we were speaking most times of the modal average but, we were in one case speaking

of an arithmetic average which is not the same thing as a modal

If you will consider those terms, you will see that there is no question on this thing of which you speak. I think Mr. Vorys himself missed that particular point.

Mr. Vorys What was that?

Mr. Fulton. They were talking in statistics of two kinds of averages. One was the arithmetic average which he spoke of when speaking of the United States, taking the whole calorie intake for the day

and dividing it by the number of people.

When he spoke of Italy and Germany, he spoke of the model average. It is the person that occurs the most number of times after eliminating specific classes with specific reasons for being distinguished. if we would think in those terms, you would eliminate some of the confusion here when we are talking of the kinds of averages.

You were comparing one arithmatic average in the United States

against a modal average in Germany.

We are confusing it.

Mr. Mansfield. Speaking of phosphates and the need for them in these European countries, it may be pertinent to note that at the present time, MacArthur, who is in control of the occupation of Japan, is working the phosphate diggings at Korror in the Palaus, for the purpose of rehabilitating Japanese soil.

From Montana and Idaho 500,000 tons of phosphate were shipped to Japan. As the need is so great, why would it not be reasonable to assume that the American Army, through the use of some of its funds in Italy and Austria where we have forces, could maybe take up the slack in this respect to that more fertility could be added to the soil?

The British likewise could do the same thing in Greece. Regarding the other countries. I do not know what could be done but the need is imperative and certainly the increased production from the use of fertilizer will be a great help to those countries and less of a burden on our own if some arrangement could be worked out whereby they could use the stuff they need. Would there be any merit in a suggestion of that kind, Dr. FitzGerald?

Mr. FitzGerald. On the European phosphate requirement, particularly the requirement for Austria, the requirement is for soluble

phosphates rather than for the rock itself.

That is true in Austria particularly, because all the acidulating facilities happened to be destroyed during the war. They have no such facilities for rock phosphate in Austria at all today.

Mr. Bloom. I think you said the number of calories necessary for a child 1 to 3 years of age, by your calculation, was 1,000 calories?

Mr. FitzGerald. I used that figure, Congressman Bloom. If you would like to know what the nutritionists say, I will be glad to get it

Mr. Bloom. I would like to know the number of calories necessary for a child to have, to keep in good health. I think the plan is now to give the children of Enrope one meal a day.

Mr. FitzGerald. One supplemental meal; yes, sir.

Mr. Bloom. I think that was done before, after the First World War. What is necessary today for the child under this plan of relief to receive a day to keep in fairly good health?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It depends, of course, on the age of the child.

Mr. Bloom. Is the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome still functioning?

Mr. FITZGERALD. It is being absorbed by the FAO.

Chairman Eaton. We desire to thank our distinguished witness this morning for his very illuminating course of education.

Would it be agreeable to the committee to meet tomorrow morning?

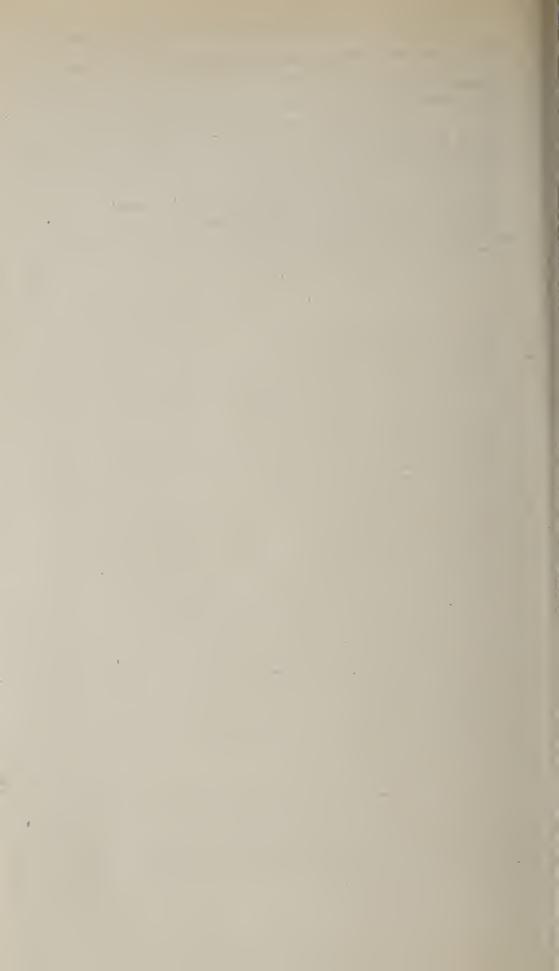
Mr. Fulton. I so move.

Mrs. Douglas. I second the motion, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman Eaton. Without objection, the motion is carried.

We will recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:05, the committee recessed to reconvene Wednesday, March 5, 1947, at 10:30 a.m., in executive session).



RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

THURSDAY, MARCH 6, 1947

House of Representatives, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Washington, D. C.

The committee met in executive session at 10:30 a.m., Hon. Charles A. Eaton (chairman) presiding.
Chairman Eaton. The committee will be in order, please.

Members of the committee, it gives me pleasure to introduce to you one of the highly intelligent constituents of my district who always votes for me, Mr. Harrington Noe, who has just returned from 4 months in Greece.

I may say that he is a construction engineer and during the war

he spent some time in Greenland and a year in the Aleutians.

Mr. Noe, I would like to have you tell us the story that you told me yesterday about the circumstances in Greece.

STATEMENT OF HARRINGTON NOE, R. D. NO. 2, BOONTON, N. J.

Mr. Noe. Gentlemen, I came in here on my own volition yesterday to speak to Dr. Eaton.

Chairman Eaton. The former chairman is afraid to have incrimi-

nating testimony.

Mr. Bloom. If he is in the Government, he might object. Mr. Vorys. You are merely an American citizen?

Mr. Noe. Yes.

As I said, I came in to see Dr. Eaton simply because I thought perhaps he, and some of the other gentlemen would be interested in knowing some of the things a layman would see in Greece, and which some of the official representatives of the country might not see in their guided tours.

I was sent over there by UNRRA as a technical adviser on construction equipment to assist and advise the Government in its proper

use and maintenance.

I went over there in November with a lot of big ideas on being able to accomplish something with a big organization behind me. I returned in February of this present year, having accomplished very little, due to the fact that there is no cooperation from any of the Greek governmental agencies.

Between themselves there is no cooperation. Rather, there is a spirit of competition in obtaining and holding this various UNRRA

equipment which has been sent to Greece and given to Greece.

It seems to me that if, as I understand it, Mr. Porter recommends this country give Greece a loan, if we do not do something about controlling those moneys and see that they are properly utilized, we are going to be pouring a lot of our American money down the drain, behind that which has already gone.

Dr. Eaton seems to be interested in detail. I can give you details regarding construction equipment. You must remember that I am merely an engineer and a mechanic. I look at things from that

point of view.

There are innumerable pieces of equipment in Greece, construction equipment, road-building machinery and machine tools, things of that nature, complete stone crushing plants both portable and permanent, cranes, and bulldozers, cement mixers, and so forth.

The percentage of that equipment which has been put to use at the present time I would say would reach a total of 5 percent, if that.

Chairman Eaton. Tell us about the number.

Mr. Noe. I think UNRRA contributed to Greece 67 cranes. By "cranes" I mean lifting cranes or shovels or draglines or a clamshell bucket. Sixty-seven pieces of equipment which can be used as only one of those previously mentioned. They were not completely requisitioned to do all of that work. They could not obtain the necessary accessories.

Nevertheless, they have 67 pieces of equipment over there along that

line.

Chairman Eaton. What is their value?

Mr. Noe. I do not know their actual cost, but I think I could make a pretty good guess that any one of those pieces of equipment would cost in the neighborhood of \$20,000, or that neighborhood.

Mr. Bloom. Who recommended the shipping of them over there?

Mr. Noe. That again I am not sure of, sir, I did not begin working with UNRRA until July, and their previous organization I am not very familiar with. It is my understanding that those figures were worked out on the number of pieces of equipment to give to various countries in conjunction with the various Greek Government agencies and UNRRA officials.

The equipment which is now in Greece is not being put to any use,

nor is it being maintained or stored properly.

I told Dr. Eaton yesterday of five or six bulldozers. You gentlemen know what a bulldozer is, it is a tractor with a blade on the front, used to move dirt and so on.

These particular ones cost a lot of money and are made by Allis-

Chalmers. They are worth about \$9,000 or \$10,000.

Mr. Bloom. Were these new ones?

Mr. Noe. Yes. Much of this equipment was not new. A good deal of it is war surplus, some of which was never used but did deteriorate somewhat in the various island bases and so on. They came from the Pacific and Europe.

Mr. Bloom. Most of them came through from the Panama Canal? Mr. Noe. Most of them came from storage depots in England. Some were used in France and Germany and some were not used at

I started to mention these five bulldozers. These were unloaded some time in early spring at Peiraeus, which is the port city for

Athens. If the wind blows from the proper direction and the tide is quite high, they are under salt water for the better part of a half day. Nothing is being done to take care of them. Parts are taken from them and sold to friends in the city by vandals.

Mr. Kee. Is there any specific project for which these bulldozers

were sent?

Mr. Noe. They were sent over there with the idea of rehabilitating the country of Greece, but I have seen no rehabilitation as far as re-

construction of the country's public facilities is concerned.

Mr. Bloom. Most of this material that you mentioned can only be used in forests or mountains or where they are cutting through roads or something of that kind?

Mr. Noe. No, sir.

Mr. Bloom. Í refer to the bulldozers.

Mr. Noe. That is right. You can use that equipment to rebuild harbors and docks, and to dig cellars for new buildings, to repair roads and build new roads.

Mr. Bloom. You can use them to dig cellars?

Mr. Noe. You can scoop out a cellar with an ordinary bulldozer

in a half day for an ordinary home.

You asked if there were any programs. There are no programs at present to my knowledge in the country of Greece regarding their road repair or rebuilding. They have done some work on their railroads.

There are two railroads in Greece, one of which is Government

operated and another one is privately owned.

The privately owned railroad must purchase their equipment from the Government. They have done so and everything which they have bought has been put to good use, but the equipment which the Government railroad has has not been used at all. In fact, most of it has not even been installed.

By that I mean machine tools for repair shops and things of that

nature in the railroad shops.

The privately owned railroad is a better railroad than the Government railroad at present, because of the fact, I think, that the various Government agencies of Greece have no interest in doing anything with this equipment.

The only interest they seem to have at present and since I have been there is obtaining all the equipment which they possibly can, whether it be allocated to them or to any other agency. It makes no difference.

They just began grabbing it.

When they have the equipment, it is practically impossible for the proper reciving agency to get it away from them, even though it has

been allocated to one agency or department.

There is no cooperation at all between the various Greek agencies. By that, I mean the agencies they have and various governmental departments. The department of hydraulics, the department of railroads, the department of transportation, and the department of harbors and docks, and the transportation division, which all come under the head of department of public works.

The situation is pretty much fouled up, to use a GI term. I felt

that someone should tell the proper people about it.

Chairman Eaton. What is the total value of the machinery and

tools that we have furnished there in Greece?

Mr. Noe. Dr. Eaton, I could not make much of an estimate on that, because much of the machine tools and things of that type I have never seen, but the construction equipment would run into a few million dollars.

Mr. Bloom. What form of government had they in Greece at the

time this material went in there?

Mr. Noe. Their form of government has changed six times in the previous year or 15 months, I understand, but those changes all took

place before I arrived in Greece.

It is the same Government. At the present time they have their king, which means very little, and the Government recently changed, I think, just after I left. They were going through a change at that time.

I have had very little to do with the higher politics of the country. I have been dealing with these subagencies, so to speak, which would

be reconstruction divisions as we would have here.

Mr. Bloom. Could you tell us something about the people of Greece? Do you know of this legislation we are considering now for the authorization of money to buy food, fertilizer, seed, and so forth, to send over to Greece and other countries?

Do you know anything about that?

Mr. Noe. I have a little knowledge of it, not too much, sir.

Mr. Bloom. Would you mind telling the committee what you know about that?

Mr. Noe. What the plan is, I really do not know, except for the

fact that it is a general rehabilitation and assistance program.

However, UNRRA had that program also, and to my knowledge and to my eyes, it has done very little good to the people of Greece outside of the cities of Athens and Salonika.

Everything seems to center in Athens. All the thought, both polit-

ically and otherwise, centers in Athens.

All the Government ideas and all the money and all the control is in Athens. The people outside the city have very little contact with anything from the inside and I do not think they have benefited very much at all from any of the UNRRA contributions.

Mr. Bloom. Do they need help?
Mr. Noe. They definitely need help.

Mr. Bloom. I mean help in the way of food?

Mr. Noe. Yes; they do need help.

Mr. Bloom. They need food, fertilizer, and seed?

Mr. Noe. Yes; they do need that.

It seems to me the help should be given to them in such a manner that they would all derive a benefit from it and not the favored few. The need is greater in the country than it is in the other parts.

Mr. Fulton. Could that be furnished through a citizen's committee

rather than through the Government?

Mr. Nor. If you could find citizens educated enough or were with a public-spirited viewpoint who would consider doing that, yes, but I doubt very much whether you could find any of the people in the purely rural sections who would be able to expedite such a program.

Mr. Fulton. What controls would you suggest just within the

country?

Mr. Noe. I would suggest a control of the more educated people in Greece, Athens, or a similar place, with as little political leanings as possible and have them in turn governed by someone from here.

Mr. Fulton. That would be not an agency of the Government but

rather a citizens' committee?

Mr. Noe. That is right. Something entirely out of the hands of the Government would be my recommendation.

That is not only from the agricultural standpoint but from any

other standpoint.

Mr. Fulton. Do you think that putting this food through the Government channels tends to strengthen the Government and the particular politicians in power?

Mr. Noe. Financially, yes.

Mr. Fulton. Do you mean they sell it to the people for their own interest?

Mr. Nor. In Athens you can find many UNRRA contributions which have been by devious means placed on the public market at tremendously high prices. You can find in Athens anything you want to buy, things you cannot find in New York or Washington. You can find them in Athens if you have the money. Not only German cameras but American cameras, too.

Mr. Mund. Do you think the Greek Red Cross would be a strong enough and reliable enough organization to administer this relief

with respect to Greece?

Mr. Noe. I do not know.

Mr. Mundt. Were you in Greece during the recent elections?

Mr, Noe. Just the last part of it.

Mr. Mundr. Were you there the day they voted?

Mr. Noe. Just after.

Mr. Mundt. Tell the committee whether you think it was a relatively honest election?

Mr. Noe. I doubt it very much, sir.

Mr. Jackson. Upon what do you base that?

Mr. Noe. Simply upon the conversations I have had with various

people in UNRRA mostly, and some of the citizens of Athens.

We had some engineers in UNRRA headquarters in Athens, and you could ask them some questions. They are familiar with the situation and recognize the situation but laugh about it and say: "Well, what is the use, what can you do?"

Mr. Judd. Were people prevented from voting or were the ballot

boxes stuffed or what?

Mr. Noe. In the majority of cases the people in Greece do not vote. There are about 7,000,000 people in the country of Greece, and probably 2,000,000 of the total vote at all.

Those that do are influenced one way or another, either by pressure

or by gifts, in their voting.

Mr. Javits. Mr. Noe, I am sure that you do not pretend to be an expert on Greece.

Mr. Noe. No, sir; I have only been about 90 days in Greece.

Mr. Javits. Did you take up any of these troubles about wrong use of machinery with your superiors?

Mr. Noe. Yes. Mr. Frank Paduan, consulting engineer, UNRRA, said: "You are here, and that is fine, but do not butt your head against the wall."

Mrs. Douglas. What was the wall?

Mr. Noe. The inability to get anything accomplished.

Mrs. Douglas. Why was that?

Mr. Noe. Lack of cooperation on the part of the Greek Government

agencies.

You can suggest anything to these people and suggest to them again in a week, and they agree: "Yes, indeed, we will do it immediately," or "we have already done it," but there is no evidence shown of the thing being done.

Mrs. Douglas. Is that the Greek Government?

Mr. Noe. The Greek Government agencies, not the Greek Government.

Mrs. Douglas. What does that mean, a Greek Government agency?
Mr. Noe. Various departments. Hydraulics, road building, harbors, and things of that nature.

Mrs. Douglas. Do they function underneath the Government?

Mr. Noe. Oh, yes; of course.

Mrs. Douglas. Then the Government in the last analysis would be held responsible?

Mr. Noe. Yes; I would say so.

Mr. Judd. Have you any comments to make on the UNRRA personnel?

Mr. Noe. The imported personnel—by that I mean the non-Greek personnel—the English and American, and so on, were highly competent people.

However, they were not taken over their in the proper sequence.

It is my opinion, and I told UNRRA so, they operated in reverse; rather than supplying unloading facilities and storage and proper overseeing of their contributions, they gave the contributions to the country first and then took people over there.

Mr. Chiperfield. Mr. Jarman, Mr. Jonkman, and myself were in Athens right after VJ-day. They were having a strike for 100-percent increase in wages on the docks and were refusing to unload the

UNRRA wheat that was on the docks.

Mr. Judd. Did you find any evidence of UNRRA personnel engaging in black-market enterprises?

Mr. Noe. No, sir.

Mr. Jarman. How long did you say you were in Greece?

Mr. Noe. Three months.

Mr. Jarman. Were you in some other country with UNRRA previously?

Mr. Noe. No, I was recruited by UNRRA originally to go to China

last July.

They curtailed some of the programs and I was retained in the States as procurement inspector on some of their purchases here which were shipped to various countries. They then put me on this field assignment in Greece.

Mr. Jarman. As an engineer I do not imagine you had any direct function or any duty in connection with the distribution of UNRRA material?

Mr. Noe. No, sir; that is the tough part.

Mr. Jarman. You said that if you had the money, you could buy nearly anything in Athens, UNRRA material?

Mr. Noe. I was speaking mostly of ordinary consumer goods shipped

in from various countries.

Mr. Jarman. Not UNRRA?

Mr. Noe. There is some UNRRA material but that is principally in foodstuffs. When I said that I meant in clothing and luxury items.

Mr. JARMAN. There was UNRRA food for sale in the stores in

Athens?

Mr. Noe. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jarman. I assume you know that that was the way it was to be

handled, that was the authorized way for it to be handled?

Do you know anything about whenever a given individual bought that food, and he paid the merchant, do you know what the merchant did with that money?

Mr. Noe. No, sir.

Mr. Lodge. You told Mr. Javits you did not regard yourself as an expert on Greece. I imagine you do regard yourself as an expert on the construction phases of the UNRRA program?

Mr. Noe. I do; yes, sir. That was why I was taken over there. Mr. Fulton. You observed these facts first-hand, yourself?

Mr. Noe. Yes.

Chairman Eaton. I think, gentlemen, it would be well to give us just one more fact: Greece sent over a purchasing commission some

time ago. Would you tell us what their first purchase was?

Mr. Noe. Yes, I will: The first shipment to arrive in Athens, which was quite a shock, I might say, sent by this Greek purchasing commission, was 50 brand-new Ford station wagons, which were purchased to assist the district engineers in the country of Greece in reaching their various jobs and projects from their headquarters.

Under the present conditions of roads and highways, where there are such, I think the Ford would probably last 90 days at the most, if they get out there. It was my opinion that the majority of those

Fords will stay in Athens.

Mrs. Douglas. Who ordered these Fords? Mr. Noe. The Greek purchasing commission.

Mrs. Douglas. What money was used to buy them?

Mr. Noe. I assume it was Greek money.

Mr. Javits. Did you find the people themselves sincere, honest and willing to work, and did you find the fault in Government ineptitude?

Mr. Noe. The people themselves seemed to me not to care too much. They do not have any ambition. They look to us to do everything

for them. They have become very, very dependent.

They have no incentive to help themselves. In a minority of cases they have ideas on what could be done and what should be done, but they cannot do it themselves unless we help them. That is their statement, I mean.

Mr. Javits. Of course, you do confirm the basically awful condi-

tion of the country, do you not?

Mr. Noe. Yes; absolutely.

Mr. Javits. I was there just when you were and was impressed with that.

Mr. Noe. The conditions in the harbor at Piræus were just as they were when you were there irregardless of when you were there.

Mrs. Douglas. By that you mean they have not moved the sunken

boats?

Mr. Noe. No; they have not.

Mrs. Douglas. Mr. Noe, one other question that I think would be helpful, in estimating the need for food in Greece: You say there are black markets. It is my understanding there are black markets in most of the countries in Europe. That is understandable and we do not need to go into the reasons for that.

Mr. Noe. That is quite true, there are black markets.

Mrs. Douglas. Would you clarify the food situation a little further: Suppose there were no black markets and suppose what people were buying in the black markets, all the things being bought now in the black markets—by the few people who were buying them—were strictly rationed and also had price ceilings so that the mass of people could buy them, how far would those items go to relieve need? I mean what we are talking about. A few luxury items or the essentials of life.

Are we talking about 10,000 cameras, which nobody can eat, are we talking about pounds of caviar, or are we talking about grain, fat,

pulses, medical supplies?

Mr. Noe. I cannot cover that in quite so broad a scope, but, I think it would be much easier for the people as a whole if things were rationed or a price ceiling placed on everything, because it would increase the

buying power of the public.

You see the drachma, at the time I left—I do not know what it is now—was legally worth one dollar against 5,000 drachmas. On the other hand, anyone can walk down the street and in from 5 to 10 minutes, exchange a dollar bill for 7,800 drachmas, which of course makes the workingman's drachmas a pretty small item in purchasing power.

If that could be controlled, and their food controlled as far as rationing or price ceilings were concerned, I think it would help the poor

people.

Mrs. Douglas. What I would like to know is what they are selling in the black market.

Mr. Noe. Principally luxury items.

Mrs. Douglas. We are considering a relief bill here, you see. I mean

luxury items will not save a nation from starvation.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Noe, I know this will not be an expert opinion, it is just what you have personally observed and will be as a result a personal opinion: This legislation, as you know, proposes that this country enter into agreements with several countries, including Greece, for the provision of those foodstuffs and supplies necessary to the maintenance of life.

What would your opinion be as to the success of such a program in light of what you have had to say, about the noncooperative attitude

of the Greek Government?

What would you say the chances of success are of such a program in delivering these products under American supervision, of course, but working through the constituted Government of Greece at the present time?

Mr. Noe. It would be successful providing you have supervision of such a nature that it cannot be bamboozled by the Greeks. They are pretty sharp articles.

Mr. Jackson. Granting that, what would you consider to be necessary supervision? How far down, to what level, would that super-

vision have to go?

Mr. Noe. All the way.

Mr. Jackson. Do you mean the handing of a package of food to a

hungry man?

Mr. Noe. No; not quite. I mean through a distribution center where he could oversee the distribution of whatever this might be, food, fertilizers and so on, to a given locality, rather than to Athens. That

is the point.

Mr. Fulton. In 1921 when we went in to feed Russia, we had organized local village committees and we brought it with the cars labeled to the point where it was given to the particular individual committee. The distribution point was there, not to the Government, but to a committee.

Perhaps it was a local government committee or local citizens, but nevertheless down at that point.

Do you really agree to going that far?

Mr. Noe. Yes, I do.

(Discussion off the record.)

STATEMENT BY C. TYLER WOOD, DEPUTY TO THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Mr. Wood. I am informed that it would be necessary to present this to the committee: There were two matters on which a report was asked from us, which presumably should go into the record.

Our comments on proposal for repayment are as follows:

It has been suggested that United States relief be furnished only to those countries which will agree in advance to make repayment out of the proceeds of

a 5 percent tax on their exports beginning in 2 years.

This proposal would represent a major change in our policy which has been based on the belief that it was not sound or feasible to require needy countries to borrow for relief commodities such as food but that rehabilitation and reconstruction items, which could be used in obtaining the means of repayment, should be furnished on a loan basis.

If this policy were reversed it would undoubtedly mean a burden not of \$350,000,000 but of perhaps \$610,000,000 since other contributing countries very

probably would impose similar conditions.

In consulting with other possible contributors heretofore we have urged them to provide relief on a free-grant basis although in some cases they have been

rather reluctant to do so.

The countries under consideration for relief have been economically bankrupt. Their present needs for rehabilitation and reconstruction are so great that all of their available resources and foreign exchange will be needed for the purchase of rehabilitation and reconstruction items and for the servicing of loans which are made for this purpose.

By weakening their already poor credit standing their ability to obtain such

loans and soundness of such loans, if made, would be greatly impaired.

Although it is hoped that most of the countries will not need further relief they will undoubtedly be on a very precarious basis for at least 4 or 5 years.

In connection with reparations we have the choice either of ratifying the proposed peace treaties or attempting to negotiate new ones. There is no reason to believe that a new attempt would result in any more favorable provisions. If the treaties are ratified the amount of reparations is fixed and will have to be paid regardless of the policy which we follow in connection with the furnishing of relief.

Requiring repayment for relief would simply put an additional burden on the countries which were paying reparations. We have used the argument in connection with reparations that payment should not be made out of current production and to require repayment in the case of relief would appear to be inconsistent with this position.

The measure of control which we could exercise over the internal distribution of supplies and over the proceeds of sales of supplies in the recipient countries would be weakened if our aid were being furnished on a credit rather than a grant basis since the recipient country would feel that in any case it had to

pay us back for relief and was therefore in a sense purchasing it.

There is some question as to whether we could use to any great extent the mixed bag of currencies which might be collected. Although a small part of the receipts might be in dollars most of them would be in the currencies of the neighboring countries with whom the relief recipients conduct their trade.

In convection with the particular method of repayment it would be very difficult for recipient governments to agree to the imposition of the tax on exports. Legislative action would be required and undoubtedly the proposal of such

a tax would raise the whole issue of future trade policies of these countries. At best many weeks might be involved before a country was in a position to sign such an agreement.

Ability to repay depends upon the net balance of payments position rather than the gross exports of a country. In many cases the 5 percent on gross exports would exceed the net foreign exchange earnings of the governments

concerned.

To collect funds by such a tax, in local currency, would also have a bad effect on ability to export, which is the crucial element in getting these countries

the foreign exchange which they must have to get back on their feet.

It is believed that the plan to sell our supplies for local currency, except to indigents, is the most effective way of guarding against unwarrantedly large calls on us for help and also emphasizing over a period of time the United States contribution through worthwhile local projects financed by the local currency proceeds for our supplies.

I would also like to make a statement about the \$350,000,000 of

UNRRA funds that show in the Budget as expendable in 1948.

In consultation with the Bureau of the Budget, expenditures from the UNRRA appropriation in the fiscal year 1948 are estimated as follows:

Department of Agriculture	\$64, 900, 000
Treasury, Bureau of Federal Supply	125, 000, 000
Maritime Commission	
Department of State	64, 800, 000
Total	305, 000, 000

In the case of the Department of Agriculture, approximately \$1,-000,000 represents administrative expenses for the fiscal year 1948.

The balance of \$63,900,000, represents payment for deliveries of commodities which will have been completed by May 31, 1947. Virtually, all of those commodities are now under contract and funds

completely obligated.

In the case of Treasury, approximately \$1,600,000 represents administrative expenses for fiscal 1948 and the balance of \$123,400,000 is made up of approximately \$15,000,000 for accessorial charges in connection with the movement of supplies which will have been completed prior to June 30, 1947, and \$108,400,000 represents the cost of commodities which will have been delivered during the last 4 months of fiscal 1947.

Of the \$108,400,000 it is estimated that deliveries in April and May will total \$70,000,000, and in June, \$13,400,000. Virtually, all of the deliveries in the last 3 months will be for China. All of the com-

modities against these estimated totals are now under contract and funds have been completely obligated.

In the case of the Maritime Commission, the total of \$50,300,000 represents payment for ocean shipping which will have been accom-

plished during the months of April, May, and June 1947.

In the case of the Department of State, the estimate of \$64,800,000 represents payment for supplies which UNRRA has purchased from the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner, virtually all of which have already been delivered to UNRRA and will have been completely delivered by not later than May 1947.

Payment has been delayed due to the necessity of obtaining documentation for the sales and deliveries from overseas offices of the

Foreign Liquidation Commissioner.

With the exception of the \$2,600,000 which will be issued for administrative expenses of the Department of Agriculture and the Treasury, all of the estimated expenditures in 1948 represent payment for supplies and services which will have been completed and shipped prior to the close of this fiscal year.



APPENDIX

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY C. TYLER WOOD, DEPUTY TO THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

AGREEMENTS BETWEEN UNITED STATES AND RECIPIENT GOVERNMENTS

1. Purpose of relief

The agreements would indicate the purpose of the United States to provide for the relief of the people generally in the recipient country, to prevent human suffering, and to permit them to continue effectively their efforts toward recovery.

2. Needs to be met

Relief assistance will be confined to residual relief needs for the basic essentials of life, particularly food. The agreements will provide that only types and quantities of supplies approved by United States representatives may be procured.

3. Methods and controls of procurement

The agreements will specify the conditions under which recipient governments may procure supplies, including detailed provision as to methods and terms under which funds for procurement will be made available, and the submission of proposed programs for procurement of supplies. A screening and approval of this program will be specified through the stage where supplies are loaded on vessels. The agreements will further provide for the submission of full information covering procurement programs.

4. Methods of distribution

The distribution of the supplies in the recipient countries to a large extent will be through normal commercial channels. The agreements will provide for free relief to the destitute either by making a proper part of the United States supplies available to them, or by utilizing funds accruing from the sale of United States supplies to meet the needs of the destitute. The agreements will also provide guaranties by the Government that all supplies handled through commercial channels will be in accordance with the provisions of all agreements reached between the United States and the recipient country.

5. Utilization of funds accruing from sales of United States supplies

The agreements will provide that all funds accruing from sales of United States supplies will be deposited at the time of the collection by the Government in a special account, and further that this fund will be disposed of after joint agreement between the United States and the Government for relief purposes within the country and for purposes related to welfare, health, and improvement of the condition of the people, also to defray the limited distribution costs of the recipient Government and to defray expenses incurred by the United States in employing small staffs of local employees for office and clerical work, interpreters, etc., and for other incidental expenses. The agreements will provide that the Government report each month on collections and balances and expenditures from the fund accruing from the sale of United States supplies.

6. Proper utilization of United States supplies, locally produced supplies and similar supplies from outside sources

The agreements will provide for the approval of a fair and effective rationing and price-control system, the distribution of supplies without discrimination, prohibitions against diversions to nonessential uses and against exports of United States supplies or locally produced supplies similar to United States supplies.

7. Effective crop collections

The agreements will provide that the recipient Government adopt crop collection procedures which guarantee the availability of the maximum quantity of locally produced supplies.

125

8. Reports, information, and statistics required by United States

The agreements will provide for reports covering (a) prompt notice of arrival of United States supplies, (b) the allocation of those supplies to commercial and other channels and the quantity of supplies used for free distribution, (c) current inventories of all supplies available for relief, and (d) forecasts of local supplies which will become available.

9. Freedom of United States representatives to observe, inspect, travel

The agreements will provide that the United States representatives will be completely free to observe, inspect, and travel at any and all times as they consider necessary, and the full cooperation of the Government in providing them with information, statistics, and reports.

10. Freedom of United States press and radio reporters to observe and report

The agreements will provide that representatives of the United States press and radio will be given complete freedom to observe and report on the relief distribution.

11. Publicity reference United States relief

The agreements will provide that the recipient Governments will arrange for publicity regarding the arrival of United States supplies, the channels of distribution, any unusual features of the distribution of supplies, and the utilization of funds accruing from sales of supplies for the benefit of the people.

12. Right of United States to stop or alter programs of United States assistance at any time, for any reason

The agreements on this subject will give the United States control of the program at all times and provide a powerful means of enforcing compliance with United States wishes concerning the distribution.

13. Other provisions

Since conditions vary from country to country, it is possible that other provisions will be necessary to insure proper conduct and effectiveness of distribution in some particular country.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS, Washington 6, D. C., February 25, 1947.

Hon. Charles A. Eaton,

Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. EATON: The League of Women Voters wishes to express it support for House Joint Resolution 134, providing for relief assistance to countries devastated by war. At the same time, we are mindful of the fact that the need is urgent and that every day of delay in securing passage of this legislation can have the most serious consequences in terms of human lives. Therefore, we are not asking to be heard on this subject but submit the attached statement which we request you have inserted in the record of the proceedings before your committee.

Sincerely yours,

ANNA LORD STRAUSS, President.

STATEMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES IN FAVOR OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 134 BELORE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

The League of Women Voters would like to urge prompt approval of House Joint Resolution 134. Our responsibility for helping to meet the problem of famine in the war-devastated countries still obtains.

For the past 3 years the United States has contributed its share of the funds and supplies for relief through UNRRA. Last fall our Government opposed the continuation of UNRRA on the ground that the remaining relief needs could be more efficiently met on a country-to-country basis. This stand implied our own willingness to assume responsibility for some country-to-country relief. There is now the danger of a serious hiatus between the end of UNRRA's operations and the beginning of our own relief work. Therefore, the need for speed in authorizing the appropriation of the \$350,000,000 is evident.

The grounds for United States aid in this situation are more than those of pure humanitarianism. Next month the Secretary of State goes to Moscow to begin work on the most difficult of all the peace treaties—the German treaty. influence and effectiveness in those negotiations will depend in part upon the judgment of the other nations there represented as to whether or not the United States sincerely intends to assume the world responsibilities of a great power. By failing to anthorize this further expenditure for relief—a small one when compared with the \$2,700,000,000 we have put into UNRRA—we could create the impression that we had washed our hands of responsibility for the recovery of Europe. Such an impression would seriously handicap the Secretary of State in his efforts.

We, therefore, respectfully request the committee to recommend authorization of a sum adequate for us to meet our responsibilities, which it seems to us should

in no event be below the \$350,000,000 figure provided in this resolution.

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, Washington, D. C., February 26, 1947.

Hon. CHARLES A. EATON,

Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Chairman Eaton: It is the belief of the American Farm Bureau Federation and the 1,100,000 farm families which it represents that our Nation should make every effort to lead a war-torn and war-weary world to peace and security.

At our annual convention, held in the city of San Francisco last December, our voting delegates adopted a full and comprehensive resolution on international cooperation. So that it may be before you, a copy of the full text of the resolution is attached. I wish to quote specifically, however, that paragraph of the resolution which pertains to the objectives sought by Honse Joint Resolution 134. It is as follows:

"We have supported the generous participation of the United States in the extension of relief to the needy peoples of war-rayaged countries. Currently, until a satisfactory plan for handling such matters is developed by the United Nations, any needed relief should be furnished by individual governments, acting individually or in cooperation with each other, wherever proper assurances are given that such assistance will go to the peoples needing it and will not be used to promote totalitarian dictatorships or practices."

I wish to support the objectives of House Joint Resolution 134, which provides for relief assistance by the United States to alleviate the pitiful plight of the hundreds of thousands of persons of the areas devastated by the war. pleased to note that the bill contains safeguards to restrict such relief to justifiable needs and to prevent use of relief funds for political purposes by nations receiving this assistance. We favor the retention of these safeguards.

Sincerely yours,

EDW. A. O'NEAL, President.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE VOTING DELEGATES AT THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL Convetion of the American Farm Bureau Federation, December 12, 1946

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The farmers of the American Farm Burean Federation rededicate themselves to the Nation's task of leading a war-torn and war-weary world to peace and security.

At this crucial stage in world history, our Nation today occupies a strategic position of world leadership. We will not break faith with those who have died on the field of battle or with future generations by shirking or avoiding these grave responsibilities.

If we are to meet these responsibilities successfully, we must maintain our

strength and play our full part in world affairs.

A little over a year ago, representatives of 50 nations met in this city of San Francisco and established the United Nations Organization to maintain international peace and security, to foster international cooperation in the solution of international economic and social problems.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has supported and will continue aggressively to support the full participation of the United States in the United

Nations Organization.

We particularly commend the policy of our Government in providing for bipartisan representation of Congress in the United States delegation to the United Nations. We urge that this bipartisan national unity in foreign affairs be continued and that the same policy be extended to the activities of our Government

in dealing with international economic problems and conferences.

Experience to date makes it imperative that very careful study be given to strengthening the United Nations Organization so as to provide the necessary means for the effective enforcement of peace. Powers delegated to this organization should be adequate to cope with breaches of the peace or threats to peace by aggressor nations, whether large or small. The veto power of the big five nations should be clarified so as to prevent its misuse to nullify efforts to attain the objectives of the Charter to prevent aggression and maintain peace and security.

Immediate steps should be taken by United Nations members to develop and put into operation effective plans for an international military police force, as provided in the United Nations Charter, to maintain and enforce the peace.

An integral component for winning the peace must include a workable plan for the control of atomic energy, guided missiles, and deadly bacteria. If there is another war, neither our Nation nor any other nation will have 2 years for preparation. We believe the United States should guard these secrets well and maintain adequate preparations for national security until the proposal for international control is satisfactorily worked out and put into operation.

Similarly, practical plans should be developed by the United Nations for the reduction and control of armaments. Such plan must be binding on all nations. We must not make the mistake we made after World War I, when some nations

disarmed while others prepared for world conquest.

To be effective, plans for the control of atomic energy and for the reduction and control of armaments must be accompanied by adequate provisions for international inspection and enforcement measures by the United Nations Organization. Care must be exercised that the veto power not be used to nullify the effectiveness of this system of inspection and enforcement.

Greater attention should be given to the development of international laws to provide a legal foundation for the peaceful and just settlement of interna-

tional disputes.

Economic disorders and controversies constitute one of the principal causes of war. It is vitally important that the nations of the world cooperate in the solution of international economic problems so as to provide a secure economic

fundation on which to build an enduring peace.

To that end, we have supported, and will continue to support, the full participation of the United States in the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Economic and Social Council, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and other essential international organizations dealing with the international economic and social problems.

We urge our Nation to do everything possible to make these programs work effectively. We urge that appropriate steps be taken to bring about proper coordi-

nation of these international agencies and their programs.

We heartily approve the policy adopted by the President and the Department of State in appointing representatives of farm organizations as advisors and formembers of the United States delegations to international conferences at Mexico City, Caracas, Quebec, and Copenhagen. We strongly urge that this sound policy be continued with respect to meetings of the FAO and other appropriate international conferences.

We also urge that appropriate steps be taken to afford adequate opportunities for representatives of agriculture, labor, and industry to consult and advise the Secretary of State and the United States delegates to the Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and other appropriate bodies of the United Nations

and related international organizations.

In the zones of military occupation, Allied governments should cooperate to establish economic order and stability to the end that these peoples can provide useful private employment to support themselves, to adopt effective measures to prevent rearming of these nations, to encourage and assist these nations to develop democratic governments, democratic institutions and practices, and an

effective democratic system of education to foster democratic ideals and basic freedoms.

We sympathize with the pitiful plight of hundreds of thousands of persons displaced and made homeless during and after the war. We urge that careful consideraiton be given to the solution of this problem.

We believe that our foreign economic policy should be such as to help other nations help themselves. Continued dependence upon charity is not in the best long-time interest of either the nation receiving the gifts or this Nation.

We have supported the generous participation of the United States in the extension of relief to the needy peoples of war-ravaged countries. Currently, until a satisfactory plan for handling such matters is developed by the United Nations, any needed relief should be furnished by individual governments, acting individually or in cooperation with each other, wherever such need exists and wherever proper assurances are given that such assistance will go to the peoples needing it and will not be used to promote totalitarian dictatorships or practices.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA, Washington 1, D. C., February 28, 1947.

Hon. CHARLES A. EATON, Chairman House Fo

Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee,

Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. EATON: The National Women's Trade Union League urges prompt favorable action on House Joint Resolution 134, to provide relief assistance to countries devastated by the war. We are deeply concerned that the people of the few devastated countries still found to need outside help beyond the expiration date of UNRRA, June 30, 1947, will not be abandoned pending the establishment of the International Refugee Organization. We believe that direct-assistance to these few countries as provided in this legislation is the logical procedure to follow in this interval.

Yours sincerely,

ELISABETH CHRISTMAN,
Secretary-Treasurer.
MARGARET F. STONE,
Chairman of Legislation.

X







H. J. RES. 153

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 20, 1947

Mr. Eaton introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the
- 4 President not to exceed \$350,000,000 for the provision of
- 5 relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war,
- 6 such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food,
- 7 medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for
- 8 clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed.
- 9 Sec. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such
- 10 relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers

- 1 of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits
- 2 subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and
- 3 on such terms as the President may determine; except that
- 4 no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may
- 5 be made after June 30, 1948.
- 6 (b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds appro-
- 7 priated pursuant thereto may be used to pay necessary
- 8 expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance,
- 9 including expenses of or incident to the procurement, storage.
- 10 transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred under
- 11 subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits estab-
- 12 lished under subsection (a).
- (c) Sums from the appropriations made pursuant to
- 14 this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the pur-
- 15 poses of this joint resolution to any department, agency,
- 16 or independent establishment of the Government and such
- 17 sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in
- 18 accordance with the laws governing obligations and expendi-
- 19 tures of the department, agency, or independent establish-
- 20 ment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without
- 21 regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes,
- 22 as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and
- 23 title 31, sec. 529).
- 24 (d) When any department, agency, or independent
- 25 establishment of the Government receives request from the

government of any country for which credits have been 1 established under subsection (a) and receives, from credits 2 so established, advancements or reimbursements for the cost 3 and necessary expenses, it may furnish, or procure and 4 furnish (if advancements are made), supplies within the 5 6 category of relief assistance as defined in section 1 and may use sums so received for the purposes set forth in subsection 7 (b) of this section. When any such reimbursement is made 8 it shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, 9 or independent establishment concerned, either to the appro-10 priation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation, 11 12 or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which 13 is current at the time of such reimbursement. Sec. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under 14 the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any 15 country unless the government of such country has given 16 17 assurance satisfactory to the President that (a) the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint 18 resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or 19 imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the 20 people of such country without discrimination as to race, 21 creed, or political belief; (b) representatives of the Govern-22 ment of the United States and of the press and radio of the 23 24 United States will be permitted to observe freely and to 25 report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such 1

21

22

supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given

within such country as to the purpose, source, character, 2 scope, amounts and progress of the United States relief pro-3 gram carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution; 4 5 (d) if food, medical supplies, fertilizer or seed is transferred or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to 6 this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will 7 8 be exported or removed from such country while need there-9 for for relief purposes continues; (e) such country has taken 10 or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures neces-11 sary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own 12 future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, 13 it will furnish promptly information concerning the produc-14 tion, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such 15 16 country; and (g) representatives of the Government of the 17 United States will be permitted to supervise the distribu-18 tion among the people of such country of the supplies trans-19 ferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint 20 resolution.

SEC. 4. When supplies are transferred or otherwise made

available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution,

- 1 the President shall cause representatives of the Government
- 2 of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution of
- 3 such supplies among the people of such country, and (2)
- 4 to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of
- 5 the assurances given to the President pursuant to section 3.
- 6 Sec. 5. (a) The President shall promptly terminate the
- 7 provision of relief assistance to the people of any country
- 8 whenever he determines (1) that, by reason of changed con-
- 9 ditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character
- authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2)
- 11 that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not
- being carried out, (3) that an excessive amount of any sup-
- plies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this
- 14 joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or im-
- 15 ported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the
- 16 maintenance of armed forces in such country, or (4) that
- 17 supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to
- 18 this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or
- imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed
- ²⁰ from such country.
- 21 (b) Relief assistance to the people of any country, under
- 22 this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

By Mr. Eaton

March 20, 1947 Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

H. J. RES. 153

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

April 7 (legislative day, March 24), 1947 Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. McClellan to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, viz: On page 3, between lines 13 and 14, insert the following:

- 1 (b) No relief assistance shall be provided under the
- 2 authority of this joint resolution to the governments or to
- 3 the peoples of Russia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary,
- 4 Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, or Bulgaria, or to any other
- 5 government or governments, or to the peoples thereof, whom
- 6 the President may hereafter determine to be under the
- 7 political and/or economic domination or sphere of influence
- 8 of Soviet Russia.

4-7-47-E

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. McClellan to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

April 7 (legislative day, March 24), 1947

APRIL 7 (legislative day, March 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

80TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 153

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

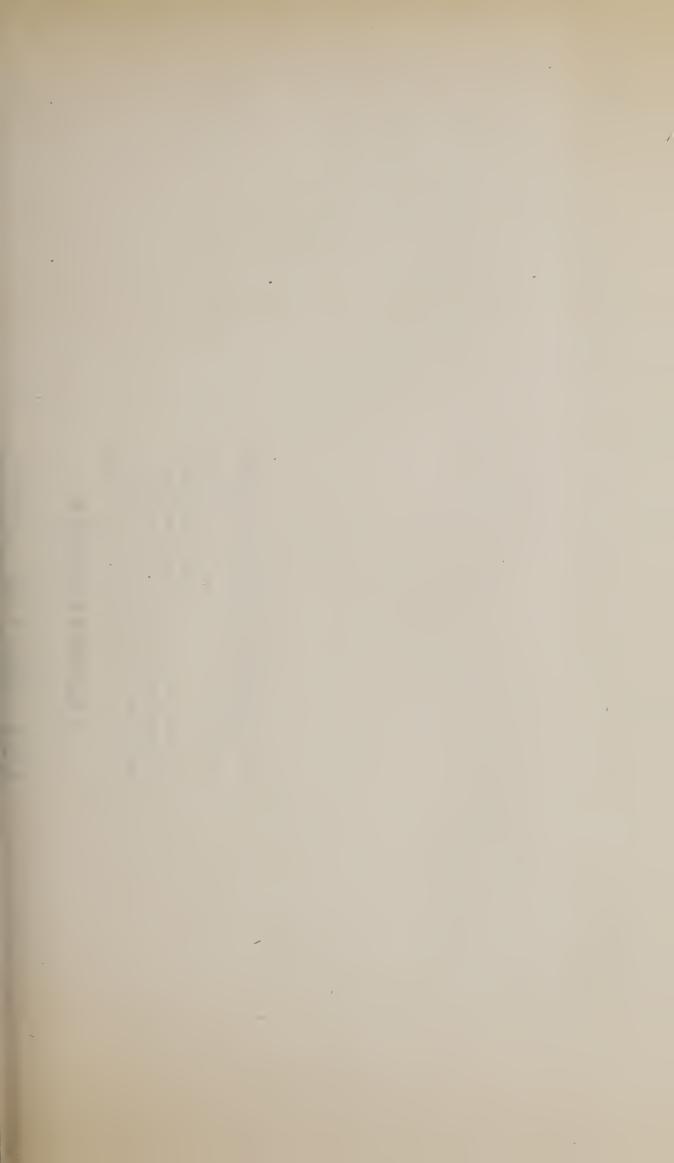
APRIL 7 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947 Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Young (for himself and Mr. McClellan) to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, viz:

- 1 On page 4, line 16, strike out the word "and"; and before
- 2 the period in line 20 insert a semicolon and the following:
- 3 "(h) all supplies transferred pursuant to this joint reso-
- 4 lution or acquired through the use of credits established
- 5 pursuant to this joint resolution and any articles processed
- 6 from such supplies, or the containers of such supplies or
- 7 articles, shall be marked, stamped, branded, or labeled in a
- 8 conspicuous place as legibly, indelibly, and permanently as
- 9 the nature of such supplies, articles, or containers will per-

- 1 mit in such manner as to indicate to the ultimate consumer
- 2 in such country that such supplies or articles have been
- 3 donated by the United States of America for relief assistance;
- 4 or if such supplies, articles, or containers are incapable of
- 5 being so marked, stamped, branded, or labeled, that the
- 6 ultimate consumers thereof will otherwise be informed that
- 7 such supplies or articles have been donated by the United
- 8 States of America for relief assistance".



AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Young (for himself and Mr. McClelan) to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

APRIL 7 (legislative day, March 24), 1947 Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

Upr.



DIUESI OF

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Division of Legislative Reports (For Department staff only)

For actions of April 10, 1947
Soth-1st, No. 66

CONTENTS

	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Atomic energy 2	Lands10,15	Small business 7
Education20	Livestock and meat11	Social security
Expenditures22,24	Minerals	Soil conservation18
Fisheries12	Nominations 2	Tobacco8
Food survey 3	Personnel	Trademarks16
Foreign affairs, 1, 3, 5, 6, 21, 23	Prices, farm 5	Trade, foreign 4
Forests and forestry17	. Quarantine, animal11	Un-American activities.19
Labor, farm14	Records, disposition of9	Wool4
Va.		

HIGHLIGHTS; Senate debated Greek-Turkish aid bill. Senate confirmed Lilienthal nomination to Atomic Energy Commission. Reps. Rich and Barrett spoke against tariff reduction on wool. Rep. Vursell criticized CCC's purchases as contributing to high prices. Rep. Gross blamed "Government interference" for high food prices.

SEMATE

- 1. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on S. 938, to provide assistance for Greece and Turkey (pp. 3323-8, 3338-41).
- 2. NOMINATION. Confirmed the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission (pr. 3328-30, 3342-3).
- 3. FOOD SURVEY. Sen. Smith, N.J., inserted letter signed by numerous persons commending Herbert Hoover's work in the survey of food conditions in Germany (pp. 3322-3).

HOUSE

4. WOOL; FOREIGN TRADE. Reps. Rich (Pa.) and Barrett (Wyo:) urged that the tariff on wool not be reduced (pp. 3350, 3352).

Rep. Foerharter, Pa., spoke in favor of reciprocal trade agreements (p. 3350) and Reps. Gavin (Pa.) and Bates (Mass.) stated that Congress should have the first say on reciprocal-trade agreements (p. 3351).

5. FOOD PRICES. Rep. Gross, Pa., blamed "Government interference" for high food prices (p. 3348).

Rep. Vursell, Ill., criticized CCC's food purchases for foreign shipment as contributing to the high cost of living (p. 3350).

Rep. Holifield, Calif., blamed the removal of price controls as the chief cause of high prices in foodstuffs (pp. 3351-2).

FOREIGN RELIEF. The Foreign Affairs Committee reported without amendment H.J.

Res. 153, providing relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by
the war (H.Rept. 239) (p. 3372).

Rep. Mathews, N.J., stated that farmers are the strongest thread in our economy but that, although they were willing to feed the hungry people of Greece and Turkey, they were against military assistance (p. 3347).

Rep. Taber, N.Y., spoke opposing food relief to Russia in view of that

country's involvement in the present Greek situation (p. 3369).

- 7. SMALL BUSINESS. Rep. Hill, Colo., inserted George Reedy's recent radio comments on small business (pp. 3347-8).
- 8. TOBACCO QUOTAS. Passed over on objection H.J.Res. 152, to authorize national marketing quotas for Virginia sun-cured tobacco when fire-cured tobacco quotas are in effect (p. 3366).
- 9. DISPOSITION OF RECORDS. Passed without amendment H.R. 1350, to amend the National Archives Act so as to permit heads of departments and agencies to specify restrictions on the use or examination of records being, or which have been,
 transferred from their custody to that of the Archivist (pp. 7352-3).
- 10. PUBLIC LANDS. Passed as reported H.R. 603, relating to credit for military or naval service in connection with certain homestead entries (p. 3365).
- 11. FOOT-ARD-MOUTH DISEASE. Received an Oreg. Legislature memorial urging cooperation with Mexico in the suppression of this disease (p. 3373).
- 12. FISHERIES. Received an Oreg. Legislature memorial favoring legislation to restrict the importation of crab meat produced in foreign waters or distributed by foreign nationals outside the U.S. (p. 3373).

BILLS INTRODUCED

- 13. PERSONNEL. S. 1073, by Sen. Millikin, Colo., to extend until June 30, 1949, the period of time during which persons may serve in certain executive departments and agencies without being prohibited from acting as counsel, agent, or attorny for prosecuting claims against the U.S. by reason of having so served. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 3320.)
- 14. SOCIAL SECURITY; FARM LABOR. S. 1072, by Scn. Millikin, Colo., to extend until July 1, 1949, the period during which income from agricultural labor and mursing services may be disregarded by the States in making old-age assistance payments without prejudicing their rights to grants-in-aid under the Social Security Act. To Finance Committee. (p. 3320.)
- 15. MINERALS; LANDS. S. 1081, by Sen. Robertson, Wyo., to promote the mining of coal, phosphate, sodium, potassium, oil, oil shale, gas, and sulfur on lands acquired by the U.S. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 3320.)
 - H.R. 2994, by Rep. Landis, Ind., to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to execute and deliver to present owners of real property quitclaim deeds to the minerals in or under such property reserved by the U.S. pursuant to the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 3372.)
- 16. TRADEMARKS. A.R. 2988, by Rep. Gossett, Tex., to amend an act to provide for the protection and registration of trade-marks used in commerce, and to carry out the provisions of international conventions. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 3372.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

- 17. FOREST AND FORESTRY. Rep. Trimble, Ark., inserted Paul H. Gerrard's (forest supervisor, Ozark National Forest, Ark.) letter regarding the work of the Forest Service in that area (pp. A1667-8).
- 18. SOIL COMSERVATION. Rep. Smith, Maine, inserted Obed Millett's (Chairman, Agri-

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

APRIL 9, 1947.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. EATON, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. J. Res. 153]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the joint resolution do pass.

This joint resolution was introduced as the result of a message from the President of the United States, the text of which is contained

in this report for the information of the House.

Message From the President of the United States Transmitting His Recommendation That the Congress Authorize the Appropriation of Not To Exceed \$350,000,000 To Assist in Completing the Great Task of Bringing Relief From the Ravages of the War to the People of THE LIBERATED COUNTRIES

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I recommend that the Congress authorize the appropriation of not to exceed

\$350,000,000 to assist in completing the great task of bringing relief from the ravages of the war to the people of the liberated countries.

The period of full-scale supply operations by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is rapidly drawing to a close. In some of the liberated countries UNRRA will have achieved its objective fully, for these countries will once again be self-supporting so far as the basic essentials of life are concerned. In other liberated countries, however, this is not yet the case. Compared with what has already been done, what remains to be done is relatively

small and limited in time and scope, but nonetheless vitally important.

On humanitarian grounds, and in the light of our own self-interest as well, we must not leave the task unfinished. We cannot abandon the peoples still in need. To do so would be to replace hope with despair in the hearts of these peoples and thus to undermine the spiritual and economic stability upon which our own hopes for a better world must rest. Others will help, but such is the preponderance of our economic resources that success cannot be achieved without us. If we fail to do our part, millions of human beings will be denied the elemental

Their strength and recuperative powers, which have been necessities of life. slowly growing, will be undermined. The time, now in sight, when they can once more exist without help and make their contributions to the peace, prosperity,

and progress of the world, will be indefinitely postponed.

I recommend that this relief assistance be given directly rather than through an international organization, and that our contribution be administered under United States control. International cooperation in the program and the necessary coordination of our relief activities with those of other contributors can be achieved by informal consultations with all nations concerned through the mechanism of the United Nations and otherwise. I believe that our relief contribution

should be used only for providing the basic essentials of life, such as medical supplies, food, and items which will aid in the production of foodstuffs.

The authorization recommended is designed for the urgent relief needs for the balance of the year. The most critical period will be in the spring and summer months, when UNRRA shipments will cease and the harvests are not yet available.

Swift legislative action is necessary if our help is not to come too late.

The United States, in keeping with our traditions of immediate and whole-hearted response to human need, has stood in the forefront of those who have checked the forces of starvation, disease, suffering, and chaos which threatened to engulf the world in the wake of the war. The task is nearly finished. I urge the Congress to act promptly to insure that we do not stop short of the goal; that we do not endanger the permanence of the gains we have helped to achieve.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 21, 1947.

The committee began public hearings February 25, 1947, on House Joint Resolution 134, providing for relief assistance to countries devastated by war. Eleven meetings were held altogether, including executive sessions. A thorough and exhaustive study was made of the proposed legislation; the original bill was redrafted and reintroduced as House Joint Resolution 153. The committee then met a twelfth time, March 20, 1947, and voted to report favorably House Joint Resolution 153.

The following witnesses testified during the hearings:

Hon. Herbert Hoover, former President of the United States. Hon. W. L. Clayton, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Department of State.

Mr. Tyler Wood, deputy to the Assistant Secretary of State for

Economic Affairs.

Dr. D. A. Fitzgerald, Secretary General of the International Emergency Food Council.

Mr. Dallas Dort, Adviser on Relief and Rehabilitation, Department

of State:

Mr. Harrington Noe.

URGENT NEED FOR PROMPT ACTION

Relief activities of UNRRA in Europe are in the process of liquidation. Witnesses without exception before the committee testified that without some further relief assistance, many people in wardevastated countries will perish, and millions will be undernourished.

RELIEF NEEDS IN 1947

The General Assembly of the United Nations on December 13, 1946, adopted a resolution urging that following the termination of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, residual relief needs in such countries be met during the ensuing year through the development of the respective programs of all members of the United Nations.

The Department of State has estimated minimum relief needs in the calendar year 1947 for Austria, Greece, Italy, Hungary, Poland, and China at about \$610,000,000, excluding remaining UNRRA shipments. The \$350,000,000 requested in House Joint Resolution 153 is 57 percent of the estimated need. The Under Secretary of State, Mr. Clayton, stated in his testimony before the committee:

This sum represents, in our opinion, our fair share of the total requirement, bearing in mind our capacity in relation to that of other supplying countries. It is 57 percent of the estimated need, compared with our UNRRA proportion of 72 percent.

No specific contributions to these countries is referred to in this joint resolution, as it is planned for relief to be provided with due regard to changing conditions and the plans of other contributor nations. To prevent the development of situations where recipient nations may consider specific allocations to be inflexible beyond change, and to provide for changing conditions, harvest yields, etc., the State Department has requested that anticipated allocations be not set forth, although tentative information has been divulged to the committee as to the needs of the individual recipient nations. It is not known how much or to what countries other donor countries may contribute. The United States program of relief for specific countries would have to be worked out in the light of these factors.

The relief contemplated in this joint resolution is in no sense a continuation of UNRRA. Although of the utmost urgency, it is believed that the problem can best be handled by direct relief rather than through the cumbersome mechanism of an international

agency.

TYPE OF RELIEF TO BE FURNISHED

Section 1 of the joint resolution limits relief assistance to food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed. The term "pesticides" is understood to mean insecticides and other preparations necessary to protect growing crops from insects, fungi, etc.

BASIC REQUIREMENTS TO BE MET BY RELIEF-RECIPIENT COUNTRIES

No relief assistance can be provided to the people of any country unless and until the government of that country gives assurances satisfactory to the President that:

1. There will be no discrimination in the distribution of relief

supplies.

2. There will be complete freedom of press and radio of the United

States to observe and report on relief activities.

3. Full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of the United States relief program.

4. Such country has taken or is taking, insofar as possible, steps to reduce its relief needs and provide for its own future reconstruction.

5. Upon request of the President, it will furnish promptly information concerning production and use which would affect its relief needs:

6. Representatives of the United States Government will be permitted to supervise the distribution among the people of such country of the relief supplies.

The President is also required to terminate relief assistance whenever it is found to be no longer necessary or whenever any excessive amount of any relief supplies is being used for the maintainance of armed forces, or whenever similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed from such country. This provision would not operate to prevent Greece from exporting a surplus quantity of olive oil, for instance, which would be necessary to assist her in obtaining other needed supplies.

The President must promptly terminate relief assistance in the event

any of these basic requirements are not carried out.

The joint resolution also provides that the relief assistance—

unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated whenever such termination is directed by concurrent resolution of the two Houses of the Congress.

SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF RELIEF BY UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES

The joint resolution specifically provides that the distribution of relief supplies shall be supervised by representatives of the Government of the United States, who are to observe and report concerning the application of the basic requirements which must be agreed to by the governments of the recipient countries before they will be eligible for relief assistance.

REPAYMENT NOT REQUIRED

Since countries which receive relief are likely to lack foreign exchange for a number of years and the small amount available will be needed to service loans for reconstruction purposes and to procure essential imports, the bill does not require repayment for relief which may be made available.

METHOD OF HANDLING FUNDS

Relief may be provided either by direct transfer of supplies to a foreign government or by authorizing the foreign government to arrange for procurement. In the latter ease appropriated funds will be made available to meet the cost of supplies which are purchased by the foreign governments upon authorization of United States officials. Credits will be established from time to time by a deposit in the Federal Reserve Bank or other United States depository, in the name of the foreign government.

It is provided that these credits will be controlled by the President or his authorized agent so that no withdrawals can be made by the

foreign government without specific authorization.

In some cases the foreign government may request a United States agency to act for it in procuring relief supplies, or rendering services, such as transportation, storage, etc., in connection with this relief program. The foreign government can then advance funds to the agency from the credit established in its name, or can reimburse the agency from its credit, for the supplies or services furnished.

COMPLIANCE OF REPORT WITH RAMSEYER RULE

Subsection (e) of section 2 authorizes the expenditure of funds without regard to sectious 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as

amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and title 31, sec. 529). In accordance with clause 2-A of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, there is included in this report the texts of these sections of the United States Code.

Sec. 5. All purchases and contracts for supplies or services, in any of the departments of the Government, except for personal services, shall be made by advertising a sufficient time previously for proposals respecting the same, when the public exigencies do not require the immediate delivery of the articles, or performance of the service. When immediate delivery or performance is required by the public exigency, the articles or service required may be procured by open purchase or contract, at the places and in the manner in which such articles are usually bought

and sold, or such services engaged, between individuals. (R. S. 3709.)

SEC. 529. No advance of public money shall be made in any case. And in all cases of contracts for the performance of any service, or the delivery of articles of any description, for the use of the United States, payment shall not exceed the value of the service rendered, or of the articles delivered previously to such pay-It shall, however, be lawful, under the special direction of the President, to make such advances to the disbursing officers of the Government as may be necessary to the faithful and prompt discharge of their respective duties, and to the fulfillment of the public engagements. The President may also direct such advances as he may deem necessary and proper, to persons in the military and naval service employed on distant stations, where the discharge of the pay and emoluments to which they may be entitled cannot be regularly effected. (R. S. 3648.

CONCLUSION

The relief activities of UNRRA are ending. Testimony of the witnesses who appeared before the committee agreed that the immediate urgent problem is to maintain the flow of relief supplies to countries whose people are in need and who lack the funds to pay for relief supplies.

House Joint Resolution 153 provides for direct relief by the United States, rather than through an international agency such as UNRRA, and requires United States supervision and control. Rigid requirements must be met by relief-recipient countries before relief can be furnished and their failure to keep faith would cause immediate

termination of relief assistance.

These basic requirements include full freedom for United States representatives to observe and report on relief operations. must be similar freedom for United States press and radio. Full eredit must be given the United States in the press and radio of eountries receiving relief. These, and other safeguards in the joint resolution, are designed to insure the proper distribution of relief to those in need. The urgency of prompt action was emphasized by witnesses who testified that without some further relief assistance, many people in war-devastated countries will perish, and millions be seriously undernourished. Delay would undermine much of the humanitarian work heretofore done by our Government and others, eause much suffering and economic deterioration, with consequences to the entire world not pleasant to contemplate.

MINORITY VIEWS

Mr. Jonkman, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following minority views to accompany H. J. Res. 153

The undersigned find themselves in disagreement with the majority with respect to the bill that has been reported out. We find that this bill goes much further in the amount sought to be authorized and the scope of the relief program, as to countries included, and the manner and duration of relief, than is warranted by the actual circumstances. Moreover, the matter of raising the money, outside of the 350 million sought from the United States taxpayers, seems to have been given little if any thought.

The original bill stated in its preamble, among other things, that—

Whereas, for humanitarian reasons, and in order to promote healthy economic conditions abroad which are essential to the security and economic well-being of the United States and of the world, the Government of the United States desires to assist in the furnishing of such relief: Therefore—

And so forth.

This is an administration bill. The loose thinking under which it has been brought to the Congress could well support the presumption that the State Department felt that for any Member of Congress to oppose this legislation would mean that he was wanting in humanitarian instincts, and against the security and economic well-being of the United States, and therefore there would be no opposition.

However, such a premise is misleading. The American people have every sympathy for the seriously undernourished men, women, and especially children in other lands and wish to help feed them in accordance with our means. Members of Congress, as Americans, have the same feelings and objectives. But as representatives of the people, they are bound by the time-honored maxim that "they must be just before they are generous with the taxpayers' money."

Before considering foreign grants by our Government for the relief of any and all nations of the world who may be in destitute circum-

stances, we should consider—

(1) What resources and substance have we at our disposal?(2) What do we need to maintain and support our own way of life?

(3) What is sought of us abroad, and how long will the need

continue?

(4) What good purpose will be served by any program we may initiate?

We have to consider our national debt of 260 billion; our over-all national, State, and local tax burden amounting to 35 percent of our national income; whether that national income, at present amounting to 170 billion, is temporary or permanent. We have to consider the drain on our production machine (already the State Department admits that we are short two-fifths of the grain cereals in this program and they will have to come from the next fall crop). We must bear in mind that these exports are destroying our economy like a two-

edged sword by their cost in taxes and inflation from the resulting

scareity.

In the proposed prodigal program to reach occupied, liberated, and even neutral nations, we will be dissipating our strength and service without having reached the children, the men, and women who really need help, and whom we could reach by a judicious, well-considered application of the limited means at our disposal. If we are to relieve the peoples of foreign nations, it must be done on the limited scale of seeking to meet only the most desperate and necessary needs, and only in those countries where these needs exist.

It seems that the administration has paid very seant attention to

these considerations.

In the first place, we know that this bill grows out of the recommendation of the General Assembly of the United Nations, made last December. However, it made a proposal of residual relief for a term of 6 months following the termination of UNNRA on March 31. Herbert Hoover also recommends a 6 months' term, to end with the fall harvest. The budget contains a provision for \$100,000,000 for 1947 and \$250,000,000 for 1948. In his message to Congress recommending this appropriation, the President stated relief: "The authorization recommended is designed for the urgent relief needs for the balance of the year." But apparently to justify the expenditure of the whole amount, the State Department doubles the term of relief.

The Under Secretary states, on page 3 of the hearings, in accord with the President's message, with Hoover, and the United Nations, that the need is "particularly acute during the spring and early summer months" and that there is every reason for anticipating that these countries will not need further free relief after 1947. Then in the bill the State Department asks for sufficient relief to operate until June 30, 1948. When the Department finds that our stock of grain eereals is only sufficient for three-fifths of their requirements, they blandly propose that the other two-fifths be supplied from our crops next fall (p. 97).

In the second place, the State Department asks for blank checks up to the amount of \$350,000,000 to be used in any country they see fit. It is true, they say that at the present time they have in mind six countries: Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and possibly China. But that is only their present intention, and they reserve the right to make changes and additions if, in their judgment, the

money should be devoted to other areas.

Not only that, but they wish to keep secret the break-down of this \$350,000,000 and the figures they have used as the needs of each country. In other words, they are asking the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to stultify themselves and come to Congress and the people, advocating the grant of \$350,000,000, without giving the basis of their calculations. This ostensibly is none of the business

of the Congress or the people.

It is true, they use as an excuse the pretext that once the allocation for each country is given, that country will consider that allocation as our debt to them, and a cut would cause dissension. We are not impressed by this argument for keeping Congress and the people in the dark. How can the State Department assure enforcement of the stern conditions precedent proposed in the bill for the giving and continuation of relief when they show the aforesaid weakness?

The State Department proposes to lay down such conditions for the distribution of this relief without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief; that where such assurances are not given, they positively will not go in and give relief; that in such cases the allocated amount will be used in other countries. We are not satisfied that such conditions will be accepted, for instance, in Poland or Hungary, which are absolutely dominated by the Communists; and in such event we do not approve of spending it in other countries with prodigality. But even if such conditions were accepted in those countries, does anyone believe relief would go to deserving Polish patriots as freely as to the members of the Communist Party line? Past experiences all show the contrary.

We are just as desirious of aiding those really in need in these countries as any other person; but if those people cannot be reached, is it wise to give such supplies to the governments of such countries where they will be used to bolster up the Communist movement?

There are other considerations which fall almost within the same category. For instance, on page 75 of the hearings, it is admitted by the State Department that by this relief to Hungary we will be paying Hungary's reparations bill of 23 millions a year to Russia; that if Hungary had no reparations to pay, the relief would not be needed.

Then, in Greece, of course, there will be duplication in that another economic mission will be set up there under the so-called bill for \$400,000,000 relief to Turkey and Greece, with which Paul Porter has already admitted the undertaking to Greece provided for in this

bill should be merged.

It is even questionable what provision this bill makes for feeding undernourished children in the countries designated. Certainly, they should be our first care and consideration. A reading of page 41 of the hearings speaks of a future contribution for that purpose. Certainly, such supplementals as cod-liver oil and milk for children are

in as much immediate need as anything for anybody.

While the Greece and Turkey aid bill is primarily concerned with reconstruction and military aid, the bill presently under consideration also transcends the bounds of strict relief and goes into rehabilitation and reconstruction, as indicated on page 4 of the hearings and in the bill itself, reciting processed and unprocessed materials for clothing and fuel, while the so-called secret documents seem to go even further than that.

The State Department, while assuming that other nations will contribute as in UNNRA, has no assurance that they will join us in this

undertaking.

The over-all cost of this relief undertaking has been set at \$610,000,000, of which the State Department proposes that we pay 57 percent, or \$350,000,000, with the other 43 percent, or \$260,000,000, to be borne by other countries. However, this seems to have had only seant consideration. On page 81 of the hearings, the State Department says:

This figure of \$350,000,000 was in some respects a figure based on judgment and in part picked out of the air.

With reference to the willingness of other nations to contribute, according to the hearings on page 10, the only definite assurance they had was with reference to Great Britain's contribution in Austria,

which they claimed had already received \$40,000,000 from Britain. They emphasize this time and again (pp. 3, 10, 11, 88, and 90), although on page 88 it is clear they are pessimistic about further aid from Britain. As this seemed rather anomalous that Britain would be pulling out of Greece and yet be distributing relief in Austria, inquiry at the proper source elicited the information that this \$40,000,000 was a sterling loan to Austria and not a grant. The State Department later qualified its statement and admitted that it was partly a grant and partly a loan, and there the matter stands with reference to Britain.

The only other nation consulted, as far as the record shows, was Canada. After several discussions, they got no further than that the

Canadian Government was sympathetic and thinking about it.

Australia last year suffered severely from drought and probably will be unable to assist. Yet if other countries contribute in the same ratio as they did in UNRRA, these three countries, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia, will have to contribute 215 millions of the 260 millions expected from the other nations of the world under this program.

In other words, the \$260,000,000 to be contributed by other countries has by no means been assured to the State Department; nor do they seem to have considered whether, if any countries should contribute, these would have to set up their own relief agencies or whether the United States in this venture would become a fiscal agent of

foreign countries.

Finally, the State Department has not made any on-the-spot check of the needs in these countries. It does not know whether there is scarcity in Warsaw or Athens; and if so, which of the two has the greatest scarcity. Its analysis of needs might be very misleading. To arrive at a country's needs it strikes a balance of the excess of estimated imports over exports and assumes that the resulting shortage is the exchange needed to buy necessaries of life and to prevent economic retrogression. In other words, if, as was reported from Greece on March 29, she squandered her foreign exchange by—

importing 19 tons of colored combs of all sizes, huge quantities of toy balloons, nylon, and lipsticks of all shades, and other fantastic types of commodities—

this would raise her imports that much in excess of exports; and according to State Department diagnosis, she would need that much more exchange to purchase the necessaries of life. In other words, there may be no relation of this unfavorable trade balance to the food supply. It is similar to a squandering family which may produce or earn (export in goods or services) \$100 a week and spend (import) \$125. It is certainly running into trouble and will need credits or loans, but that does not necessarily mean that the children are not being fed, although, of course, such may be the case.

The same uncertainty lies in their proposed machinery for the distribution of relief. The relief goods will be turned over to the controlling governments for distribution. This is the same hurdle that caused such a miserable flop in UNRRA. But the State Department

says, on page 33 of the hearings—

if you did it effectively (direct distribution with American personnel) it would take all this money to pay for the personnel to look after it.

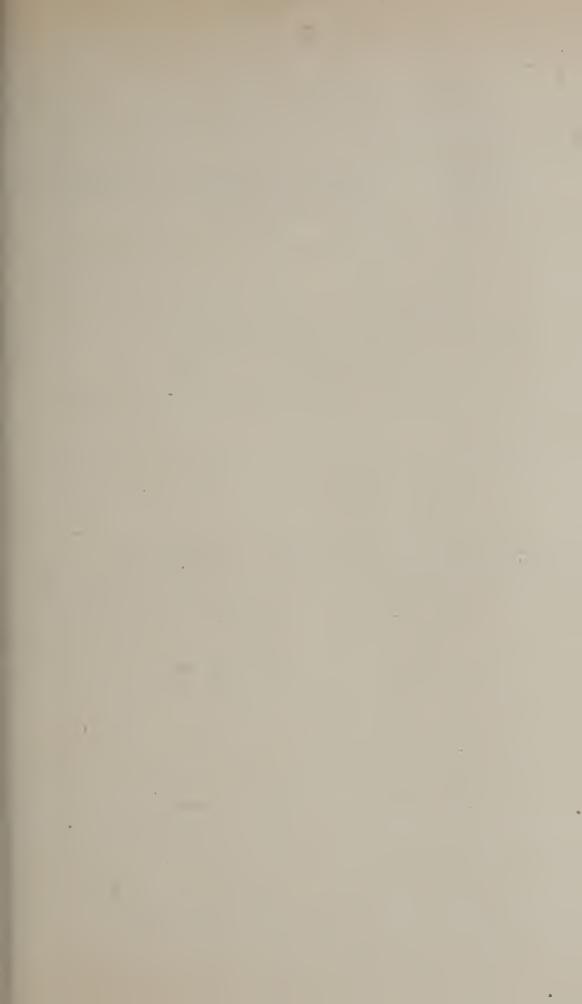
The question may well be asked: How much of the money will it take to make an effective check on ruling governments' distribution?

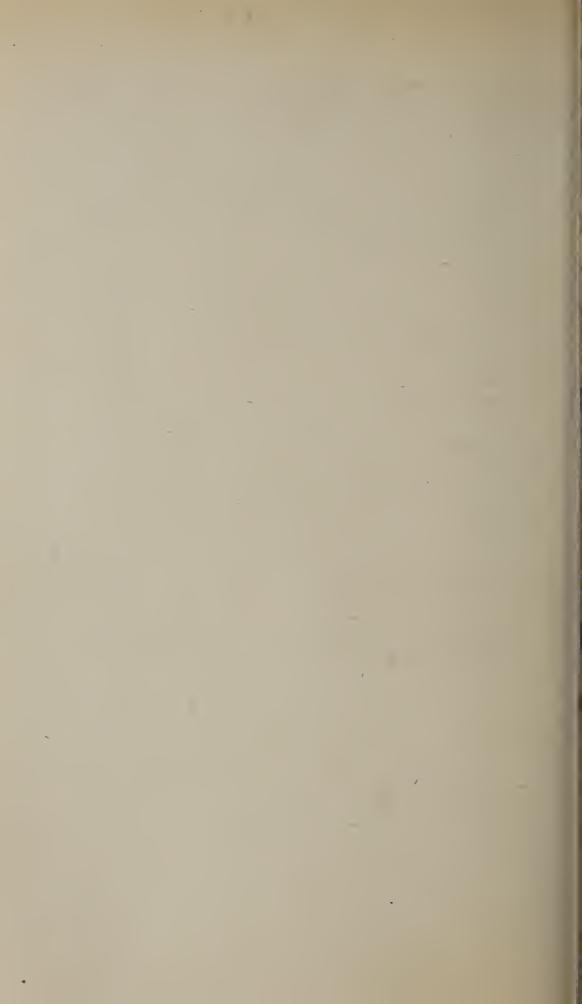
We propose to offer amendments which will reduce the authorization in this bill to \$200,000,000 and provide that no transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made thereunder after December 31, 1947.

This will more nearly meet all the considerations which a judicious approach would recommend and which is adequate to accomplish the

desired result if distribution is made with reasonable diligence.

ROBERT B. CHIPERFIELD. BARTEL J. JONKMAN. LAWRENCE H. SMITH.





Union Calendar No. 106

80TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 153

[Report No. 239]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 20, 1947

Mr. Earon introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

APRIL 9, 1947

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the
- 4 President not to exceed \$350,000,000 for the provision of
- 5 relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war,
- 6 such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food,
- 7 medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for
- 8 clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed.
- 9 Sec. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such
- 10 relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers

- 1 of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits
- 2 subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and
- 3 on such terms as the President may determine; except that
- 4 no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may
- 5 be made after June 30, 1948.
- 6 (b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds appro-
- 7 priated pursuant thereto may be used to pay necessary
- 8 expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance,
- 9 including expenses of or incident to the procurement, stor-
- 10 age, transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred
- 11 under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits
- established under subsection (a).
- (c) Sums from the appropriations made pursuant to
- 14 this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the pur-
- poses of this joint resolution to any department, agency,
- or independent establishment of the Government and such
- 17 sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in
- accordance with the laws governing obligations and expendi-
- 19 tures of the department, agency, or independent establish-
- ment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without
- 21 regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes,
- as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and
- ²³ title 31, sec. 529).
- (d) When any department, agency, or independent
- establishment of the Government receives request from the

government of any country for which credits have been 1 established under subsection (a) and receives, from credits 2 so established, advancements or reimbursements for the cost 3 and necessary expenses, it may furnish, or procure and 4 furnish (if advancements are made), supplies within the 5 category of relief assistance as defined in section 1 and may 6 7 use sums so received for the purposes set forth in subsection (b) of this section. When any such reimbursement is made 8 9 it shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, either to the appro-10 11 priation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation, 12 or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which 13 is current at the time of such reimbursement. 14 SEC. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under 15 the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any country unless the government of such country has given 16 17 assurance satisfactory to the President that (a) the supplies 18 transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint 19 resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or 20 imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the 21 people of such country without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief; (b) representatives of the Govern-22 23 ment of the United States and of the press and radio of the 24 United States will be permitted to observe freely and to

report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such

supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given 1 2 within such country as to the purpose, source, character, 3 scope, amounts and progress of the United States relief pro-4 gram carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution; 5 (d) if food, medical supplies, fertilizer, or seed is transferred or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to 6 7 this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will 8 be exported or removed from such country while need therefor for relief purposes continues; (e) such country has taken 9 or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures neces-10 sary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own 11 12 future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, 13 it will furnish promptly information concerning the production, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any 14 supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such 15 country; and (g) representatives of the Government of the 16 17 United States will be permitted to supervise the distribu-18 tion among the people of such country of the supplies trans-19 ferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint 20 resolution. 21 SEC. 4. When supplies are transferred or otherwise made 22 available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution, 23 the President shall cause representatives of the Government 24 of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution of

such supplies among the people of such country, and (2)

1 to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of

2 the assurances given to the President pursuant to section 3.

3 Sec. 5. (a) The President shall promptly terminate the

4 provision of relief assistance to the people of any country

whenever he determines (1) that, by reason of changed con-

ditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character

authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2)

that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not

being carried out, (3) that an excessive amount of any sup-

plies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this

joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or im-

ported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the

maintenance of armed forces in such country, or (4) that

supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to

this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or

imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed

from such country.

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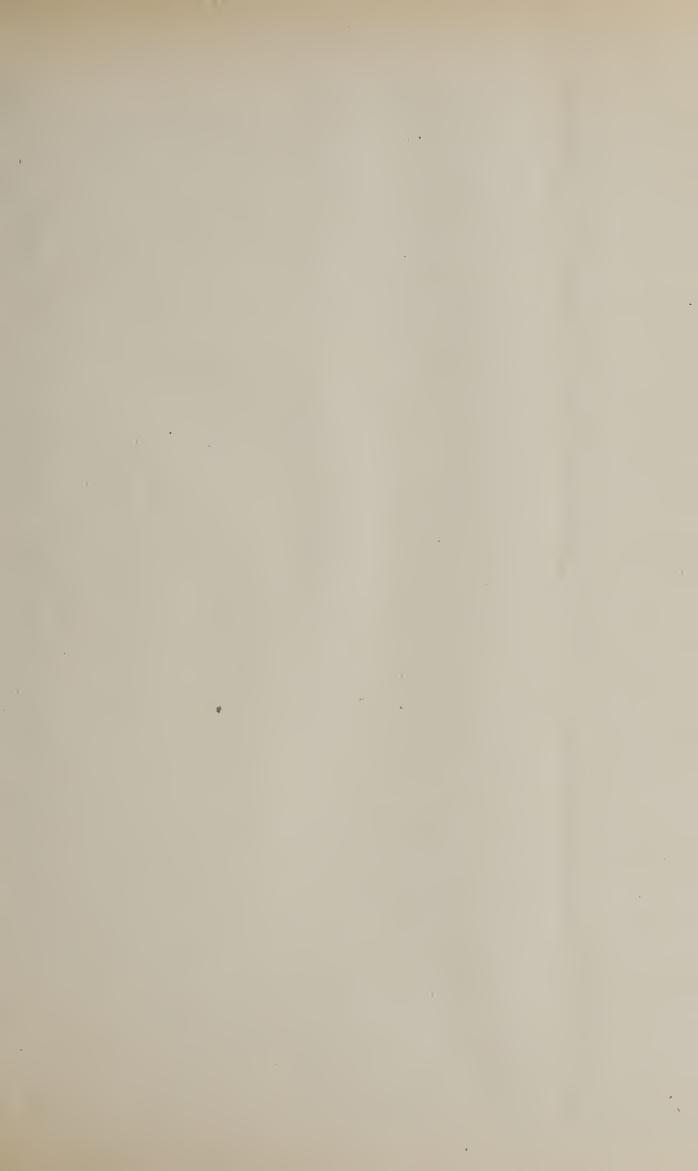
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- (b) Relief assistance to the people of any country, under this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated whenever such termination is directed by concurrent resolution of the two Houses of the Congress.
- SEC. 6. The authority of the President under sections 24 2, 3, and 4 may, to the extent the President directs, be exercised by the Secretary of State.

- 1 Sec. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress
- 2 quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under
- 3 authority of this joint resolution.



80TH CONGRESS H. J. RES. 153

[Report No. 239]

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

By Mr. EATON

March 20, 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

APRIL 9, 1947

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

RECORD and include a letter from a con-

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances.

Mr. JOHNSON of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances and include two speeches.

Mr. REEVES (at the request of Mr. KEATING) was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial from the Kansas City Star.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an article from the Washington Star.

FISCAL AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Fiscal Affairs Subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia may sit this afternoon notwithstanding the session of the

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for I minute and to revise and extend my/remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New

Jersey?

There was no objection.

LOAN TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Speaker, I think perhaps the farmer is the strongest fiber in the web and woof of our economy. He is hard working. He is independent. Perhaps he is a little more American than some of the rest of us because he is nearer the soil and therefore nearer to nature.

The farmers in my district take a keen and intelligent interest in politics, particularly during the winter months when their work is less arduous. Since one of their greatest problems is paying off their mortgages and keeping out of unnecessary debt, it is difficult for them to understand a Federal Government, the objective of which seems to have been to get into more and more debt. I asked one of those farmers what he thought about the President's proposal with regard to Greece and Turkey. He said he was perfectly willing to give something to feed hungry people, but he said we could not give them everything; they will have to do something for themselves. He said, "As for messing in with military affairs, I am against it.'

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

NAVY DEPARTMENT PICKETED BY ILWU LOCAL 10 OF SAN FRANCISCO WITH BANNERS READING "THIS ESTABLISH-MENT IS UNFAIR TO LABOR"

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Speaker, prior to the war the loading and unloading of Navy ammunition at Mare Island or Port Chicago was handled by civil-service workers, specially trained for the job. During war and immediately following, so much ammunition was handled that regular employees were unable to take care of all of it. The Navy then hired, through the longshoreman's union, some temporary employees to handle this work.

Recently a ship was unloaded at Port Chicago by regular employees. Immediately the union threw a picket line at the United States haval magazine at Port Chicago, Calif., carrying banners reading "This establishment unfair to labor."

One of the regular workmen sent me a very interesting and shocking letter, which I am including in these remarks, telling about the incident. Incidentally, by using the regular employees, all of whom have been certified by the Civil Service Commission, the saving to the Government on one shipload was \$58,000.

This situation is food for thought because here is a private organization picketing the Navy and calling the Navy unfair for handling its work with regular employees selected pursuant to law. In other words, a union is proposing to tell the Navy who they shall hire to unload ammunition, even though by statute the workmen for this job and other Navy work have been provided for and are entirely satisfactory to the Navy.

This is the letter:

UNITED STATES NAVAL MAGAZINE, Port Chicago, Calif., April 1, 1947 Hon. LEROY JOHNSON,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: I ask you to come and see for yourself the unbelievable. Picketers patrolling the streets at this station carrying banners, "This establishment unfair to labor." Can any governmental instrumentality be unfair to labor while following the laws of Congress and rules and regulations of civii service?

The picketers in this case are members of the ILWU, Local 10, of San Francisco. Mr. Bulcke, president of this union, has made attacks on the integrity of civil service by calling civil-service workers incompetent. He has, or at least has countenanced the publication of the statement that members of unions employed at this station have been discharged simply because of union affiliations. It goes without saying these statements are utterly untrue and unfounded. In the first instance, all workers used on this station must meet the minimum requirements for their particular jobs as prescribed by the Civil Service Commission. In the second instance, all hands on this station are well aware of the fact that they may continue their particular union affiliations, and are doing so.

Unfortunately, the civil-service workers as a group cannot go out and fight the statements made by this CIO union as a privately employed group might. Who is going to represent us? Our station commanding officer, Capt. John B. Taylor, is doing all he can do officially, but he cannot run paid advertisements in the papers, and we as civil employees cannot band together and raise funds to tell our side of the story. Solicita-

tion of funds for other than specific purposes is prohibited by the Navy Civilian Personnei Instructions.

Your support as a civil-service employee is requested in this matter. Are you going to stand by and allow the CIO union to drive home the entering wedge on a union shop for civil service? Worse still to think about is the opening gun for a closed-shop drive.

I write to you, for while employed at Mare Island as a foreman I received letters from you that proved to me your great interest in the civii-service system and employee.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN

Mr. HILL. Mr. Speaker, in a broadcast made over the Mutual Network the morning of April 8, 1947, commentator George Reedy, a veteran Washington correspondent, made the following observations of the importance of the small businessman in our American economy.

I quote:

The large, black, screaming headlines of the day have led many to believe that this is the country of big business. Every paper that we pick up tells us of the blistering fights between huge corporations and huge unions.

In the middle of all this storm and fury, we have tended to forget that this country is pased on the small businessman, the Amercan who has a few dollars and is willing to take a few chances. Today his plight often eems to be desperate.

The small businessman, with the end of the war, was caught in a maze of conflicting economic forces. And in the sweep of re-

economic forces. And in the sweep of reconversion from war to peace, he has almost
been forgotten. The public eye has been
caught by problems of a greater magnitude.
To find out just what his problems are,
committees have been set up in both the
House and the Senate. These groups are
charged with the special duty of helping the small businessman keep his head above the economic waters.

Despite the importance of their work neither committee has had very much publicity. So, in an attempt to learn how they work, I visited the chairman of the House

group yesterday.

He is Walter C. Ploeser, a Missouri Republican, who believes that a fiourishing small business is necessary to maintain the liberties of a country. On that theory he is bending every effort to give the little man a break. He has already accomplished a lot. He plans to do much more.

His first problem, paradoxical as it may sound, is to find out just what the problem is. In other words, just what are the needs of small business and how can they best be met. Without the answer to these questions action can only be taken biindly.

It is obvious, of course, that a principal issue is the effect of wartime economic controls over the Nation's smail business. Possibly an even more difficult question is the effect of the relaxation of those controls. The committee will cover these subjects intensively.

In many cases the problem of small business is the problem of adequate financing. Even the veteran, with the many benefits guaranteed him by the Government, finds it hard to scrape up the necessary money to get started.

A surprising fact is that a large number of the Nation's 500,000 smail businesses are less

than 5 years old. The mortality rate has not been high yet. But the prospects for the future are not altogether encouraging.

The purpose of the committee is to make those prospects encouraging. And with any sort of cooperation from his fellow legislators, Mr. Ploeser hopes to be successful. To put it in his own words, he says:

"The committee will endeavor to correct our free, competitive enterprise system so thoroughly that never again will we as a nation be tempted to compromise it with alien theories of dictatorship, monopoly, wasteful spending, and fiscal dishonesty."

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. GAVIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the Record in two instances, in one to include an article by Frank Waldrop entitled "Hot House" and in the other an editorial from the Brookville American.

Mr. DEVITT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a talk given by the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING].

Mr. CROW asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article by George S. Benson, president of Harding College.

Mr. GOSSETT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an editorial.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that tomorrow, Thursday, April 10, after the disposition of the business of the day and the special orders heretofore entered, I may address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes today after the special orders heretofore entered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unannimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

THE LATE HENRY FORD

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, Massachusetts has a special interest and a special regret at the passing of Mr. Henry Ford. He bought the historical Wayside Inn at Sudbury which used to be in my district. He was tremendously interested in all the old traditions of the country. He was interested in art in all its forms. The Ford Sunday symphony orchestra is heard by millions. Much has been said about his interest in industry, his contribution to industry. I doubt if so much has been said about his contribution to agriculture. He had some of the finest cattle in the United States. He made splendid contributions to agriculture, and the agricultural fairs in Massachusetts were very proud when he sent his famous pair of oxen.

Those of us whose first ride in an automobile was in a model T Ford and who owned one will never forget that car or the man who made it possible for us to see the country and the world.

All that could pass physically of Mr. Henry Ford is gone, but what he has done for the country will live on.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts has expired.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

REPUBLICAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Hannegan-Sullivan high command, aided and abetted by a few so-called newspaper columnists and commentators, continue to snipe at the Republican program and are still using the smoke emerging from the dying, smouldering New Deal fire which the people put out very effectively last November to cloud the issues and attempt to confuse and mislead the people concerning the accomplishments of the House of Representatives during the first 90 days of the new Congress.

Mr. Frank C. Waldrop, writing in the Washington Times-Herald under date of April 8, makes a very able summary of the accomplishments of the House thus far this session. I ask unanimous consent to include this summary in the Appendix of the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

FOOD PRICES

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, according to this morning's paper the President has called the Cabinet in to devise some means, method, or manner to control soaring food prices. It is true that the cost of food is getting out of hand, it is too high; but these same fellows who are asking for the cut today are the fellows who jacked prices up. They asked for subsidies, to support prices; they destroyed food in large quantities to boost prices up. They got subsidies and paid producers to curtail production. They are blowing hot and they are blowing

cold. When prices are up they want to put them down. When prices are down they want to put them up. So the rest of us in the meantime find ourselves getting hungry. Production and more production and no Government/interference is the answer. High prices of pork and scarcity of fats are directly due to Government interference.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include as an extension of my remarks a column by the greatest analyst of the country, Mark Sullivan, which appears in the Philadelphia Inquirer of today. The column deals with this subject.
The SPEAKER. Is there objection to

the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

TODAY

DRIVE TO CUT PRICES; BIG FACTOR IGNORED; FOODSTUFFS TOO HIGH; FOUNDATION OF SPIRAL; UNITED STATES BARS REDUCTION

(By Mark Sullivan)

WASHINGTON, April 8 .-- A score of outgivings about prices—the excessive height of them and the evil and danger of themcame iast week from many sources. One was from President Truman, several from business leaders.

The statement of one business leader had the status of a public event. The head of a great department store in New York, J. I. Straus of R. H. Macy & Co., published a full-page advertisement in newspapers. To give it the momentum it deserved and received as a matter of public interest, he cailed a press conference.

What he said was sound and needed to be said. The spirit and content of the advertisement are suggested by two of the headings in it: "Are prices too high? Yes, they are." And "Why prices must come down." This was not said as a prophecy but as meaning that lower prices are an economic necessity, aimost a morai one.

Straus dweit at length and thoughtfully on the factors invoived in high prices or affected by them—cost of living, wages, profits, the interest of consumers. He urged upon business the view that increases industrial efficiency should be turned "into lower prices rather than into additional profits." He said that "the only way we know to retain prosperity * * * is by producing more units at lower prices." He declared that some goods were much overpriced.'

But in the several hundred words in Straus' statement, one word was missing. Nowhere was the word "foodstuffs" or its equivalent "farm products." Yet about farm products, foodstuffs, these statements can be made:

Of all prices of all goods the most over-priced, the ones most out of line with other goods and with the past, are farm products, foodstuffs.

Of all prices of all goods the ones that contribute most of the high cost of living are farm products and foodstuffs. For of all expenditures that Americans make the largest proportion is for foodstuffs. They are 40 percent of the cost of living.

Of all prices of all goods the ones that work strongest for inflation are the prices of foodstuffs. For the prices of foodstuffs, because they bulk so large in the cost of living, do most to cause complaint on the part of workers, hence do most to cause demands for higher wages.

If the spiral of inflation is to be broken, the point of attack that is at once most vuinerable and most effective is prices of foodstuffs. So far as the vicious circle can be stated as a sequence, it begins with prices of foodstuffs, which cause high cost of living, which leads to demand for higher wages, which leads to higher prices of manufactured

the Nation's purse strings in the hands of Congress; also that all revenue measures shall originate in the House of Representatives. The former rubber-stamp New Deal Congresses were used to abdicate their responsibilities. This Republican Congress will not abdicate its constitutional duties.

The automatic effect of Mr. Truman's persistent insistence that Congress approve his budget as presented has been a signal to bureaucrats to charge upon Congress with pleas that their pet money-spending projects be spared from the Republicans' economy ax.

In fact, there has been a reluctance of administration employees to cooperate with the Republican Congress in searching out the deadwood in the administrative branch. And the New Deal Democrats in Congress have done nothing except balk at every move we Republicans make to slash the budget. The record shows efforts from the Democratic side to load up the appropriation bills.

But we Republicans are driving ahead with our economy program as ordered by the people. If President Truman in his Jefferson Day address had given a signal to his Democratic officeholdersand they were numerous in the as-semblage—to help reduce appropriations to the absolute minimum necessary to carry on the Government, then he would have made a worth-while contribution.

He is going to have his opportunity, officially, to pass upon the budget slashing now on in Congress. The appropriation bills are beginning to roll. Soon they will be reaching his desk. Then it will be up to him to sign or veto.

Yes; records are being made. The Republican Congress will make its record and when the session ends the people will judge whether the Republican Party has been true to its trust.

President Truman seems to be doing a little wobbling on tax reduction. It will be recalled that in his January message to Congress he said that currently high taxes were necessary for the security of the Nation. He said that it was no time to cut taxes.

He told press and radio reporters last month that he still stood on his January message. But in his Jefferson Day address—to his partisan followers and after the country applauded the Republican House-passed tax-cutting bill-Mr. Truman had this to say:

At a proper time I will support tax reduction and tax readjustment designed to reduce the burden and to adjust the burden to the needs of a peacetime economy.

Please note that phrase: "At a proper time." Why, praise be, now is the accepted time. Now is the time to get our Government structure on an efficient

peacetime basis.

The time is rotten ripe for reduction in bureaucracy and for lightening the tax burden that the New Dealers, with their crackpot schemes, piled onto the people in their tax, spend, and elect program! Mr. President, Senator Byrd, of your own party, says there are more people on your executive branch pay roll now than there were at the war's end. Obviously, that is exclusive of the armed

forces, which we all know have been reduced.

The American people last fall indicated what they thought of the way their hard-earned money was being soaked up by taxeaters in Washington. And when the Republican Party took over control of Congress, a great sigh of relief went up from the people.

New Dealers have been on top a long time. Now it is open season for them. Mr. Truman presumably thinks that the proper time to cut Government expenditures substantially, and taxes, is next year—an election year. /He may think

that is political timing.

But if he does, and the evidence seems to indicate that he does think next year would be a good time to put the ax earnestly to the taxeaters in Washington. he is sadly mistaken. The right thing to do is to cut expenditures to the bone and lighten the tax burden on the people

Yes, the Republican Party pledged tax reduction. It already has put through the House a fair tax-reduction bill. Congress will soon send a tax-cutting bill to President Truman and he then will have his opportunity to act officially to sign or veto.

It is going to be very interesting to see how this matter of sign or veto works

out on a lot of measures.

With a show of pride the President told his Jefferson Day admirers that there would be a surplus in the Federal Treasury at the end of the present fiscal year. Smilingly, he remarked in an aside that the Republican Party could claim no credit for the oncoming surplus of revenue over expenditures.

Again praise be. Mr. President, the common man knows what happened last November, because he did it. He knows that the rain of ballots in repudiation of your administration electrified the Nation and gave free men a chance to breathe again, knowing that the GOP economy ax soon would be swinging.

While the Republican Congress is perfecting its legislation on labor, budget-slashing and tax relief—and many other necessary measures—it is to be expected that the Democrats, too, would have a breathing spell—time to whistle as they go through their endless political grave-

And among the thinking, patriotic common people of our country there must be much curiosity today over whether the effected honeymoon between the Republican Congress and the Democratic President that was predicted by some last January, is ever going to take

I am wondering whether the bridegroom, faced by the issue of sign or veto, will show up for the wedding.

SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Mc-Donough). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] is recognized for 10 minutes. EXPORT LICENSES TO RUSSIAN-OCCUPIED

TERRITORY

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, it is about time that the President of the United

States and the State Department began to move in one direction instead of in two opposite directions.

We have under consideration here in Congress a proposal to send a certain amount of aid to Greece and Turkey. The things that has impressed me in connection with this situation and which the State Department does not seem to have grasped, is that there is planned for the next 3 or 4 months the shipment of \$50,000,000 worth of food and supplies to Poland, \$50,000,000 to Yugoslavia, \$22,000,000 to the Ukraine, and \$11,000,000 to White Russia.

These shipments are to be made from this country and out of our stocks, although a major part of the payment for them would come out of the funds that were appropriated in one way or another to UNRRA. All would require

an export license.

Why we should be sending things to those places when Russia is back of the guerilla warfare in Greece; when Russia violates her Potsdam and Yalta agreement repeatedly; when she fails, as she agreed, to have a free election in Poland and Yugoslavia and fails to live up to her agreements of the lend-lease program—it seems to me that our diplomatic representatives should tell Mr. Stalin that unless these irregular practices cease; unless we have free elections in Yugoslavia and Poland and unless Russia ceases to foment trouble along the northern Greek border, that it would be impossible, longer, for us to permit export licenses to be issued for such things as this.

It seems to me that it is about time that we began to play our cards. If we were to play our cards, the Greek and Turkish situation would rapidly clear up and we would be able to solve our foreign problem in a much more satisfactory

way.

I do not make this statement critical of General Marshall because I do not believe that he has had an opportunity to go into a lot of these matters as he should, and which I know he will when he gets around to it, but am trying to help solve the terrible situation that we are in at this time.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield, Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Did I understand the gentleman to say that those programs were UNRRA programs?

Mr. TABER. Yes.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I thought UNRRA was supposed to end on March

Mr. TABER. UNRRA probably has a billion dollars' worth of stuff to ship yet, and on top of that they require export licenses from the United States to do it. We are sending this to Soviet-controlled and occupied countries at the very time that they are a menace to the peace of the world.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. I agree with what the gentleman is saying 100 percent.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TABER. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Under the old lend-lease program, since July of last year we have sent to Russia proper \$45,000,000 worth of industrial equipment, machine tools, and things of that sort. How do you reconcile that conduct with this plea by the President to stop Russian communism in Greece and Turkey?

Mr. TABER. I am in favor of stopping Russian communism in Greece and Turkey, but I believe we cannot expect Russia to take us seriously unless we stand up for the right and move in just one direction and unless our State Department and our administration moves in one direction alone.

This is just exactly like the operations of the President in blowing hot and cold on the question of communism in the Departments. On March 22 the President issued an Executive order providing means for getting rid of Communists in the Government and asking for about \$45,000,000 to do it.

The situation very evidently is, in his opinion, serious at the present time. On February 28, 1947, he wrote a letter to former Governor Earle, of Pennsylvania, saying:

People are very much wrought up about the Communist "bugaboo," but I am of the opinion that the country is perfectly safe, so far as communism is concerned—we have too many sane people. Our Government is made for the welfare of the people, and I don't believe there will come a time when anyone will really want to overturn it.

This indicates that the President does not appreciate fully the dangers we are in from Russia.

Why cannot he stop export licenses to Russian occupied territory and move in one direction on our foreign affairs?

No more apt proof could be asked on the incompetence of the Democratic Party to govern.

SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Mc-Donough). Under previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. Rogers] is recognized for 5 minutes.

COAL PRODUCTION IN EUROPE

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my remarks may be divided into three separate statements.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentle-woman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber] made a very able statement regarding our international affairs. I would like to state that last August or September I took up with one of the President's chief advisers the question of the mining of each in the Pilly area in the mining of coal in the Ruhr area in Germany. At that time, lower than 100,-000,000 tons of coal were being mined. My understanding is there are only 109,-000,000 tons of coal being mined in Germany today. That is only about half of the coal output that could be secured in Germany if those in charge were willing to use more influence in getting the coal out of the mines. I think the British are in charge of that area at the present time. It would make an enormous difference in the conditions in France, for instance. France could secure more coal that way. France herself at that time was not getting all the coal out of the mines that could be secured. I understand that situation has been cleared up somewhat.
Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, will the

gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I

Mr. TABER, Is it not a fact that about the same number of miners operating in Germany as we have in this country produce only about 20 percent of

our production?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. That is absolutely correct, showing that there is something radically wrong in the way the production is managed. I am not entirely sure. Perhaps the gentleman has figures on whether all the coal is being mined in France today that could be mined.

Mr. TABER. I think in France they are up to somewhere around 80 percent of what might be expected, but in Germany they are producing only about 50 percent of what is expected, and they are only producing one-fifth as much per miner as we produce in this country, which is absolutely ridiculous.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. It seems ridiculous and worse than that that we should be shipping coal abroad when we have needed it very much recently in our own country. Over in France last winter there was very great suffering, and there was suffering in England from the intense cold weather and the shortage of coal. We have shipped coal abroad at great expense when it was needed at home. Again I say coal should and must be mined in foreign countries. The gentleman agrees that undoubtedly warm people are much less liable to become Communistic than people who are suffering from the cold. I think it would have a great deal to do with stabilizing conditions abroad if coal could be mined in every country where it is possible to secure it.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say I am very glad the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] is working on this matter. The gentleman is a tireless worker. It seems to me there is no reason why this country should not insist that coal in Europe be mined.

CANCER CONTROL

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to touch on a matter that relates to the control of cancer. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, that as a part of my remarks I may include a condensed article in Hygeia by Lois Maddox Miller.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

(The article referred to follows:)

THE SMALL TOWNS TACKLE CANCER

(Condensed from Hygeia) (By Lois Mattox Miller)

The most original caravan ever to pioneer the roads of Oklahoma is a big school bus

that has been converted into a mobile cancer clinic. Inside, it is partitioned off into for completely equipped examining rooms, each presided over by a specialist—a surgeon, an internist, a skin specialist, and a gynecologist. Efficient white-clad nurses stand by.

This cancer-detection unit, the first of its kind in the United States, is Oklahoma's answer to the need in rural regions for a medical service that can spot cancer in time to arrest The Oklahoma chapter of the American Cancer Society converted the bus; the State Medical Society rounded up specialists to serve on a rotating basis, and the State nurses association supplied nurses. An itinerary which blankets the State was drawn up, and advance publicity was spread by newspaper and radio. Local doctors were urged to visit the clinic and learn the latest cancerdetection techniques.

Oklahoma's solution of the problem is typical of the resourcefulness shown in the small towns' war against cancer. Sylacauga, Ala. (population 6,30), arranged to have a cancer clinic added to the hospital facilities of the nearby Avendale Mills. Semiannual examinations are now routine for both employees

examinations are now routine for both employees and the general public.

In Parsons, Rans. (population 18,000), a committee enlisted the support of fraternal organizations and women's clubs to provide Mercy Hospital with a full-fledged clinic. The widow of a prominent businessman who had died of cancer started the drive with a check for \$2,000; benefits and public collections raised \$12,000 more. By the time doctors had been lined up to serve in the clinic, a modern 250,000-volt X-ray had been ina modern 250,000-volt X-ray had been installed. Parsons is now prepared not only to spot early cancer but to treat detected

In Mineola, a suburb of New York City, Dr. Evelyn V. Berg, head of the Nassau-Suffolk Planned Parenthood Center, had been providing routine pelvic examinations of mar-ried women. Why not also check them for indications of cancer?

Of the first 1,000 women thus examined, 525 were sent to their own doctors or to clinics for further examination. Throughout the United States there are over 500 similar planned-parenthood centers, each of which could become a powerful instrument for cancer prevention. That possibility is now to be realized.

The most heartening thing about all these brave projects is that today none of them needs to languish for financial support. Last year the Nation-wide campaign of the American Cancer Society raised more than \$10,000,000. This year the goal of the drive that will run through April (designated by Congress as cancer-control month) is \$12,000,000. Of this sum, 60 percent will remain in the State where it is raised, to be used by chapters of the society to carry on their vital work. The remainder will be used by the national organization for the research program now under way in scores of laboratories.

Recently New York's Memorial Hospital opened the first cancer-prevention clinic for The most heartening thing about all these

opened the first cancer-prevention clinic for children. Few people think of cancer as a children's disease, yet it outranks diphtheria, measles, polio, and rheumatic fever as a killer. This means that children must be added to the hosts of women, and the increasing number of men, whose names crowd the appointment lists of the cancer-detective agencies. Can the doctors cope with the job? Well, 2 years ago many experts regarded broad-scale cancer detection in small towns as almost impossible. And look at it now. Resourcefulness is what counts—and triumphs.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. Rogers] has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Some years ago the House passed my bill which authorized the President to declare the month of April Cancer Control Month. He was to issue a proclamation stating that all organizations, all newspapers, all radio stations, all means of communication should be used for the dissemination of information concerning the control of cancer. As a result of that each year in the month of April there has been a concerted drive against cancer. Last year under the direction of Mr. Eric Johnston, chairman of the drive, \$10,000,000 was raised. This year the goal of the drive in April is to be \$12,000,000. Of the sums raised, 60 percent will remain in the State where it is raised to be used by the chapters of the society to carry on their commendable work of cancer research and control The remainder will be used by the national organization for the research program now under way in scores of laboratories.

Recently New York's Memorial Hospital opened the first cancer-prevention clinic for children. Few people think of cancer as a children's disease, yet it outranks diphtheria, measles, polio, and rheumatic fever as a killer. This means that children must be added to the hosts of women, and the increasing number of men, whose names crowd the appointment lists of the cancer-detective agencies.

This article I spoke of mentions the cancer drive in Oklahoma and some other communities' educational drives. And

they are very effective.

I have always been grateful to Senator George, the member of another body—I believe I can speak of him and it in this connection—for securing the passage of this cancer-control bill that passed in the Senate in just 24 hours.

CONTROL OF BARBITURATES

Mr. Speaker, last year I introduced a bill, and I have done so again this year, for the purpose of controlling the use of barbiturates and derivatives of phenobarbitol, requiring a doctor's prescription for their use.

I do not believe it is generally known how many persons have become addicts to the use of phenobarbitol and its derivatives. People do not realize that it is a cumulative drug which stays in the system. If a person takes too much of it he will become an addict. This shows the need for its use only by prescription. Barbiturates have even changed personalities. Right here in the city of Washington there have been two deaths due to overdoses of barbiturates. I have letters from all over the country telling of persons who have become addicts without realizing what they were doing.

The managers of drug stores themselves are becoming very much worried because so many people use barbiturates without a doctor's prescription or direction.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to include as part of my remarks an article that appeared in the New York

Times on April 3 entitled "Barbiturate Curb Backed by Doctors."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I believe that the object of the bill is approved by every doctor—at least by all those of whom I have any knowledge, and also by pharmaceutical organizations. They realize that if they sell these drugs it will hurt the drug stores and the drug industry apart from killing many persons. How frequently when you pick up a newspaper or magazine you read of some person who has died from an overdose of these drugs. They seem very innocent. The other day a woman told me that whenever her baby was a little fretful she gave it a dose of phenobarbital. I asked her if she had a doctor's prescription and she said "No."

We must do something to curb this abuse. The only real remedy I know is Federal legislation. The States are passing legislation too slowly.

The article from the New York Times is as follows:

BARBITURATE CURB BACKED BY DOCTORS MANUFACTURERS, PHARMACISTS OPPOSE PLAN TO AMEND CITY SANITARY CODE

The barbiturate addict is just as much a danger to society as the narcotic addict, Dr. Charles Solomon of the Kings County Medical Society declared yesterday at a hearing by the board of health on proposed legislation for the control of the sale of barbiturates, the sedatives known commonly as sleeping pills.

Health Commissioner Israel Weinstein called the hearing at the Health Department Building, 125 Worth Street, to outline his proposals for amendment of the Sanitary Code in regard to barbiturates, and to permit spokesmen for pharmaceutical manufacturers, pharmacists, physicians, and hospitals to voice their opinions of the new program.

All speakers agreed on the need for stricter control of barbiturate sales. When it came to the health department program, however, opinion was divided, with the pharmaceutical manufacturers and pharmacists lined up almost solidly against it, and most of the doctors favoring it.

WOULD CURB REFILLS

Under the proposed amendments, prescriptions for barbiturates could not be refilled unless the doctor so ordered in writing on the prescription. The State law now in operation permits the refilling for 6 months unless the doctor specifically orders the prescription not to be refilled.

Pharmacists would be required to keep records of purchases and sale of barbiturates, as well as an original inventory. This would be required of wholesalers also. Neither of these provisions is made in the State law.

Pharmacists would also be required to keep barbiturate prescriptions on file for 5 years and be prohibited from filling telephone orders for more than six doses. The State law does not limit telephone orders, although it requires pharmacists to report physicians who fail to provide a written prescription for a telephone order within 72 hours.

Supporting Dr. Solomon, Dr. Harry Gold, of the Cornell Medical College, said that barbiturates are habit-forming drugs in the purest sense.

"They produce dependence indistinguishable in many respects from dependence on morphine and opiates," he asserted. "Anything that would make them more difficult to come by would have a salutary effect."

Col. Garland H. Williams, Chief of the eastern division, Federal Narcotics Bureau, declared that more than 90 percent of persons involved in the violation of narcotic laws used barbiturates also. The chief objections to the proposed legislation, he added, were its weakness and the difficulty of enforcing it.

"Laws based on good faith are hardly worth the paper they are written on," he said.
"Laws are not written for people anxious to
do the right thing, but for those who are not
going to act in good faith. Not only would

this law be ineffective, but it would be absolutely unenforceable."

The law, as now written, would not provide control of barbituates at the manufacturing level, he noted, urging inclusion of controls similar to those provided in existing narcotic legislation. On questioning by Board of Health members, he said he did not believe that the proposed amendments would be harmful

Representatives of the pharmacists and the manufacturers suggested that action be deferred until the State Legislature could consider the present laws. For the sake of uniformity of regulations, they held, all legislation should be on the State level.

Commissioner Weinstein, in a statement issued after the hearing, declared that the Department of Health would continue to enforce existing controls. It will present to the Board of Health at its meeting on Tuesday its recommendations for more stringent control, he added, asking that final action be deferred until the May meeting to give interested persons and associations time to present additional material.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WELCH asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in reference to H. R. 2369.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. Scott of Pennsylvania, for 7 days, from April 7 to April 14, on account of official business.

To Mr. HESELTON, for April 9 and April 10, on account of official business.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. LECOMPTE, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on April 8, 1947, present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following

H.R. 1327. An act to amend existing law to provide privilege of renewing expiring 5-year level-premium term policies for another 5-year period;

H. R. 1621. An act to authorize the Secretary of War to lend War Department equipment and provide services to the Boy Scouts of America in connection with the World Jamboree of Boy Scouts to be held in France, 1947; and to authorize the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to provide exemption from transportation tax; and further to authorize the Secretary of State to issue passports to bona fide Scouts and Scouters without fee for the application or the issuance of paid passports;

H.R. 1713. An act to provide for the promotion of substitute employees in the postal service, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 1943. An act to establish a permanent Nurse Corps of the Army and the Navy and to establish a Women's Medical Specialist Corps in the Army.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 10, 1947, at 12 o'clock

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

524. A letter from the Administrator, Federal Security Agency, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to transfer to the employees' compensation fund the payment of benefits in certain cases arising under the civillan war-benefits program; to the Committee on

Education and Labor. 525. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting report on records proposed for disposal by various Government agencies; to the Committee on House

ministration.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. EATON: Committee on Foreign Affairs. House Joint Resolution 153. Joint resolution providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war; without amendment (Rept. No. 239). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BEALL: Committee on the District of Columbia. H. R. 1997. A bill to provide seniority benefits for certain officers and members of the Metropolitan Police force and of the Fire Department of the District of Columbia who are veterans of World War II and lost opportunity for promotion by reason of their service in the armed forces of the United States; with amendments (Rept. No. 240). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. DIRKSEN: Committee on the District of Columbia. H. R. 2846. A bill authorizing and directing the removal of stone piers in West Executive Avenue between the grounds of the White House and the Department of State Building; without amendment (Rept. No. 241). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. JACKSON of Washington: H.R. 2978. A bill to authorize the admission into the United States of persons of races indigenous to Siam and to make them racially eligible for naturalization; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORRISON:

H. R. 2979. A bill to provide direct Federal old-age assistance at the rate of \$65 per month to needy citizens 55 years of age or over; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. NORTON:

H. R. 2980. A bill to raise the minimum wage standards of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. PETERSON:

H.R. 2981. A bill to authorize registered owners of United States savings bonds to change the beneficiaries of such bonds; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2982. A bill to provide that the United States shail aid the States In the acquisition and development of systems of State parks, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands,

By Mr. PRICE of Florida:

H. R. 2983. A bill to provide that the expration date of the subscription shall appear on the label or wrapper accompanying each piece of second-class mall matter; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil

Service. By Mr. SIMPSON of Illinois (by re-

quest):

H. R. 2384. A bill to amend the act of June 1, 1910, so as to regulate the Installation of radio or television transmitting antennas, masts, or other structures in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. TEAGUE:

H. R. 2985. A sill relating to appointments of veterans of vorid War II in the field service of the Post Office Department; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil

By Mr. ANDREWS of New York:

H. R. 2986. A bill to provide for the selection for elimination and retirement of officers of the Regular Army, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. GOSSETT:

H.R. 2987. A bill to provide for renewal of certain copyrights; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 2988. A bill to amend an act to provide for the registration and protection of trade-marks used in commerce, to carry out the provisions of International conventions, and for other purposes, approved July 5, 1946; to the Committee on the Judiclary.

By Mr. KEARNEY:
H. R. 2989. A bill to provide for award of accrued pension, compensation, or retirement pay authorized under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration in the event of a veteran's death; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KEARNEY (by request): H.R. 2990. A bill to provide automobiles and other conveyances for disabled veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KEFAUVER: H. R. 2991. A bill to amend the National Service Life insurance Act of 1940, as amended, to permit assignments of insurance benefits by widows or widowers who have re-married; to the Committee on Veterans'

By Mr. KILDAY: H. R. 2992. A bill to grant certain veterans the benefits of section 251 of the Internal Revenue Code; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 2993. A biti to authorize the appointment of certain additional permanent major generals and brigadier generals of the line of the Regular Army, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. LANDIS:

H. R. 2994. A bill to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to execute and deliver to present owners of real property quitclaim deeds to the minerals in or under such property reserved by the United States pursuant to the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. McMILLEN of Illinois:

H. R. 2995. A bill to provide annuities for certain former postal employees; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. RUSSELL:

H. R. 2996. A bill to authorize an appropriation for public-school facilities at Owyhee, Nev.; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. SARBACHER:

H. R. 2997. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the recognition of the services of the civilian officials and employees, citizens of the United States, engaged In and about the construction of the Panama Canal," approved May 29, 1944; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisherles. By Mr. SMATHERS:

H. R. 2998. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, to provide annulties for investigatory personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investl-gation who have rendered at least 20 years of service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. VURSELL:

H.R. 2999. A bill to furnish financial asistance to victims of the pline disasters at Centralia, Ill., and Straight Creek, Ky.; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:
H. R. 3000. A bill to amend the Employment Act of 1946 so as to provide terms of office for members of the Council of Economic Advisers; to the committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. MUNDT:

H.R. 3001. A bill to provide further safeguards with respect to the issuance of passports by or under the authority of the Secretary of State, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mrs. POCEPS of Massachusetts (by

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts (by

request):

H. R. 3002. A bill to increase the rates of ervice pension for veterans of the Civll War; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:

H. Res. 174. A resolution to authorize the printing of 13,000 additional copies of House Report 238; to the Committee on House Administration.

H. Res. 175. A resolution to authorize payment of \$350.84 on vouchers signed by the chalrman of the Committee on Expenditures In the Executive Departments under authorlty of Public Law 601, rule XI; to the Committee on House Administration.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to amend section 27 of the Jones Act to remove the present discrimination therein contained against the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on Public Lands

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to enact legislation authorizing and enabling the United States to cooperate with the Republic of Mexico in checking the spread of the hoof-and-mouth disease of livestock; to

the Committee on Agriculture.
Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oregon, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to enact legislation reasonably restricting the importation into the United States of foreign crab meat; to the Committee on Ways and

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to continue the availability of funds provided for airport construction in Hawaii as legallzed by Public Law 377, Seventy-ninth Congress; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. FOOTE:

H.R. 3003. A bill for the relief of Szaie Kacowicz; to the Committee on the Judi-

By Mr. GWINN of New York:

H. R. 3004. A bill to authorize the cancellation of deportation proceedings in the case

apr. 23



DIGEST

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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CONTENTS

Mucation 15	Nomination	Sugar and syrups1
Foreign affairs7;17		Territories and
Forests and forestry 10	Prices8	possessions3
Housing, rural6	Public works	Trade, foreign16
Labor4	Rationing1	Veterans benefits14
Livestock and meat13	The state of the s	Wool2

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate committee ordered reported the Taft-Wagner-Ellerder housing bill, which includes rural-housing provisions. Sen. Murray introduced and discussed Missouri Valley Authority bill.

SENATE

- 1. SUGAR RATIONING. Sen. Wherry, Nebr., inserted a Wall Street Journal item which states, "Sugar supplies back up for the first time since before the war," and commented briefly on it (p. 3949).
- 2. WOOL. Received a Minn. Legislature request for continuation of the wool-purchase program (p. 3948).
- 3. STATEHOOD. Sen. Lodge, Mass., inserted a letter from Nicholas Murray Butler opposing Statehood for Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico (p. 3949).
- 4. LABOR. Began debate on S. 1126, the labor bill (pp. 3950-6).
- 5. NOMINATION of Gordon R. Clapp to TVA Board was debated (pp. 3963-70, 3975-6).
- 6. HOUSING. The Banking and Currency Committee voted, 7-6, to order reported without amendment S. 866, the Taft-Wagner-Ellender housing bill, which includes provisions for rural-housing aid (p. D154). (Copies of the report will not be available until the bill is actually reported, when this Digest will include a statement to that effect)

HOUSE

7. FOREIGN RELIEF. Began debate on H. J. Res. 153, providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war (pp. 3978-4004).

Rep. Phillips, Calif., spoke in favor of aid to Greece (pp. 4004-7).

The Rules Committee reported H. Res. 173, to create a select committee on foreign aid composed of 15 Members of the House (p. 4007).

PRICES. Ren. March Flat hlaned the farm-price-support program Governme

8. PRICES. Rep. Mason, 111., blaned the farm-price-support program, Government purchases for export, Government controls, and the high cost of government as the

BILLS INTRODUCED

- 9. MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY. S. 1156, by Sen. Murray, Mont. (for himself and Sens. Johnston, S.C., Pepper, Fla., Langer, N. Dak., and Taylor, Idaho) to establish a Missouri Valley Authority, to provide for unified water control and resource development on the Missouri River, its tributaries and watershed to prevent floods, reclaim and irrigate lands, encourage agriculture, stimulate industrial expansion, develop low-cost hydroelectric power, promote navigation, increase recreational possibilities, protect wildlife, and strengthon the national defense (p. 3949). The President pro tempore will refer the bill to a committee Apr. 24, at which time Sen. Murray will be given an opportunity to appeal the reference (pp. 3970, 3975). Sen. Murray explained the reasons for and purposes of the bill (pp. 3970-5).
- 10. NATIONAL FORESTS. H. R. 3175, by Rep. Engle, Calif., to add certain public and other lands to the Shasta National Forest, Calif. To Public Lands Committee (p. 4011.)
- 11. PUBLIC WORKS. H.J. Res. 177, by Rep. Horan, Wash., H. J. Res. 178, by Rep. Gearhart, Calif., H. J. Res. 179, by Rep. Phillips, Calif., H. J. Res. 180, by Rep. Johnson, Calif., and H. J. Res. 181, by Rep. Robertson, N. Dak., to provide that Federal public works projects and programs shall be carried out to the full extent authorized by law. To Public Works Committee. (pp. 4011-2.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

- 12. TVA. Rep. Kefauver, Tenn., inserted a Chattanoga (Tenn.) Times article on the accomplishments of TVA (p. A1972).
- 13. LIVESTOCK AND MEAT. Extension of remarks of Rep. Dolliver, Iowa, commending Iowa's farmers for their high production of livestock and livestock products (p. A 1975).
- 14. PERSONNEL; VETERANS' BENEFITS. Rep. Rankin, Miss., inserted a telegram from the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Oreg. protesting against a provision in the Interior Department Appropriation bill which they claim will deprive veterans of some jobs in the Bonnevile Power Administration (p. Al979).
- 15. EDUCATION. Sen, Murray, Mont., inserted Dr. George Schuster's (pres. Hunter's College) recent address on the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (pp. A1967-8).
- 16. FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Eberharter, Pa., inserted a Washington Post editorial favoring the work of the International Trade Organization in reducing trade barriers among nations (p. A 1980).
- 17. FOREIGN RELIEF. Sen. Tydings, Md., inserted a Baltimore Sun editorial favoring aid to Greece and Turkey (pp. Al973-4).
- COMMITTEE-HEARINGS AMMOUNCEMENTS for Apr. 24: H. Agriculture, to consider bills reported by subcommittees (ex.); H. Armed Forces, continuation of Export Control Act (Dodd to testify); H. Public Lands, Reclamation Project Act amendments; H. Ways and Means Committee, reciprocal trade agreements; H. Foreign Affairs, Greece-Turkey aid bill; S. Civil Service, retirement (ex.) S. Expenditures, surplus property; S. Labor and Public Welfare, Federal aid for education; S. Public Works, pollution of streams.

House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 23, 1947

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following

prayer:

Almighty God, Thou who takest up the isles of the sea and weighest the mountains in scales and the hills in the balance, our inmost instincts reach toward Thee. O Divine Galilean, who lived the only earthly life of supreme good ever known, teach us Thy secret that we may achieve the ends of our being without haste, tumult, or worry. Bless us today with tranquil minds that point to victory over the problems of our beloved country. These days, these hours, measure our wisdom, our sense of duty and sympathy, and even our lives.

Blessed Lord, take us and shield us, and if unworthy rebuke us; if our aims are low, challenge us and spare us from the regretful way that ends in failure. O hear us for Thy name's sake. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 938. An act to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2102) entitled "An act to provide for a 6-month extension and final liquidation of the farm-labor-supply program, and for other purposes."

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 1009) to extend the time within which the municipality of Fort Lauderdale, Broward County, Fla., may consummate the purchase of the Coast Guard site—commonly known as the base 6 property—which is located at Fort Lauderdale.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 3 of the act entitled "An act authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange sites at Miami Beach, Dade County, Fla., for Coast Guard purposes," as amended (Public Law No. 655, 79th Cong.; 60 Stat. 901), is hereby amended by striking out "6 months" and inserting in lieu thereof "12 months."

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an editorial.

Mr. HOEVEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record in two instances and include editorials and a newspaper article.

Mr. LANE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a resolution.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include a telegram from Mr. Palmer, of General Cable Corp., on the subject Cooperation of Industry in Lowering Prices.

Mr. RANKIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a telegram tent him by the Oregon Department of the American Legion, and also by the Oregon Department of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

CORRECTION OF RECORD

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to correct the Congressional Record of Tuesday, April 22, 1947, as follows: Referring to pages 3915—3916, wherein I made certain remarks relating to one James P. Martin, in line 3 and lines 10 and 11 of said remarks on page 3915, column 3, the word "Sutherland" should be substituted for the word "Marcus"; and in lines 2 and 3 and 13 on page 3916, column 1, the word "Sutherland" should be substituted for the word "Marcus."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa? There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

A SCAPEGOAT FOR HIGH PRICES

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, at a recent news conference, and also at the AP meeting in New York on Monday, President Truman blamed present high prices upon American business and industry. He said the responsibility for price reduction rests solely upon business.

He stated, in effect, "American business must either get prices down or wages will go up."

In making that statement, the President chose to ignore entirely the following facts, not one of which is under the control of business:

First. The Federal Government, through its farm-price-support program, maintains high food prices, and high food prices account for 70 percent of the rise in living costs.

Second. The Federal Government, through its enormous purchases for export of scarce items, accentuates those scarcities, thereby forcing prices still higher.

Third The Federal Government still retains control over many items that

enter into the cost of living.

Fourth. Mr. Truman himself, early in 1946, set the pattern for spiraling Nation-wide wage increases. His action was based upon an erroneous report from the Department of Commerce, headed by Henry Wallace—a report that said a 20-percent raise in wages could be granted without a rise in prices.

Fifth. The high cost of Government—\$37,500,000,000 as against \$8,000,000,000 in prewar years—is an important factor

in the high cost of living.

Every economist agrees that scarcities, coupled with high wages, produce high prices. When the President made his statement he chose to ignore this well-known economic fact and the five causes listed above. That proves that he is either uninformed concerning the factors responsible for the present high level of prices or he prefers for political reasons to ignore these factors and do as his predecessor did—make a scapegoat out of American business and industry by loading the administration's sins upon them.

We all want a reduction in prices. We welcome the reductions that business leaders have already made, and are still making. We are ready to commend any and every effort that the administration may make in that direction. But we cannot refrain from pointing out at this time that President Truman and the New Deal administration, having jacked prices up to their present high levelby creating scarcities and by greatly increasing the purchasing power of the people-must now assume a large part of the responsibility for bringing about a reduction in our present-day inflated prices. President Truman cannot escape this responsibility by making a scapegoat of American business and industry.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House

for 1 minute and to revise and extend my

remarks

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

THE BRINGING OF ILLEGITIMATE NEGRO CHILDREN INTO THE UNITED STATES

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, the press correctly quotes me this morning as being unalterably opposed to bringing to this country a lot of illegitimate halfbreed Negro children from England. They are the offsprings of the scum of the British Isles. I said that probably they would inherit the vices of both races and the virtues of neither.

I am backed up in my position by one of the leading Negro bishops of the South, Bishop E. J. Cain, of Arkansas. He seems to represent the views of the real Negroes

of this country.

He said that "the intelligent Negroes of America" will oppose the proposal to bring from Great Britain to the United States approximately 10,000 children whose fathers were alleged to be American Negro soldiers.

He said:

The intelligent Negroes of America are trying to discourage the mongrei in our race.

In other words, they are trying to discourage mongrelization; they are trying to build up their own people.

He said:

We couldn't be proud of these children, and neither could the white race.

I continue to receive letters to the effect that Mrs. Roosevelt advocates bringing them over here. Now, I hope that is a mistake, for it would be one of the worst blunders she could possibly make.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unaimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from California?

There was no objection

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the great women of all times is the wife of the former President of the United States. You may not always agree with what she says. I think no one can doubt her sincerity, her great courage, and her great love for humanity. We hear much these days about democracy, and we are willing to invest hundreds of millions of dollars, even the lives of our sons, to promote democracy in the world. Democracy rests on the religious concept of the dignity and the worth of the individual, and the recognition of God. God does not draw boundaries; at least, not the God I learned to worship in my church. He does not draw boundaries any place on earth, and I say that Eleanor Roosevelt, and those like her who have walked down through history with light around their heads are the true disciples of Jesus Christ and the true practicing Christians on this earth.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a petition from the citizens of Gering, Nebr.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. SCHWABE of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

> [Roll No. 39] Elsaesser

Angeii McGarvey Масу Fallon Barden Mansfield, Tex. Battle Feliows Fuller Meyer Miller, Md. Bland Bonner Fulton Brooks Gailagher Mitchell Brown, Ohio Gary Gerlach Gifford Morrison Buckley Bulwinkle Byrne, N. Y. Murray, Tenn. O'Toole Hall, Patman Edwin Arthur Pfeifer Holifield Poage Poage Chapman Clark Horan Poweii Ciements Jackson, Wash. Rivers Shafer Clippinger Jenison Cole, N. Y. Cooley Jensen Johnson, Ind. Short Snyder Coudert D'Alesandro Johnson, Okla. Johnson, Tex. Towe Dawson Ill. Dingell Trimbie Jones, Wash. West. Lucas McDonough Ellsworth McDowell

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 363 Members have answered to their names. a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mrs. DOUGLAS asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.

Mr. McCORMACK and Mr. EBER-HARTER asked and were given permission to extend their remarks in the RECord in two instances.

Mr. MILLER of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. ARENDS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address delivered before the National Republican Committee by Mr. HALLECK on last Monday at Kansas City, Mo.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. GAMBLE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances and include editorials.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION BILL, 1948

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 194, Rept. No. 293), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That notwithstanding the provisions of clause 2, rule XXI, it shall be in order to consider, without the intervention of any point of order, in connection with the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3123) making appropriations for the Department of the Interior for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948, and for other purposes, the appropriation and language contained in the bill, on page 50, lines 13 to 21, inclusive, and on page 81, iines 1 to 9, inclusive.

CORRECTION OF VOTE

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Speaker, on roll call No. 38 on yesterday I am recorded as not voting. I was present and voted "yea." I ask unanimous consent that the RECORD and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wis-

consin?

There was no objection.

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO PEOPLE OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of House Joint Resolution 153, with Mr. SCHWABE of Oklahoma in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the joint resolution was dispensed with.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman. I vield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, with the closing up of UNRRA the United Nations took into consideration the problem of how to finish up the task of caring for starving people in the devastated areas of Europe and perhaps of China. It was decided that this would be a unilateral performance, and our share would be 57 percent instead of 72 percent. The amount allotted to the United States of America of the \$610,000,000 is \$350,000,000, provided for in this bill.

As chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs I wish to call attention to a very troublesome situation.

The psychology in the House at the present is very simple. The Republicans are in the majority. We still have a Democratic administration in the executive branch. When anything comes up from the executive department, or any proposal comes up for legislation of a domestic nature, you Republicans are perfectly free to raise hell with the administration, and you do.

But in the Committee on Foreign Affairs it is different. We in that committee represent all the people regardless of political labels. We speak to all the world. Whoever is Chief Executive is our President, and so far as the world knows, his is our administration until in the providence of God the people make a change. It so happens that in view of the conditions of the world, our committee is going to bring before the House many requests for money. This first one is for \$350,000,000. Next week it will be \$400,000,000. After that it will be \$72,-000,000, and beyond that I do not dare to prophesy, but I am afraid we will be asking for money almost continuously.

Now, do not blame it on our committee. Do not blame it on anybody except upon the conditions in the world. Let us hope and pray that we can face this demand upon our resources, spiritual and material, with an open mind.

I call attention to another situation that we have to deal with in our committee. We have not at the present any knowledge of the resources of this Nation which may safely be drawn upon now and in the future for the assistance of mankind. I feel the time is here when we ought to have a complete and authoritative and intelligent study made of the financial resources and conditions of this Nation of ours so that we can base our appeal for help for the rest of the world upon reality rather than upon mere sentiment.

In the second place, we have as yet no permanent policy announced to us by the executive branch of the Government as to our relationship to the devastated world. In my judgment, we need an administration of relief which will be intelligent, if possible, under present world conditions, and which will be representative of all the people of this country.

With that background, I call attention to the fact that the preparation of this bill took 12 very exhaustive hearings. I may say that it is the reasoned result of those hearings and those deliberations that your committee brings to you. I understand that it is proposed to rewrite this bill on the floor of the House. I congratulate the membership of the House who have had access to more information than the committee has been able to find. I have no doubt that with your wide information you will be able to write a much better bill, and I hope you have a good time doing it. As far as the committee is concerned, I would like to call attention to the fact that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] whom I hold in high esteem, yesterday proposed six amendments. There will be a great flock of others, legitimate and illegitimate, presented here. When we are through, it will amount to a vote of no confidence as far as the Committee on Foreign Affairs is concerned. If you go to that length, it will, of course, be my very pleasant duty to call the committee together and ask them when they wish to disband. We will now proceed to the autopsy.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, before the gentleman yields the floor, will he be kind enough to yield to me to propound a question?

Mr. EATON. I will be very glad to yield to the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. COX. My objection to the resolution, if I have objection, grows out of the fear that is is proposed that we be further used to fulfill obligations that rests more directly and more immediately upon Russia. I note the countries in which you propose to exend some part of this \$350,000,000, and from that list I observe that the greater part of the fund will be expended in countries that are now overrun and under the domination and control of Russia. What provision is there in the resolution, what is proposed shall be done by way of making known to the recipients of this fund that it is being provided by the United States?

It is my conviction, and it is a solemn conviction, that we have permitted ourselves to be used pretty liberally by Russia in providing funds, the benefit of which has gone to Russia and not to the countries intended. Now, are we traveling at cross purposes when we set up this fund?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, permit me to say for myself that I recognize with deep distress the fact that mankind is face to face with the most profound and far-reaching decision in its history. That decision is between the establishment of a world civilization based upon freedom, which is the American way, or upon slavery, which is the Russian way. The ideology of communism is our mortal enemy everywhere, all the time. Personally, I am averse to helping our enemies, and strong for helping our friends. But we have been sound asleep. We have been appeasing Russia; gently patting this communistic tiger and saying, "Poor pussy," while the communistic ideology has been taking possession of these stricken European countries and penetrating every other country in the world.

How are we going to assist these starving men, women, and children in a desolation unequaled in the history of the world, and avoid apparently helping a communistic country in some way? Let me read certain reservations:

No relief assistance can be provided to the people of any country unless and until the government of that country gives assurances satisfactory to the President that:

1. There will be no discrimination in the distribution of relief supplies.

2. There will be complete freedom of press and radio of the United States to observe and report on relief activities.

3. Full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of the United States relief program.

4. Such country has taken or is taking, insofar as possible, steps to reduce its relief needs and provide for its own future reconstruction.

5. Upon request of the President, it will furnish promptly information concerning production and use which would affect its relief needs.

6. Representatives of the United States Government will be permitted to supervise the distribution among the people of such country of the relief supplies.

In addition to that, we have provided that the Congress of the United States can cancel this program at any time it sees fit.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Further answering the gentleman from Georgia, is it not a fact that in this legislation we carefully stayed away from enumerating any specific amount to go to any particular country. The idea is that if the Administration handling these funds in the different countries finds that in a particular country the food or material is not going to the people who are deserving, the administrators can automatically shut off the relief. It is a different proposition, is it not, than UNRRA? UNRRA was an international proposition. This is a proposition where the Government of the United States controls every penny it has appropriated for this purpose and it cannot go to any other purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the

gentleman has expired.

Mr. ENGEL of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, will not the gentleman take a little more time?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such additional time as I may need to satisfy this passion for infor-

If the Members will read sections 3, 4, and 5 of the bill they will find an answer to most of their questions.

Mr. ENGEL of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. ENGEL of Michigan. May I say first that if we had had a little more passion for information when we passed the original UNRRA bill maybe we would now have a little more information.

Mr. EATON. I yielded for a question, not for a speech.

Mr. ENGEL of Michigan. That is all right. Witnesse's before one of my subcommittees testified that in some of these countries where UNRRA relief was distributed Russia told the people that UNRRA was the name of a town in Russia and that the relief came from that town Unrra in Russia. Will this bill, if passed, enable the administrator of the funds to stop that sort of thing?

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. COLMER. In other words, can that be repeated by Russia again? Can they go into a country and use similar methods and tactics?

Mr. EATON. My answer is that nothing short of divine intervention can keep communism from lying that is its foundation.

Mr. COLMER. But if they do lie we can stop them from going to those countries.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. If the gentleman will look at the top of page 4 he will find this provision that must apply:

Full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of the United States relief program carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution.

The prevention of the abuse about which the gentleman is talking is specifically provided in this bill.

Mr. ENGEL of Michigan. I thank the gentleman. That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
Mr. EATON. I yield to the distin-

guished minority leader.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, is this not the situation: Every dollar of

this money is in the hands of the President of the United States. Is not that correct?

Mr. EATON. Yes.

Mr. RAYBURN. And the President of the United States does not have to allow a single dollar to any country or any group unless in his considered judgment that country or that group needs it and will use it to the best advantage of the starving people in devastated areas.

Mr. EATON. I thank the gentleman

for his contribution.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman

from Mississippi.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, as the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee knows, I wish to bring this matter to a focus and an issue in the House. It is therefore my purpose at the proper time to offer an amendment to bring this issue up for discussion and decision: Whether it is the will of this Congress that any of this money shall go into either the Soviet Republic or those coun-

tries dominated by the Soviet Republic. Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. RAYBURN. On that, there may be Soviet-dominated governments in the world for the moment, where the people are not Soviets, but would like to shed Soviet rule; but they are hungry people just the same as they are in other sections of the world.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I should like to have the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom] use some

of his time.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may desire to use. Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. I understood the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Eaton] to state that the committee had not been presented with any program for the allocation or the spending of this authorized amount of \$350,000,000.

Mr. EATON. The gentleman is entirely mistaken. I did not make any such statement.

Mr. BLOOM. I did not hear the gentleman say that. I tried to make it clear that when Mr. Clayton came before the committee he did not want to have in this bill anything specific which would compel the committee or the administrator of these funds to give to any certain country any specific amount. Now, let us be reasonable about this thing If we provide in this bill a certain number of dollars for Italy, Greece, or some other country, then the people of those different countries will expect that amount of money whether they conform to the rules and regulations laid down by the President who is administering these funds. In this bill we provide the rules and regulations they must conform to and the President of the United States has full control. A gentleman referred

to UNRRA, but that has nothing to do with this. This is a different kind of administration. It is a unilateral administration. If they do not conform to the rules and regulations laid down by the United States Government then we can automatically, without any notice at all, shut them off from any further relief.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. The reason for raising that question is this: Hitherto in making appropriations under authorizations, and that was true in the appropriations which were recently reported by the Deficiency Committee making \$300,000,000 additional available for relief in the occupied countries, it has been the custom of the Appropriations Committee to ask those presenting the estimates for the amount of money that they propose to spend on given items and the country or countries in which they propose to spend it. I should like to know for the RECORD whether or not there is anything in this legislation which proposes that if this money is authorized, when the time comes for appropriations it must be appropriated purely as a blank check, or whether the Appropriations Committee will be permitted and expected at that time to get a detailed program of the money that is to be appropriated for what and where and to determined the amounts in any given bill.

Mr. BLOOM. That is a very important question, but I am going to hand it right back and put it in your lap. This is merely an authorization. When the administration comes in and asks for further funds, the Appropriations Committee has full control. It has all the evidence. It can do anything it wants. But remember that there are so many different branches and many different ramifications to these different things we have in here. A resolution may be offered covering a children's fund. This does not say anything about that. I am for it. I think it is a wonderful thing. But we have people here starving and we have to do everything we possibly can now. They are starving over there and we cannot wait until the ideas of all the people in the world are presented. If we do, there will not be any people to feed.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Then the

gentleman's answer is that if this authorization is passed by the Congress and approved, when the matter of appropriating funds comes up the gentleman will expect the Appropriations Committee to

do its customary duty.

Mr. BLOOM. They can do whatever they want, certainly. It is all in their

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. For a question; yes.

Mr. COX. Let me preface it with just this brief statement. If we mean what we say about stopping Russia and intend to make the first move in that direction by extending aid to Greece and Turkey, then should we not accept the amendment which the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Colmer] states he will offer, that no part of this fund should be expended in any country dominated by Russia?

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. RAYBURN. I do think this is a tremendously serious matter, so let me repeat. Where the Government of a country might be under Communist domination, or where infiltration of communism into the government has taken place, are we going to refuse to feed the starving people of these devastated war stricken countries and permanently drive them into the arms of communism? I think we ought to think of that for a moment.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I think we had better go on with the debate. I am sorry I cannot yield further.

Mr. Chairman, I now yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS].

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to throw a little light on this subject, if I can. To start with, I know all you ladies and gentlemen are in favor of relieving suffering throughout the world. I believe that most all Americans are. You know, you cannot find two more typical Americans in this country, I think, than Harry Truman and Herbert Hoover. Both of these great men addressed the Congress; one of them through the committee and one directly to the Congress, endorsing the proposals of this bill. It is true that Mr. Hoover made a few other suggestions as to how we should do the thing sought to be done here. If the Members of the House will just get this clearly in their minds-and I am speaking particularly to the gentleman from Georgia who has just asked the question about Soviet domination and Soviet use of the funds proposed here-I want to assure them that the very thing we are trying to do in this bill is to get away from the thing that the gentleman from Georgia is afraid of. Through this bill, the Russian Government will not be able to get its claws on these relief supplies, directly, or indirectly, through some other government in Europe favorable to the communistic theory.

Heretofore this Congress has gone along with the other nations of the earth to provide relief funds through UNRRA. We have spent about \$2,500,000,000 as a contribution to that fund. The whole relief fund used up, or committed, to this time I think is about \$3,500,000,000.

As a matter of fact, we have contributed 72 percent of that entire fund for world relief to this date. In addition to that, we have turned our funds over to an international organization, and in some cases we have been disappointed in the methods of distribution and the results.

This bill speaks for itself. By its provisions, somewhere, sometime, relief to these countries has got to come to an end. It is not envisioned in this bill that more than \$610,000,000 from all sources will be used for relief. The United States is to provide \$350,000,000, which sum comes to 10 percent of our original contribution since the world relief program started 2 years ago, so you can see we are gradually tapering off, you can see

we are gradually getting away from this load. But we paid 72 percent of the total amount in UNRRA used for relief. In this bill we do not propose to pay proportionately as much; we propose to pay 57 percent of the \$610,000,000.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gen-

tleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. That is the amount that was allocated by the Committee of the United Nations. This is all regulated by the one committee that was formed by the United Nations, and the \$610,000,000 was the amount they set.
Mr. RICHARDS. That is substantially

correct, and I thank the gentleman for

calling my attention to it.

We are not only cutting down the relief contribution by this country but we are also cutting down our proportionate share of world relief contributions in this bill. But the most important thing about this bill is that it blazes a new American policy in the field of international relief. May I say to the gentleman from Georgia, and every other Member here, we are determined through this bill that this relief money that will come out of the pockets of the taxpayers of America will go to no country or people hopelessly under Communist domination. How can we assure that? Because the United States keeps control of its own money, because we can say tomorrow, "We do not like the way you are doing in your country, and we will cut it off."

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gen-

tleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gen-

tleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. Is the gentleman certain that he is correct in that statement, in view of the fact that the very resolution itself says that part of this fund shall be expended in Poland, in Hungary, and in other countries that are completely dominated by Russia?

Mr. RICHARDS. The gentleman from Georgia is incorrect. It is not provided in this bill that any part of this fund will be used in any particular country. It is advisedly left out of the bill.

Mr. COX. Why name the countries in which it is contemplated that a part

of the fund will be expended?

Mr. RICHARDS. The gentleman from Georgia knows that there is a reasonable demand in this Congress to give some information about where this money is going, but it is unwise, I say to the Congress, to make it compulsory that this money go to any particular country.

Mr. COX. In view of the gentleman's statement, will he permit me to pro-

pound this question?

Mr. RICHARDS. Certainly.

Mr. COX. Would the gentleman be willing that 1 penny of this fund be expended in Yugoslavia, in Poland, or in any other countries that are dominated by Russia? Does he have the slightest doubt in his mind that if a penny of it were to go into those countries it would be controlled by the local government?

Mr. RICHARDS. I would not be willing for one thin dime of this money to be spent in Yugoslavia, and not a dime of it will be spent there, though it is not guaranteed in the bill. Some of this money will probably be spent in Poland, for well-known reasons.

Mr. COX. If the gentleman will yield further, I should like to test out the statement of the gentleman from New York.

Mr. RICHARDS. If the gentleman will permit me to proceed a little further, I shall then be glad to answer any

It is suggested that this money will be used in Hungary, Poland, Austria, Italy, Greece, and China. Those are the countries that are suggested. It is not made

mandatory in the bill.

We know that \$610,000,000 will be a drop in the bucket to meet all relief needs in every country, but it seems the best we can do for this year. We know we cannot feed all the people of the world and we know we cannot abolish misery from the face of the earth. But following the leadership of Mr. Hoover and Mr. Truman, we must do what we can in a Christian way to bring this suffering to a minimum. The testimony throughout the hearings was that \$610,-000,000 is a minimum.

So far as Italy is concerned, we have a peace treaty with that country and there is much misery and want there. So far as Yugoslavia is concerned, we know that Tito is under the domination of Stalin, and none of this money is intended to go there. So far as Greece is concerned, we know that human misery and suffering there is at a maximum.

So far as Austria is concerned, there is a real relief problem there. Austria is divided into zones. France, Russia, the United States, and Great Britain each control a zone there. Reliable reports are that there is not only starvation there, but that an ideological conflict is also going on.

General Marshall is in Moscow right now trying to consummate an Austrian peace treaty but has not been able to succeed in doing so. The Russians are hoping we will get worn out and move out of there and leave these people disillusioned. Right now there is a battle going on for freedom in Austria. There is Hungary, the only nation that while suffering under the heels of Russian troops voted for a democratic form of government and turned the Russian proposition down cold.

My friends, it will not be long before the question of aid for Greece and Turkey comes up in the House. Do not forget for 1 minute that the proposal now pending is related to that question. If we help Greece and Turkey, do not forget that we must also help other sections there where the people cannot speak for fear of being punished. We must give them hope. We must show them that we have not forgotten them in their misery.

We are going to see that this money is spent under American supervision. That is one thing we could not do under UNRRA. We are going in there with this money and we are going to say to those governments, "This is the way you must administer this relief." And if they do not do as we say they should do, then we have the greatest weapon in the world to handle a situation like that, all we have need to say is, "This money stops today."

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, what other countries are going in with us on this propo-

Mr. RICHARDS. In reply to the gentleman, may I say we are somewhat in the same position here as we were in the case of UNRRA. In the case of UNRRA, other countries agreed to pay proportionate shares, most all did so. We are not only going to make agreements with recipient countries as to how we are going to do the job, and determine other conditions upon which we will give this relief, but we are also going to try to make agreements with contributing countries, as to how much they will contribute. England has already promised to put up \$40,000,000 for Austria. Canada has already given assurance that she will do her rightful part in this deal. Canada usually does. I think we have reasonable grounds to expect that the nations to the south of us and the other nations that have not suffered like Europe has will do their part. But if they do not, we still have control of this fund to say where it will go, what it will be used for, and how long this program will continue.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. I would like the gentleman to explain how, after we enact this legislation, we will then have control of where the money will be spent and how much will be spent. Who is going to control it?

Mr. RICHARDS. For the very reason that we do not state in the bill where it will go and how much will go to a certain place. If the gentleman will permit, elasticity is a supreme requirement in a thing like this. For that degree of control we should have, you must have a great deal of discretionary power in the distributing agency.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. But we give authorization for \$350,000,000 to be spent by the State Department.

Mr. RICHARDS. That is right; or by the President.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. But once the Congress passes this bill, we have no control.

Mr. BLOOM. Well, there is control. Mr. HOFFMAN. A point of order, Mr. Chairman. Do the rules require Members to address the Chair in order to get permission to speak?

The CHAIRMAN. The rules do so require.

Mr. RICHARDS. I will answer that a little further. I do not know how you could administer legislation like this without discretionary power. We know from our constitutional set-up that if you give discretionary power with respect to making agreements with foreign countries, it has to be in the President or the State Department. I understand amendments will be offered to try to place this thing in the hands of the Department of Agriculture. But it would not work that way.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Chairman, a Mr. HOFFMAN. point of order. The gentleman from New York did not address the Chair.

Mr. RAYBURN. Well, Mr. Chairman. the gentleman from New York did address the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York as having addressed the Chair.

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM].

Mr. BLOOM. Is it not a fact that this legislation specifically provides that the Congress can, by concurrent resolution, stop the whole thing right away, as well as the President? So that you have two checks?

Mr. RICHARDS. I think that is correct.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Just recently I noticed in the local papers a story about children out in the receiving home, several hundred of them. This morning there is an editorial in the News about a 14-year-old boy confined out there with the insane and with people who have contagious diseases. Can any of that money be used for relief of the Washington children?

Mr. RICHARDS. No; I do not think so. I think Washington people and other people around here will take care of that. We will always have a case like that, but we have less suffering in the United States than anywhere else in the

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Brooks] just asked where the other 43 percent of this \$610,000,000 was coming from. I was very much interested in having that information given. I did not understand the gentleman to mention but \$50,000,000 from England and an indefinite promise from Canada. Could the gentleman answer specifically the question that the gentleman from Louisiana asked?

Mr. RICHARDS. I would like to say this: The method of raising this fund was suggested by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The nations all joined in voting for this method, and we are hoping to get the money. To be honest with this House, we cannot guarantee that we will get that part of the money.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RACHARDS] has again expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Arkansas.

Mr. HARRIS. The gentleman has said that in the agreement with the representatives of the United Nations there was \$610,000,000 that would be necessary to complete this program.

Mr. RICHARDS. Let me say right there, it was not an agreement with the

United Nations. It was at the suggestion of the General Assembly of the United Nations that this method be used.

Mr. HARRIS. A general understanding then?

Mr. RICHARDS. That is correct.

Mr. HARRIS. And we are providing \$350,000,000?

Mr. RICHARDS. Yes; 57 percent.

Mr. HARRIS. If the other member nations do not provide the additional \$260,000,000, then will the United States be called upon to supply that difference?

Mr. RICHARDS. No; certainly not. Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. Following the question of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DAVIS], I wish to call the attention of the gentleman to my belief that he erred in stating that the other countries did not come forth with their portion of UNRRA. My recollection of the testimony is that every one of them did, with perhaps one minor exception.

Mr. RICHARDS. I think the gentleman is right.

Mr. JARMAN. Ninety-nine percent of

Mr. RICHARDS. I think there were two small exceptions, involving about \$15,000,000.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. How much is being contributed to this fund by that other great. world power, Russia?

Mr. RICHARDS. None; and none of this fund goes to Russia. Under UNRRA we mistakenly went into Russia and gave relief to Russians. But through this new method we are deciding that Russia had better do some relieving herself of her own Ukraine White Russian people, and the same applies to Yugoslavia, where Tito rules. We are intimating to Russia here that we are not going into any country, dominated by her, feed the starving there, and then be accused of dollar diplomacy by the hirelings of Stalin. Instead we are going to keep control of the reins over the taxpayers' money spent through this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Carolina has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I vield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys].

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, the great heart of America has always responded to the limit of its ability in answering the call of human suffering. President Truman and former President Hoover reflect the spirit of America in urging that we continue some form of relief to the war-devastated nations. This bill must pass. On the other hand, there can be legitimate discussion as to the terms and provisions and administrative machinery of this bill; and amendments which will be offered, suggestions as to the form of administration, do not injure the bill but may well help the bill to pass.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield. Mr. MUNDT. I want to emphasize what the gentleman from Ohio has just said, because, unfortunately there is a general attitude in the House Chamber that this bill should not be amended.

I agree 100 percent with the gentleman from Ohio. We have the responsibility to aid the suffering people over there, but this bill can be tremendously corrected and strengthened by the adoption of amendments, some of which were offered in the committee and defeated by but one or two votes.

Mr. VORYS. And I am sure amendments will be offered to this bill by those who are devoted friends of the suffering and who want to aid them to the

But let us get a bird's-eye view of the relief needs of the world. There are about 2,200,000,000 people in the world, and most of them need relief, according to American standards. If we attempted to relieve all of them who need relief we would succeed in prolonging their lives by only a few months and going bankrupt ourselves. And let us remember always that when we impoverish ourselves to the point where we need relief there is going to be no country in the world available to relieve us.

At the hearings on this bill when Mr. Clayton, the Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, was before the committee, he was unable to tell us the amount of the relief and assistance the United States has rendered and is planning to render: but Senator Byrd yesterday gave the figures and they are very fully set forth in the RECORD. Since VE-day we have furnished or we plan to furnish relief and assistance to foreign nations in the amount of \$15,970,000,000. We have got to be thinking about the ability of the United States to continue relief and assistance.

Mr. Clayton had no idea as to the number of people who might be involved in this bill. As I figure it out under this bill, in the five nations in Europe to which it applies, there are 93,325,600 people. In China there are 457,835,475 a total under this bill of 551,160,075—half a billion people. If we add Germany and Japan, which are our continuing responsibility, we have 693,894,283 people, for whose relief we are accepting responsibility. We must therefore proceed with care.

Something has been said about UNRRA, that this is to take the place of UNRRA. I was an original supporter of UNRRA on this floor and I wish to call attention to a couple of things: First, UNRRA did a lot of good; second, its failures were for two reasons; first, because of Soviet interference, and second, because of poor administration furnished by this country. We named the head of UNRRA each time. In contemplating this bill remember there will be the same people in the State Department administering it who practically administered UNRRA and supervised our part of it. They are the people who are going to run this bill. We have just ahead of us IRO, the International Refugee Organization and the children's fund, both of them International organizations. I suggest that we must go forward and finish up with this program, but we better get to making these international organizations work by furnishing good American administration instead of going it alone, as we are in this case.

For these reasons I am going to propose at the proper time that a relief administrator be appointed, to be confirmed by the Senate, to administer this bill, the same sort of amendment that is in the Greek-Turkish loan bill that is on the way here from the Senate.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. I wonder if the gentleman will agree with the gentleman who preceded him that as the bill is presently written we are fully protected in its administration, that we can cut it off whenever we believe that any of this money would go to countries that are now dominated by Russia?

Mr. VORYS. That is right.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Does the gentleman agree with the statement that the gentleman made that the bill as written guarantees us against the use of this money in those countries in the administration of the fund?

Mr. VORYS. Yes. The only provision that I want to add is to provide, as was done in the Greek-Turkish loan bill, an administrator to be confirmed by the Senate, so that we will have an administrative business head to it, because the State Department is not set up as an administrative organization, and they admit it.

The criticism will be made: Well, suppose you get into a situation like the Lilienthal confirmation, will there not be a great delay? I want to remind you that the United States Senate has confirmed 12,896 Executive appointments this year up to April 15 and if a good man is proposed for this job there will be no delay.

What are the needs? Where does this relief go? The Foreign Affairs Committee knows the answer, but we do not dare tell you. It is a secret. I have here a secret document furnished us and just for safety, for fear some of you would try to look into it, I have sealed the pages with Scotch tape. I am going to carry out this secrecy policy of the State Department, although it is idiotic and insulting. The secrecy policy is carried on because, as Mr. Clayton said, it might cause embarrassment or resentment in some other countries if we mention where we are going to furnish certain relief and then do not furnish that much. I would like to call the attention of the State Department to the fact that it causes embarassment and resentment in this country when we are not told what the needs are and where we intend to pour the taxpayers' dollars.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. JUDD. Will not the gentleman agree that all of us or practically all of us who have carefully perused that secret document think there is not a single statement in there that needs to be kept from the Members of this Congress or

the whole of the American people? It is all hush, hush, it is unnecessary, it creates unnecessary suspicion and, naturally, develops opposition rather than support of the program, too.

Mr. VORYS. I can tell you that it is mostly from published figures, It is based on a United Nations report which was made public on January 28, 1947. The only considerations of secrecy are, in my judgment, insulting to the intelligence of the American people and of the Members of this House. I can say without revealing any secrets that the \$350,000,000 figure was picked out of the air. Look at the statement on page 81 of the printed hearings. It is not based on relief needs but on foreign exchange deficits "to prevent economic retrogression," language picked out of the United Nations report.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. In furtherance of what the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd] has pointed out, and what we have said, it is interesting that some of the top secret material which we of the committee were sworn to withhold from the Members of Congress has subsequently been incorporated in speeches by the Under Secretary of State in Washington and by the Secretary of the State in Moscow, so apparently the only people who are not permitted to reveal the secrets of life to the Members of Congress are the humble servants you have on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. VORYS. The Committee on Foreign Affairs has pledged its cooperation to the State Department, and we have preserved inviolate the secret matter here, although we think the secrecy is idiotic. The leaks have come from the State Department; from the Under Secretary and from the Secretary.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

 $Mr.\ VORYS.\ I$ yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. With reference to the gentleman's reference to the amounts having been picked out of the air on page 81, I wish to call attention to a question of mine—

Mr. VORYS. Now, would the gentleman please take his own time to read

that? I have so little time.

Mr. JARMAN. I do not blame the gentleman a bit.

Mr. VORYS. I refer all of you Members to the record, page 81 of the hearings, where it will show how this was arrived at. The United Nations report, which is a public document, does not come to \$610,000,000 but comes to \$514,000,000 for the five European nations; recommends nothing to China; is on a basis of 2,300 calories.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. VORYS. I want to point this out that as far as I have been able to determine, this \$350,000,000 was picked out of the air as 57 percent of a figure which was not a United Nations figure but is a secret figure in this book based on a higher calorie content than any European nation, except the neutral nations, is now getting. I think it was planned that this was minimum relief, to carry the whole load if we go it alone, I think it was planned that way.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. If the \$350,000,-000 was picked out of the air, will the gentleman tell the House what part of this whole proposition has not been picked out of the air?

Mr. VORYS. Well, if the gentleman will read on page 81, he will find the colloquy which shows how it was picked out of the air, but he will not find out how the rest of the amount was arrived at.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I am not talking about the amount; I am talking about the whole proposition.

Mr. VORYS. The whole proposition is this, and I am going to answer the gentleman right now. I have criticized as violently and as strongly as I could the way this was presented to us and to the House. We had 12 meetings. There are only hearings of 6 meetings. I think this testimony should have been public and the full information should be public. I have suggestions to make as to administration.

Why should we do this at all? Well, I will tell you why: The people of these countries are hungry, people whose salvation means much to us. They had a pretty tough time of it over there in the war. We are getting along, comparatively, pretty well over here. This bill is an authorization only. The Committee on Appropriations will examine each appropriation under it later. It amounts to a contribution of \$2.50 apiece from the American people to finish up war relief, and we have been told that this will finish up the job of relief to these war-devastated countries—\$2.50 a head over here; one four hundred and ninetieth of our national income. We are told this is temporary. We hope it will be. It goes to our friends. It will help to fight communism. We have control over it, and I hope every one of you will read these sections 3, 4, and 5, which provide that we not only direct and supervise what we distribute, but the distribution of similar goods in that country must be to our satisfaction. If there is a loaf of bread this big, and we furnish one-tenth of the flour in it, we must approve the rationing system for the whole loaf, and it must be distributed without discrimination. We have control over it, and this is a great responsibility, but it assures us that the relief will go where it is intended, and that the people there will know every day through publicity who it is coming from and how it is being administered, and that the Americans are there and helping.

A representative of one of these countries said to me informally, "If you Americans can be over there and supervise it, that is as important as the relief you furnish." I said, "If we furnish supervision, that will cut down the amount of relief." He said, "The assurance that

America is interested while we fight this battle against communism, even when Communists are in our country, even when Communist troops are in our country, would help more than just the relief."

So, I say that when we get this bill fixed up we should pass it. It is good power politics; it is a friendly, decent thing to do; and America must not fail.

Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee. Is it not true that this will wind up like most of the other programs, that America will have to pay all of the \$610,000,000 instead of \$350,000,000?

Mr. VORYS. No; it is not true. Get this straight. Some misstatements have been made, I am sure by mistake, as to whether 57 percent is an allocation by the United Nations or anybody. The United Nations merely got up a \$514,-000,000 suggestion, and they urged that all countries come in and do whatever they could. We are doing that, and we are assured that our country is going to ask and urge other countries to participate. But there are no allocations at all, and they will not need the whole \$610,000,000 to get by.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. I am interested in the amount and the length of time until this money is spent. Does the gentleman feel that that will eliminate all the hunger and starvation in Europe at that time, that there will be no more hunger, and that our obligation and responsibility will end?

Mr. VORYS. No; it will not. Due to delays caused by Soviet pillage and Soviet obstructionism, and due to delays caused by American maladministration in UNRRA, the whole process has been delayed, but I think another year should see us through.

(Mr. VORYS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Jarman].

(Mr. JARMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I thoroughly agree with the statement just made by my good friend from Ohio, who knows I am very fond of him, that mistakes have been made. Certainly I would not even insinuate that any colleague of mine, particularly one of whom I am as fond as I am of him, would intentionally make a mistake that would mislead the House. Yet I realize that, busy as we are, confronted with so many problems both in the House and from our constituents back home, we very frequently do not have time to read a matter through. Consequently I wish to read a paragraph from the same page 81 referred to by my friend a moment ago. In fact, since he declined to yield for that purpose, it will now be necessary for me to read a little more.

On page 81, Colonel Wood, Under Secretary Clayton's deputy, was testifying when I asked him this question relative to the investigation of the need.

I said

As I recall, Secretary Clayton stated that this study had been in progress 4 months; is that right?

That is, referring to the study of the needs.

Mr. Wood. Four to six months.

Mr. Jarman. How many people were engaged in that study?

Mr. Woop. I would just have to make a guess, but I think at one time or another the people working almost full time on it would perhaps amount to about six.

I would say there were 20 or 30 people involved from time to time just in this country.

Now we have had cables back and forth between all the embassies in these countries and all the agricultural and commercial and financial people in the embassies of these countries have worked from time to time on this. It is almost impossible to give you a categorical answer. It has involved the work of many people spread all over the world.

In addition, of course, we have had the benefit of a great number of surveys. For example, the United Nations sent a subcommittee on devastated areas, on which some of our people were represented, all over these areas. They took about 2 months, I think, for their trip.

It has been an extensive thing. I would say that the people here in Washington who have put all these data together would be six or eight.

Mr. JARMAN. Six or eight in addition to those around the world?

Mr. Wood. And there have been a lot in the Department of Agriculture. It has not been confined to the State Department.

Mr. Jarman. They were patriotic American citizens who had the interests of this country at heart, were they not?

Mr. Wood. Yes, indeed.

Mr. Jarman. They were not doing that in the interests of any other country, were they? Mr. Wood. I should think not.

Mr. Jarman. Refresh my memory as to how the 57 percent contribution of ours and the \$350,000,000 were arrived at.

Now I come to the sentence quoted by my good friend a moment ago.

Mr. Wood. The two, of course, are related. We finally came out with a figure for total relief needs of these countries of \$610,000,000. This figure of \$350,000,000 was in some respects a figure based on judgment and in part picked out of the air.

That is the "picked-out-of-the-air" sentence to which my good friend called attention. But let us read on:

We had given 72 percent of the UNRRA funds. We thought it ought to be less because there are many countries, as Mr. Clayton explained, or at least some countries, that have recovered now to the point where they can help on this thing, such as Sweden and Norway. We think we could get more help out of the Argentine, for example.

We thought our proportion ought to be less than 72 percent. We got it down to a figure of 57 percent by considering those various aspects of the situation and applying our judgment to it.

Mr. Jarman. And the 57 percent makes our \$350,000,000? It is 57 percent of the total? Mr. Wood. That is right.

Mr. Jarman. Now while it was taken out of the air, as you say, in a way, it was taken out of the air by competent people after 4 months' study?

Mr. Wood. That is right.

Mr. Jarman. They did not just grab it out of the air, it was taken out of the air by competent people with the interests of this country at heart after mature study?

Mr. Wood. Yes.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the author of the minority report which also includes that quotation and which may have misled my friend, the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. JONKMAN. The gentleman speaks of Norway, Sweden, and the Argentine as possible contributors. Is there any evidence in the hearings that any consultations were had with these governments and that there is any probability of their contributing?

Mr. JARMAN. I am not sure as to that. The pressure of business of which I spoke necessitated me missing several hours of the hearings, but I ask the gentleman if he heard the testimony that I just read or if he has read it after the hearing.

Mr. JONKMAN. With reference to the thin air?

Mr. JARMAN. When he prepared the minority report.

Mr. JONKMAN. Yes. It is still grabbed out of thin air. I do not care whether 36 people or 1 person does it.

Mr. JARMAN. You put one part of it in and did not refer to the rest? I do not like to refer to a half truth, but you put part of it in and did not refer to the rest?

Mr. JONKMAN. The fact that 36 people grabbed it out of thin air does not make it any the less so than if one person did.

Mr. JARMAN. The gentleman, of course, is entitled to his opinion. As I said, I am very fond of all three of the gentlemen who signed that minority report; but I am frank to say that I do not think much of it.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to my colleague, a member of the committee.

Mr. LODGE. In the nature of things, it must be to some extent grabbed out of thin air, because it is based on the future. It is a question of estimate, and every estimate is grabbed, to some extent, out of thin air. When you call it an estimate you dignify it. When you say it is grabbed out of thin air you do not. Of course, this is an estimate. There is no question about that.

Mr. JARMAN. By the very nature of things, but what I resent is the quotation of one sentence and the omission of the preceding and following ones.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to my colleague, a member of the committee.

Mr. RICHARDS. Is it not the opinion of the gentleman from Alabama that although this is an estimate, it is an advised and studied estimate?

Mr. JARMAN. That is the testimony. Not only is it an advised and studied estimate, but I say to the Members of this House and to the people of this country that should we wait until we are

able to know exactly what the relief needs will be in any country, the unfortunate people of those countries would all be dead and long since buried before we could ever bring a bill to this House.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield.

Mr. DORN. On line 22 of this bill it is stated that it will be dispensed regardless of political beliefs. I want to know if it is not possible, then, for some guerrilla outfit in Greece or Austria or anywhere else to obtain our money, in order to overthrow the established and legal government existing in that country?

Mr. JARMAN. That is true, if you have no confidence in those of our people who will be supervising the dispensation of the relief. I do not feel that way myself.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the charming lady, my colleague on the committee.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Does not the gentleman think he should point out to the gentleman that no money will be given directly to any nation?

Mr. JARMAN. That is quite true. No money will be given. It is all goods or certificates of credit on banks of the United States, to purchase material.

Now, Mr. Chairman, as has been said, the people of America always have been and ever will be humanitarian people. who not only gladly but eagerly respond to the calls of their fellow men for relief when they are suffering. We have witnessed that in the drives for the Red Cross, the Finnish relief, the Greek relief, and numerous other national and international drives. We have witnessed it back in our little towns when the Community Chest put on a drive for relief of the suffering or when someone in a little town such as I live in went around with a subscription list for a particular family which was in distress. It is that sentiment that will continue, I believe, as long as this is a nation, regardless of whether there is adequate investigation or not, which caused our country to take the lead in sponsoring UNRRA. Foreseeing the suffering that would exist in the liberated countries, our country called a conference at Atlantic City, and UNRRA was born.

Now, the fact has been referred to that UNRRA made mistakes. Yes, UNRRA made mistakes, just as any huge, cumbersome international organization, which had to secure its personnel at a time when it was necessary to literally scrape the bottom in order to get personnel, will make mistakes; just as any of us will make mistakes; just as I have pointed out, not many moments ago, that some of our colleagues sometimes make mistakes, and just as they doubtless think I make mistakes. But, on the whole, the part we played in the organization and functioning of UNRRA is something on which this country can, by and large, reflect with pleasurable pride. There is nothing in the large picture to be ashamed of regardless of these mistakes and errors which naturally crept in. UNRRA was not intended

to be a permanent organization and it was fully realized that when it concluded there would remain necessity for residual relief; consequently, the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization last December took under advisement the matter of furnishing this necessary residual relief-after UNRRA ceased to function. It was decided, as has been said, that this be done on a direct basis, unilaterally in a way, that each country would provide its own relief to the country which it wished to relieve under the supervision of the nationals of that country and with the authority it would possess under those circumstances to throw restrictions around the distribution of this relief which we hope and believe will prevent the mistakes that we learned were made by UNRRA. These restrictions are spelled out in the bill and are such that it is entirely possible that one of the countries which the gentleman from Georgia and the gentleman from Mississippi are particularly interested in excluding will not be able to meet these requirements and will not enjoy any of this relief. But we feel that while UNRRA was an international proposition in which we could not unilaterally change the rules of the game here on the floor of the House as was attempted, that now when it is our organization and our money entirely, our relief, that as to our part of it we have the right to make the rules and that if the governments of the countries receiving the relief are unwilling to meet the requirements we stipulate in advance that is all we can do and that if any of their nationals starve or suffer because of their unwillingness to meet those requirements, having done our best, we can only be sorry and relief will not be continued, as has been stated so well by the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, in countries which refrain from doing so.

What will be the result in many areas if additional relief is not furnished? Food stores will be completely exhausted very soon and inroads will soon occur on seed stocks, seriously threatening future harvests and producing chaos and general conditions quite unpleasant to contemplate. Certainly, it would not be to our advantage to take action which would require starving people to eat the seed which by being planted, can place them on their feet and cause relief to be unnecessary in the future. Even delay will greatly undermine the humanitarian work already done.

Do not overlook the fact that it is contemplated to furnish only the basic essentials of life primarily food, medicine, seed and fertilizers. No reconstruction or rehabilitation whatever is intended. It is hoped that after this program all countries, for the relief of which it is being sponsored, will be self-sustaining with the possible exception of Austria.

I wish to emphasize the fact that specific amounts for the various countries are deliberately not stated or determined. One of the lessons of UNRRA was that when even a tentative allocation to a certain country occurred, that country expected to receive the full amount and felt that it was being mistreated if such

did not occur. This was true despite such excellent reasons for a reduction as better crops in the country, lack of supplies or inadequate transportation. It is but natural for hungry people, and particularly starving people, to look rather graspingly on food which they believe has been promised them. As I say, restrictions have been thrown about this relief. If they are not complied with, the President or the Congress can discontinue it to a given country at any time. It is undoubtedly much preferable not to stipulate definite amounts.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired. Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, I yield two additional minutes to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, while it is of course the right of any Member of this body to introduce an amendment at any time he wishes, I desire to emphasize and thoroughly agree with the statement made by our great chairman in reference to the deliberations and hearings on this bill. I have read the amendments which will be proposed. I say to you advisedly and after mature consideration that every single one of them was considered by the committee and every single one, at least a majority of them, which came to a vote in the committee was rejected, generally by a rather large vote and not by a partisan vote, for there were Democrats and Republicans voting against each amendment. I agree particularly with the reference by our great chairman, that lovable and distinguished gentleman from New Jersey, Dr. Eaton, to what I believe he said was the tortuousness of these hearings, because we went into exhaustive testimony on all these matters much of which was frankly repetitious. Under those circumstances, my friends, while any Member has the right to advance amendments, it seems to me it is not only the right of his colleagues in the House but I think they also have some kind of duty to vote those amendments down about as rapidly as they are brought up; and I believe I can speak for the Democratic side in indulging the hope that such will occur.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has again expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Chiperfield].

(Mr. CHIPERFIELD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I am against House Joint Resolution 153 in its present form and I felt constrained to join in supplemental views on this measure.

The heart of America has always responded to distressed humanity wherever found but it seems to me the time has come when we must blend humanity with common sense. It is not as though the people of our country have not gladly given more than their share to help a distraught world, but the time is fast approaching when the best way we can aid the world is to prove to every-

one concerned that democracy will work here at home by keeping this country strong and economically sound.

Let us examine the record. Because of the war it was necessary for us to make vast expenditures until our national debt reached the astronomical figures of \$279,000,000,000. We furnished to our allies during the war over \$35,000,000,000 under lend-lease. According to the Special Committee of the House on Postwar Economy and Planning, since the war, we have made loans and credits available to foreign countries amounting to over \$17,000,000,000. In addition we have furnished through UNRRA almost \$3,000,-000,000 for rellef. This does not take into account the hundreds of millions we have spent for the same purpose through the military in occupied territories not only during but since the war.

In view of these facts it might be well to pause and examine what is proposed to be done under this bill.

A BLANK CHECK

This bill would authorize an expenditure of \$350,000,000 anywhere in the world and without a break-down as to the specific amount for any particular country. So far as the House is concerned, outside of the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Members must rely on the mere statement of the State Department that they would use this authorization in countries where they deem it desirable and in the amounts they consider advisable.

This is blank-check legislation and cannot be justified. There should be named in the bill the countries as well as the amount of assistance each is to receive. It is argued that by so doing you would lead those countries to believe we have made definite commitments to provide the full amount under any and all circumstances. However, it is to be noted the bill provides that relief may be stopped instantly if certain conditions are not complied with by the recipient countries; and it is also within the power of the President to determine the actual needs of a country from time to time. So I do not believe such an argument is valid. But by placing such designations and limitations in the bill it would give the necessary assurance to Congress that relief is only going to be given to those countries that have justified the need, and not in excess of the amount stated in the blll for a particular country.

SECRECY

Most of the important testimony on this bill was given to our committee in executive or secret session. There was furnished us a secret document in which the foreign relief needs for 1947 were estimated for specific countries and the justification for such a program. This secret document is not to be confused with another secret document furnished the committee in justification of the Turkish-Greek program.

I believe my colleagues in the House, outside of the Foreign Affalrs Committee, should have access to the facts disclosed in this secret document and secret evidence so that they can base their decision on the same evidence that was presented to our committee. The public is

entitled to the facts. If this program will not stand upon its own merits in the light of day, and cannot be justified by public testimony disclosing just what is to be done, I do not believe such a program is deserving of our support.

THE BILL FURNISHES MORE THAN FOOD

This bill asks us to authorize \$350,-000,000 for relief purposes. An estimate was made for relief requirements for 1947 in certain countries which amounted to about \$610,000,000. Out of thin air the State Department determined the United States should furnish 57 percent of this amount or approximately \$350,-000,000, and other countries should furnish the remainder.

May I say at this point there is no evidence that other countries will furnish the remaining 43 percent of the relief necessary, but on the contrary there is reason to believe this amount will not be forthcoming.

The American people have been led to believe this program is purely a food program to relieve the starving people of Europe. A cursory examination of the bill will disclose that besides food there is to be furnished coal, textiles, and other products for agricultural rehabilitation. I have no quarrel with these objectives. I merely desire to call attention to the fact the relief to be furnished by this bill goes farther than just food.

On what basis were the relief needs fixed at \$610,000,000? According to Under Secretary Clayton's testimony, estimates were based on "imports required to provide the basic essentials of life and to prevent economic retrogression which threatens the supply of these basic essentials." The \$610,000,000 therefore represents, in the countries under consideration, the deficits or the difference between the costs of necessary imports for all purposes and the value of their exports and other available assets for the current year 1947.

For example in order to prevent Italy from "retrogressing" it is not only necessary to import food but also such items as oil, seed, cotton, wool, cellulose, jute, rags, hides, lumber, plg iron, scrap iron, steel, copper, nickel, industrial chemicals, rubber, machinery, etc. So whlle we are in fact furnishing food to Italy for relief purposes under this bill, by doing so we release sufficient of her foreign exchange to permit her to purchase essential consumer goods, raw materials and other equipment to help rehabilitate herself. If for example Italy's necessary imports for all purposes for 1947 were \$950,000,000 and her exports were \$800,000,000 then she would have a deficit of \$150,000,000 of which we would furnish 57 percent. Again, I have no quarrel with this objective If we understand what we are doing in this bill, but it would be just as logical to say we are going to furnish Italy these other items that are essential, exclusive of food, so that Italy would therefore have sufficient exchange to purchase her own food. It is a case of six of one and a half a dozen of the other.

THE AMOUNT IS EXCESSIVE

According to Mr. Hoover's testlmony there is available in the United States out of the present crop year only \$125,-

000,000 worth of agricultural products which can be used for the purpose of rellef. There was some dispute as to this amount. There was other testimony that estimated the supplies available for this year as \$296,000,000—Including the new crop—but in no case did the estimate disclose \$350,000,000 worth of food would be available for this purpose.

The State Department apparently contemplates the \$350,000,000 to be used through the first half of 1948—the termination date of this bill. President Truman, however, in his message to the Congress recommending this approprlation, stated:

The authorization recommended is designed for the urgent relief needs for the balance of the year.

He also recognized there would not be an Immediate need for \$350,000,000 because he placed in hls 1947 budget only \$100,000,000 for this purpose, and placed the other \$250,000,000 in the 1948 budget.

No human being is in a position to know at this time what supplies will be available after the next crop year. This depends on conditions beyond human control. Because of the fact there is not \$350,000,000 of supplies available this year, and this amount is not needed for relief this year, it might be well that we cut down the authorization at this time to an amount more commensurate with the initial need. Then after a spot check as to this year's crop and after the needs are determined for next year, the Congress could authorize additional appropriations early in 1948, if at that time it is justified by the evidence.

Another plan has been suggested that we authorize the full amount at this time but make immediately available only the amount that would be necessary for the relief load this year. The remainder of the authorization would be available only after the approval of joint committee of this Congress appointed by the Speaker and the President of the Senate. At least these two alternatives are worthy of serious consideration by the House because it is very easy to allow our humanitarian instincts to be prodigal with the taxpayers' money.

SHOULD THIS ASSISTANCE BE REPAID

Mr. Hoover, probably the world's greatest autority on rellef assistance, belleves the program we are undertaking should be repaid. He suggested a practlcal method how this could be done without in any way crippling the recovery of the recipient countries. His suggestion was that they agree to pay for this aid by placing a tax of 5 or 10 percent on all exports from the debtor country to be paid for in the currency of the countries which receive such exports, and these payments should not begin for 2 or 3 years hence. In addition Mr. Hoover felt that these payments should be made before reparations were paid by any of the recipient countries.

I offered an amendment in committee which in substance provided for such an export tax but received very little support. It is apparent it is the determination of a majority of the Foreign Affairs Committee that we continue to give

relief all over the world at the expense of the United States taxpayers.

SHOULD WE GIVE FOOD RELIEF TO COUNTRIES DOMINATED BY THE SOVIET?

We are told it is our obligation to furnish food and relief to countries which we occupy. That is the reason we must assume this obligation in Austria and Germany. On the other hand, our ally, Russia, apparently is not asked to fulfill a similar obligation in countries she occupies or completely dominates. This in spite of the fact Russia is spending huge amounts for armament, occupies the regions which are the bread basket of Europe, and has stripped those areas of the means to provide for themselves. Why should we furnish food to countries where the Soviet have forced the peasants to deliver to them grain under the worst imaginable conditions. Because of our humane instincts we are expected to relieve famine which is, to a considerable extent, the consequence of the coerced economy imposed on the helpless people of eastern Europe by Russia.

While it is very "hush-hush" that the purpose of this bill is not entirely altruistic and is not confined to feed starving men, women, and children in devastated countries, it is obvious that one of the primary purposes for doing so is to try to win these people away from Soviet domination and to assist those who honestly believe in the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations. I not only think we should recognize this fact

but should support it openly.

I, however, see little hope of accomplishing anything in this regard with our relief program in Poland under its present puppet government, dominated and controlled by Russia. In making this statement I am fully aware of the millions of loyal, patriotic Poles who will fight to the death if given the opportunity to remove the yoke of tyranny that Russia has now imposed upon them, but to give aid under existing circumstances would simply shift the burden of relief from the shoulders of Russia to our own, and, I am afraid, would foster Sovietization, as has so often been done in the past, under UNRRA, by liquidating the very ones we desire to help.

The situation is somewhat more hopeful for helping the cause of freedom in Hungary if we should give her assistance, but you cannot blink away the fact the only reason relief is needed today in Hungary is because Russia is currently demanding \$23,000,000 a year reparations from that country including huge quantities of food. Are we at taxpayers' expense expected to supply relief needs to Hungary so that she will be able to pay reparations to our ally Russia?

NOT SUFFICIENT RESTRICTIONS IN THE BILL

Mr. Hoover, after careful consideration, suggested eight or nine restrictions to be put into this bill for the protection of this country, including the appointment of a relief administrator under the President. Amendment after amendment was offered in committee carrying out these and other suggestions but most all of them were opposed by the State Department. According to their viewpoint we are expected to have faith they will do an efficient job as they do not wish

to be bound even by reasonable limitations. From my experience I definitely feel we must spell out in this bill the necessary conditions and limitations which we desire if they are to be carried

I have repeatedly pointed out that I am in full sympathy with the objective of this bill. No one wants to let people starve. Everybody wants the United States to do its full share. But I again urge while we have this bill before the House we try to make it a constructive piece of legislation which will accomplish its objective with a minimum disturbance to the financial structure of this country, and with restrictions which will assure its administration along sound and economical lines.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from South

Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

(Mr. MUNDT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I notice I have carried this blue document up here inadvertently, but I will put it down on this table where I will not look at it, because it contains part of the secret testimony our committee received. We had 12 days of hearings. Six days of the hearings are included in this meticulous blue document which means nobody can read them except members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, nobody can speak about them except the members of the State Department who gave them to us, including State Department press releases from Moscow, from Washington, from New York, from Philadelphia, whenever the spirit moves State Department officials to speak. However, I shall turn this document face down so nobody will be disturbed about what we know in reference to this bill and are unable to reveal to Congress.

Mr. Chairman, I want to talk now

about the legislation before us. I find myself in much the same position as the gentleman from Ohio. I am going to support this legislation. I voted for it in I believe that America committee. should undertake its fair share of the responsibility of feeding a hungry, wartorn, and distressed world. I certainly cannot get myself in that marvelous state of happy complacency, however, of the gentleman from Alabama, who preceded me, when he said, "Do not change it, do not dot an 'i' or cross a 't'; this is the finished product. Rise to your patriotic obligation and turn amendments down as fast they come up."

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. I am going to indulge in the thought that the gentleman misunderstood me, because I did not mean to infer that any legislation at any time is absolutely perfect. All legislation is the result of compromise. What I did try to infer was that this legislation had very careful consideration and study in committee, that the majority of the committee had brought forth what the majority thought was the best it could produce. Under such circumstances I do not consider this floor the proper place in which to write legislation.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the gentleman. I am glad to have the statement of his modified position. Probably I did not understand the gentleman and I shall therefore solicit his support for some of my amendments which I think are very necessary if we are going to perfect this bill as much as we should.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. SNYDER. I have a question that is troubling me and I trust the gentleman will discuss it as he goes along in his talk. I have from sources which I consider unimpeachable that in Greece today the casinos are filled, that they have been redecorated and refurnished, that the people are in them 24 hours a day spending more money than they have spent in years.

Mr. MUNDT. Probably they are wellpaid UNRRA employees.

Mr. SNYDER. Of course, there are poor people in Greece. There have always been poor people in Greece. gather from the discussion here this morning that part of this money will go to Greece. I am also informed that in Greece they have a practice that has been in effect over a long period of years that every time there is a change in regime all of the army officers are retired, and they are retired at a certain stipulated pay; also that if any government worker files a statement or an affidavit that he has two more relatives dependent on him he is given an increase.

Mr. MUNDT. May I interject to observe that I wish the gentleman's unimpeachable source had been a little more short-winded because he is going to take a lot of my time.

Mr. SNYDER. They file this statement and they get an addition to their pay. The thing that troubles me is, What are the countries themselves, for instance, Greece, doing to meet the problem which is facing their nation through starvation? Are they doing what they can do? I would like that matter clarified somewhere along in this debate and also as it applies to other nations.

Mr. MUNDT. I will be glad to answer the question insofar as it pertains to Greece and in so far as my knowledge makes it possible to do so. I was a member of the congressional committee which inspected the UNRRA operations in Greece late in 1945, and am happy to report that of the four countries in which we inspected the operations of UNRRA-Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Greece-that it was only in Greece that we found UNRRA doing a commendable and respectable job. We found there a very shaky and uncertain Greek Government, but it was cooperating with UNRRA splendidly and it was taking the steps that it had available to feed its own population. I do not doubt a bit but what the casinos are filled with people who want to speculate on the roll of the dice. Probably a great many of those casino attendants are American employees of the UNRRA mission and

other people who are abroad with American currency as well as people from foreign countries and some of the wealthy Greeks themselves. I know nothing about whether they change the army officers every time they change kings, but if they do, pretty soon there will be no more taxpayers, no more privates, and everybody will be a retired army officer, because they are changing kings awfully fast in Greece. So, I think eventually the retirement system would defeat itself.

I think your main worry should be directed to the Greco-Turkish aid bill, which deals with the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey. This does not pretend to deal with internal affairs except to bar the extension of relief to countries which are trying to play politics with it. We are not undertaking to analyze their tax system or their system of representative government beyond that point in this particular legislation. I think that the Members of the House who we hope are going to support this legislation, and who I hope are going to attend the debate and the amendments under the 5-minute rule, will pay close attention so that they can correct this legislation, because if Congress fails to write its will into this legislation and if Congress fails to assume its responsibility for helping to make it more operative, and if Congress fails to measure up to its responsibility as a coordinate branch of Government to work its will on this law, it will simply be because the Members of Congress have not measured up to their opportunities here. I am convinced that the arguments presented partly by the people who signed the minority report and partly by others are so convincing that you will realize that unless you want to become a blank-check Congressman, there are modifications which must be made in this legislation if it is to be made completely effective.

Let me say, first of all, this is not an UNNRA bill. The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. ENGEL] was entirely off base when he talked about this in terms of UNRRA. It is not at all an UNRRA bill. There were three glaring weaknesses in UNRRA which this bill corrects, in addition to the fact, of course, that under UNRRA we found it administered by political hacks who did very little about the human philosophy which UNRRA was intended to cope with. Every time a "lame duck" crossed the State line of New York he got a job or an administrative position with UNRRA. and we got the kind of people you might expect, who were rejected by the electorate of New York State.

I want to say in the first place, then, a unilateral approach has been provided in this bill, and that was not true of UNRRA. I attended in Yugoslavia a business meeting of UNRRA in which they were speaking some 16 different languages, and it took them all morning to get through a motion to adjourn and get it interpreted so that everybody understood what the motion was.

Now that feature has been abandoned. This is an American project, conducted unilaterally. It will work out helpfully or harmfully, depending on the type of its administration and the attention that

Congress gives to writing in appropriate safeguards when it comes to the amendments suggested. It is an American effort, and it will enhance our reputation abroad or it will detract from it in conformity with the manner in which this legislation is enacted and administered.

The second step is that the House of Representatives has at different times under UNRRA passed amendments which required free access of reporters, newspaper people, and radio folks to report back the operations of UNRRA. It was called the free-press amendment, you will recall, offered once, I believe, by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] and once by an author whose name I cannot recall just at the moment. I do know I was among those vigorously supporting both amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield four additional minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. This bill includes the free-press provision. It is one of the pro-

visions of this bill. The third place where this legislation

is an improvement over UNRRA is that UNRRA did not enforce any provisions against using its supplies for political purposes. I have in my office a letter from a lady in Warsaw, for example, complaining that in Poland she and her family could not get any relief supplies because they did not belong to the Communist Party, and under UNRRA relief was being used for political purposes. Wherever the Communists had control of the government they took the UNRRA supplies, which were paid for to the extent of 72 percent by us, and used them to condemn America and to promote communism. We can, if we will, as Members of Congress, write into this bill provisions which will make that impossible. Some weak and fluid language is now included. We can make it emphatic and direct and effective. If we fail to do so, we should not complain of the results.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. O'HARA. I wonder if the gentleman, for whom I have the greatest respect, not only because of what he has seen but from his study of these problems, can give us any assurance that this political group of UNRRA, as far as our end is concerned, what we furnish to them from our people, will not be administering most of this program.

Mr. MUNDT. That is something to which I think Congress should devote its attention. Already rumors have reached this committee that some more of these political hacks and lame ducks from New York are to be placed on the administrative staff of this bill. I think Congress should write something into the legislation in the way of the amendments I now propose to discuss which would make that impossible.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. As to the information that may come out under the provision in the bill that there shall be a free exchange of information, does the gentleman believe that kind of information can be obtained from the present Polish Government? Is there not still an iron curtain in that country?

Mr. MUNDT. I doubt very much that relief can reach the right people in Poland, but I think if the House will adopt an amendment which I propose to offer we can put in provisions which would make it impossible for this bill to give relief to Poland unless the Government there meets provisions which would distribute this relief without political prejudice or personal bias.

I want to discuss briefly some more amendments I should like to have this body consider pretty seriously before acting favorably on the legislation. The first is this:

At the present time, if this thing is a failure and a fizzle and a flop, no Member of Congress under the bill the way it is now written will know at whom to point the finger of responsibility. The administration of this is scattered all over the President Truman sent former President Hoover abroad to study the bill and report back to Congress, to advise it. His first recommendation was, if you are going to pass this bill you must have a relief administrator who can be held responsible. An amendment will be offered to follow Mr. Hoover's recommendation on this point. I hope it will be looked upon with favor.

Incidentally the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Richards] said Mr. Hoover was sent by President Truman to investigate the situation. He came back and he favored it.

He said, "Oh, he made one or two suggestions.

My friends, if you will look at page 54 of the printed hearings you will see that former President Hoover made nine specific suggestions and what the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Rich-ARDS] was talking about was the fact that the committee seriously considered one or two of them before rejecting all of them. That is what he was referring to. But Mr. Hoover did make nine specific suggestions. I hope this House will treat them more graciously than did our

Mr. Chairman, I shall discuss the other amendments as they are presented to the House for its consideration.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DougLas].

(Mrs. DOUGLAS asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, why do some countries still need help? Within a few weeks the last shipments of UNRRA supplies will leave our shores for the needy people of Europe. program of that great agency which did so much to bind up the wounds of Europe after the war will be grinding to a stop. I say of that great agency because it was the first international organization in the United Nations. I say great agency because I think it did a perfectly magnificent piece of work.

I do not say that certain funds were not abused, not only by Russia, as has been mentioned here, but they were abused in Greece also. But we could not expect a program of the enormity of the UNRRA program carried out free from all abuse; just as in our relief programs at home with our own people where we speak one language and where we know one another, there have been certain

The question is: Did the abuses outweigh the good that was done? I think an objective estimate of the job accomplished by UNRRA adds up to the answer-no. I think an objective estimate adds up to the answer that if we had not had UNRRA there would be chaos in the world today. Maybe we think we have troubles today, but if we had not gone into the war-devastated countries that were literally in ashes, running with blood where the people were exhausted, and where community services had been completely disrupted and transportation no longer existed, where businesses had been blown apart-if we had not gone in with a program of the scope and vision of the UNRRA program, we would not be at the place where we could even contemplate a going concern in Europe in the immediate future.

At this point I pay my respects to the two heads of the UNRRA undertaking—one, Gov. Herbert Lehman, former governor of New York State for 10 long years, and a distinguished public servant. I wish to pay my respects to Fiorella LaGuardia, mayor of New York City for 12 long years, a distinguished public servant and former member of the House of Representatives.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. I should be happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JARMAN. Reference was made to "lame ducks." Does the gentlewoman recall that Governor Lehman was ever defeated in running for the office of Governor of the State of New York, or for any other office?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. I do not.

Mr. JARMAN. Does the gentlewoman recall that Mayor LaGuardia was ever defeated in running for mayor of the city of New York?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. I do not. Both of those gentlemen were not only capable of understanding the program which they were charged with heading, but they contributed much to the solid achievement accomplished under UNRRA. UNRRA's resources were not unlimited, even though they were greater than three and one-half billion dollars. This is now known to have been insufficient to meet the total relief needs of a number of liberated countries. The job of relief is not quite finished. When UNRRA was first established, it had to determine which countries seeking relief really needed it. This depended not only upon the need for food or clothing and other relief supplies, but also upon the ability of the country to finance the importation of sufficient supplies to supplement its indigenous resources. Some of the UNRRA receiving countries are back on their feet, but others still do not have the foreign exchange to purchase the imports essential to the well-being of their people. It is entirely a problem of the availability of sufficient foreign exchange to finance the necessary foreign imports. If a country does not have adequate foreign exchange, or if its foreign exchange is barely adequate and will be exhausted by purchasing foods for the minimum needs during the next 6 months, they are considered eligible for relief.

The only method whereby starvation and political and economic chaos can be avoided is for those nations which have the strength to do so to make those supplies available without charge, or, conversely, to make the necessary foreign exchange available without reimbursement.

In other words, if a country has very limited foreign exchange, and they have to use all that foreign exchange simply to buy food to keep them from starving, or a little cotton or a little coal, and they are not able to use that money to rebuild their bridges, to rebuild their roads, to rebuild their factories, they never can get back on their feet. Their last resources run out. Finally they are right up against a wall. What we propose to do here is to help those countries which do not have foreign exchange; to give them the necessities of life so that they can get back on their feet; so that there will be an end of this relief program-this direct relief program. There will be other programs under the United Nations, but this direct giving of food. this direct giving of the bare essentials of life, we hope, will be finished.

If the nations which have enough fail to make supplies available without charge, those countries which are still unable to finance their minimum essential imports will face a grave crisis between now and the time when their summer harvests will become available for consumption. The peoples of those countries have been undernourished for so many years, and for the last 18 months have had so little from the bare minimum rations needed for subsistence. that they cannot physically stand 6 months' submarginal feeding. Many will actually starve. Many others will become the prey of disease, and still others will become permanently weak-

The United States has taken an active lead up to the present time in restoring these people to normal health. We cannot, in good conscience, drop them at this point, when a little further effort on our part over a period of months we hope will complete the job which we have undertaken.

Someone asked a little while ago, Was there a guaranty that the job would be completed in 6 months? Of course there is no absolute guaranty, but estimates at the moment indicate that the need for direct relief will come to an end under this program. I would like to point out that the children's program is still to be presented to Congress.

The best evidence currently available indicates that Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Poland will each, in some measure, need further relief during the calendar year 1947, and particularly before the crops are harvested and be-

come available for immediate consumption. It is anticipated also that China may have emergency needs for food imports, to prevent suffering and starvation in certain areas, and some financial assistance may be required for this purpose.

How was the program that we are asked to vote on arrived at? In this last session of the General Assembly the nations of the world agreed that after the UNRRA pipe lines ran out there would be short-term residual relief needs, of approximately 6 months.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from California has expired.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentlewoman from California five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlewoman from California is recognized for five additional minutes.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. The United States took the position in the General Assembly that we did not want to continue UNRRA. The reason we took that position was that Congress had made it pretty clear that they did not want to continue UNRRA. For the same reason the United States took the position that we did not want to continue this residual period of relief under an international organization. The United States and Great Britain in the General Assembly and in committee No. 2 urged that further relief be carried on for the next 6 months on a unilateral basis. Every other nation was against such an approach to relief, but because the United States is the great contributor in the . world you can see that that put the other nations in a rather embarrassing position. The reason they were against the unilateral approach was because they feared an organizational departure from the United Nations pattern. They feared this pattern might set a dangerous precedent; but finally the nations voted unanimously to carry on the 6 months' needed relief in the unilateral manner proposed by the United States and Great Britain.

Last December the General Assembly of the United Nations appointed a committee of experts to estimate the relief needs of all the liberated areas. This committee met in January on a number of occasions and finally arrived at the estimate of \$583,000,000 as the minimum all-over relief requirements of the liberated areas of Europe; but our own State Department, after exhaustive studies of the figures, concluded that the total need to meet these requirements would amount to \$610,000,000 from the end of UNRRA shipments until the end of 1947.

They believe that no further assistance will be required in any country except Austria. It is pretty well understood that even after the 6 months' period is over Austria may need some more help.

The needs for each country are arrived at by estimating the minimum import requirements in the light of local supplies available based upon minimum feeding ration for the population and the furnishing of other bare essentials. The foreign-exchange resources in each coun-

try are then investigated to determine how much of the essential imports each country can finance without foreign assistance and without depleting its foreign exchange to a point at which it would exhaust itself in caring for its immediate requirements.

As I have said, the conclusion of the State Department which presented detailed facts and figures on this matter in the Foreign Affairs Committee, is that the total relief needs of the liberated areas which must be financed from foreign sources amount to \$610,000,000.

How did we arrive at our share? The administration has requested Congress to authorize \$350,000,000 as the United States contribution to the total relief needs. It figures out that the United States contribution is 57 percent. You will remember that we contributed twice in UNRRA and that each time we contributed 1 percent of our national income, that other members of UNRRA also contributed 1 percent of their national income.

You have heard the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom] tell you that the contributions made to UNRRA came to 99 percent of the total obligation. By reason of the fact that the United States was not damaged during the war and was hurt as a result of the war very little by comparison with other nations of the world, by reason of the fact that our wealth is so much vaster than all the other countries put together, our 1 percent to UNRRA constituted 72 percent of the total resources of that organization.

Now, during the year and a half since the end of the war other nations have recovered in considerable degree from the ravages they suffered. It is hoped that not only those countries which contributed to the UNRRA program but perhaps some of those countries which were greatly helped through the UNRRA program may be able to help now in this last 6 months of relief which is needed. We do not know. The reason we do not know and the reason nobody can answer that question on this floor is that having decided in the general assembly that the unilateral approach to relief was best. the program was deliberately left in a more or less loose state among the nations of the world with each one pledged to contribute what they could.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from California has ex-

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentlewoman four additional minutes.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, each country was to go home and try to find out what they could contribute. United States does not have to give a red cent to this program. We have not said definitely that we would give three hundred and fifty million but we have implied that we would make our contribution. It was a gentleman's agreement. We do not know what the other countries will give. It was not as though we sat around a table and agreed that each country would give a certain percentage of its income.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. I yield to the gentle-

man from Ohio.
The gentlewoman was WORYS. The gentlewoman was one of our delegates to the United States Assembly. The United Nations Technical Committee made this study and gave the figures to the world as to the needs of each of the countries. Can the gentlewoman tell us why the United States cannot make its study of the needs of the countries public to the world, why it must be kept secret even though the United Nations has made a similar study and released it to the entire world?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Yes. I can tell the gentleman what the State Department told us and to me it makes sense. Maybe it does not make sense to the gentleman from Ohio. There is quite a difference between estimates arrived at by the United Nations experts and the estimates arrived at by one government.

The United Nations experts were picked from different parts of the world to estimate the relief needs of the world. Now it is up to us and others able to do so, to meet these relief needs as best we can. We propose to contribute \$350,-We do not propose to say to Poland, "You will have so much," and to Austria, "You will have so much," and to Italy, "You will have so much." That is why we have not broken down the 350,-000,000 figure.

Why? Because a few countries are still in desperate need. When we talk about relief needs for another 6 months we are not talking about getting the people of these countries to a place where they live on caviar and champagne. We are talking about getting them on their feet so they can begin to do a good day's work.

If in Italy, for instance, they have a harvest which would make it look as though Italy would not need as much as we planned to give her and we could give an additional amount to Austria because Austria might then be in greater need than Italy, we should be free to do so. If we had published a definite figure for Italy, the Italians would have counted on that exact amount no matter what the conditions, and there would be tremendous resentment. It is very understandable that this should be so-we are not talking about people who are living on the fat of the land.

If we were to suggest that the Italians are a little better off than the Austrians. and therefore we are going to reduce our aid to Italy, I assure you this decision would not be greeted happily. We are talking about people living at levels that are low, so terribly low that to refuse food for the reason that somebody else is more miserable is not appealing.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield? Mrs. DOUGLAS. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. I do not think there is any division of opinion as to trying to help those people who are in need, but how about the governments themselves that perhaps will ask for the money and which governments might spend large sums on military establishments within the boundaries of their own country. Should we help them? Is that a condition of the bill?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. I think that would be a condition embodied in an agreement between ourselves and countries receiving relief; we do not propose giving relief to any country that might be spending money on military establishments or equipment.

THE TYPES OF RELIEF SUPPLIES

The bulk of whatever funds the United States contributes to post-UNRRA relief will, of course, be expended for the purchase of foodstuffs, particularly grains, fats, and meats here. However, there are certain other supplies which are essential even to a bare minimum relief job. These include medical supplies of which all the liberated areas are very deficient; seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides which are urgently needed for summer and fall planting. It is also necessary that a very small amount of fuel be imported into some of the receiving countries since otherwise they will be unable to make adequate use of their transportation facilities and of farm machinery for producing and moving food supplies. Every failure on the part of one of these countries to utilize fully its available resources in such equipment and machinery will add to the total food imports that will be essential to avoid submarginal feeding and to avoid undue exposure to the weather where clothing is in extremely short supply. For the same reason it is anticipated that either clothing will be required or some cotton should be supplied to the textile mills of some of these countries in order that they may manufacture the clothing which they so badly need.

RELIEF IS BASIC TO INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Regardless of what policy we may now or hereafter decide upon in relation to the various countries of Europe, not only the liberated areas but others as well. if we fail to furnish the basic relief supplies to the liberated areas we shall inevitably find that the resultant unrest and chaos in those countries will nullify our best efforts to implement our foreign policies. We can consider what additional economic and political action we may desire to take, but if the liberated areas which are still in need of relief degenerate into political and economic chaos because the people do not have the bare essentials of life, we will soon find that the disease is contagious and will spread over much of the rest of the world. Such an effect could destroy all our best attempts to restore normal trade and to establish strong democratic governments. The needy countries look to us for assistance knowing as they do that we have more with which to aid them than all the rest of the world combined. If we fail them our influence in those countries will be permanently shattered and we will be looked upon with increasing distrust by other nations. Thus, for our own personal advantage as well as for the noblest humanitarian reasons, we cannot afford to shirk the relief job which faces us today.

CONDITIONS PRECEDENT TO RELIEF

The bill which has been reported out embodies a number of conditions which must be agreed to by any country before it can receive the benefits of the United States contribution. Further conditions

will be covered in agreements which the State Department proposes to negotiate with each country before it can receive relief. Each receiving country must promise to distribute supplies obtained from us in an equitable manner and without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief. Each country must provide for effective price control and effective rationing. Local funds received from the sale of relief supplies shall be set aside in a special fund and utilized for such other relief purposes as may be agreed upon between the receiving government and the United States Government. Another requirement is that officials of our Government and representatives of the press and radio shall have freedom to observe distribution and to report fully concerning it, and that the receiving government shall make available to us upon request full information concerning its indigenous resources and its imports from other sources. It may not export any supplies similar to those which we are sending in. It must give full publicity and credit to the United States for its assistance so that the people will know we have not abandoned them in their hour of need. The United States could. and we are assured by the Under Secretary of State would, stop all shipments immediately if any serious abuses should occur. It is thus apparent that in this bill full recognition is given to the need for assuring the proper utilization of relief supplies.

We cannot fail in this critical hour to pass this bill which is so basic to the creation of the kind of a world in which we want to live.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from California has again expired.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California [Mr. Anderson].

(Mr. ANDERSON of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Chairman, representatives of agricultural districts all over the country are tremendously interested in the far reaching effects of the relief bill now pending before the House. A group of California representatives recently met with representatives of agricultural producers in California and thoroughly discussed this entire subject of food for foreign relief. We believe that particular emphasis should be given to former President Hoover's recommendations that in addition to simply providing food, the necessity for an adequately balanced diet is also essential. I am sure that the interested Government departments are not overlooking this question but there are a few points that I believe should be brought out at this

It is the feeling of California agricultural district representatives that in the administration of purchasing of foodstuffs for all foreign relief by all agencies, consideration should be given to domestic economic effects. It is recognized that the expenditure of funds made available should be with a view to

providing the utmost of nutrition for needy peoples. In modification of this, it is, however, urged that since the wherewithal proceeds from the bounty of this Nation, careful consideration should be given to domestic economic effects.

Insofar as practicable, purchasing agencies should consult—should, in fact, voluntarily and jointly set up a coordinating committee including representation from the Department of Agriculture. Requirements should be carefully studied and valued in terms of domestic economic effects. Whereas purchasing heretofore for relief by UNRRA and under current policy, by the Army and other agencies, has been and is concentrated on certain basic commodities such as wheat and other cereals, lentils, fats and oils, milk products, and meat, continued observance of this policy may unduly inflate prices and may influence production of other commodities unfortunately. It is suggested that through such coordinating agency as is suggested. consideration should be given to domestic economic effects with a view to avoidance of undue inflation of values of certain basic foodstuffs, and that at the same time consideration be given to certain other commodities in bountiful supply having nutritive value reasonably approaching that of the basic essential heretofore enumerated.

It is suggested that whereas the War Department and the State Department may be authorized and may be very properly concerned for the investment of relief funds in the acquisition of the utmost nutritive value, the Department of Agriculture under current statutes has a certain obligation to the agriculture of the Nation. Certain funds are made available to the Department in support of price levels for certain basic commodities. Certain other more limited funds—section 32—are made available for price support for a wide range of agricultural production.

Insofar as some commodities may become available in such bountiful supply as to unduly depress prices and threaten disaster to producers, and insofar as such supplies may have any fair adaptation to relief uses, and may incidentally have enjoyed export outlets under normal conditions, it is respectfully suggested that purchase for relief may avoid impending undue deflation of values.

Although the caloric value of investment for relief purposes may not in every case be quite comparable to investment in wheat even at current values, the cost to this Government may be much less than the latter cost of making good the responsibility of the Department of Agriculture to support prices.

In another sense it is suggested that the vast investment which this country must make in winning the peace and sustaining a sufficient segment of the world under the system of democracy which will permit our continued enjoyment of the institutions we cherish, must be regulated and coordinated in a fashion comparable to that which applied to the recent greater investment in the wasteful purposes of war. These influences threaten the stability of the capitalistic profit-and-loss system on which our type of democracy depends for its existence.

Whereas the productive capacity of this Nation finally won World Wars I and II for this Nation and its allies, the same productive capacity must now be made available and applied to the winning of the peace. Consideration must be given to economic stabilization.

Members from the great agricultural Midwest, from the grazing lands, from industrial areas, in fact, Members of the Congress generally, should have concern for avoidance of economic disclocation. The world program today calls for an extraordinary direct expenditure by our Government and indirectly from funds loaned or otherwise made available by our Government, largely concentrated on foodstuffs. Price of foodstuffs more than anything tends to determine through labor and otherwise the domestic inflationary trend. Certainly our suggestion for avoidance of dislocations through a studied application of this purchasing power should command support from Congress.

We do not recommend a spread of the investment to provide luxuries but as we consider the national program of investment, loans, and beneficence which may amount to billions over the period of a few years, we do suggest the broadest possible application in the reinvestment in the products of this Nation.

We do not recommend that our Government take over purchasing for foreign government missions, but that in connection with a coordination of its own procurement program steps should be taken to coordinate the activities of foreign agencies.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman].

(Mr. JONKMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, this bill proposes UNRRA residual relief for such countries as the administration may select in the sum of \$350,000,000, to be distributed up to June 1948.

It is an administration bill. It seems to come to the Congress as "must" legislation. In other words, innocuous amendments are permissible. But the sum to be authorized, the term of the duration of the relief, and the countries and peoples to receive relief, as well as the nature and extent of that relief, apparently are matters the Congress must not inquire about and upon which it is not competent to pass judgment. These things the State Department apparently knows best.

I am sure that most of us would like to be able to believe that. The administration has had an intimate experience in and with UNRRA for 2 years since VEday. It should be able to present facts and figures that would carry conviction with them, and make the needed legislation simple for the Congress. But I am apprehensive that such is not the case.

The original bill in its preamble states

Whereas for humanitarian reasons and in order to promote healthy economic conditions abroad which are essential to the security and economic well-being of the United States and of the world, the Government of

the United States desires to assist in the furnishing of such relief: Therefore—

And so forth. This could well support the presumption of the administration that for any Member of Congress to oppose this legislation would mean that he was wanting in humanitarian instincts and indifferent to the security and economic well-being of the United States, and that, therefore, there would be no opposition to the administration's promoting healthy economic conditions abroad. They did that through UNRRA—67 cranes at \$20,000 each and 5 or 6 bulldozers at \$10,000 each, most of which were never used, and so forth. That is the way UNRRA gave relief to starving people.

However, the problem is not so simple

as that.

The American people have a deep sympathy for the seriously undernourished men, women, and especially children in other lands. The American people have always been generous and liberal in helping the unfortunate. And they still are, and wish to help feed them, where help is needed. But they want to really help, and in accordance with their means. Members of Congress have the same feelings and objectives. But as representatives of the people, they are also bound by the time-honored maxim that "they must be just before they are generous with the taxpayers' money."

Before considering foreign grants by our Government for the relief of any and all nations of the world who may be in destitute circumstances, we should con-

sider—

First. What resources and substance have we at our disposal?

Second. What do we need to maintain and support our own way of life?

Third. What is sought of us abroad, and how long will the need continue?

Fourth. What good purpose will be served by any program we may initiate?

We have to consider our national debt of two hundred and sixty billion; our over-all National, State, and local tax burden amounting to 35 percent of our national income; whether that national income, at present amounting to one hundred and seventy billion, is temporary or permanent. We have to consider the drain on our production machinealready the State Department admits that we are short two-fifths of the grain cereals in this program and they will have to come from the next fall crop. We must bear in mind that these exports are destroying our economy like a two-edged sword by their cost in taxes on the one hand, and the inflation from the resulting scarcity on the other hand.

In the proposed prodigal program to reach occupied, liberated, and even neutral nations we will be dissipating our strength and service without having reached the children, the men and women who really need help, and whom we could reach by a judicious, well-considered application of the limited means at our disposal. If we are to relieve the peoples of foreign nations, it must be done on the limited scale of seeking to meet only the most urgent and necessary needs, and only in those countries where these needs exist.

If our substance is strewn about with prodigality, waste, and worse, we will soon find that we are unable to help where help is really needed. We do well to bear in mind that there is another four hundred million proposed for Turkey and Greece, four hundred million to reimburse war damages for Filipinos; that we will probably be called upon by the United Nations Organization for seventy-five millions for the International Refugee Organization, forty millions for infant feeding; that Korea apparently wants six hundred million, and so on ad infinitum.

It seems that the administration has paid very scant attention to these considerations.

In the first place, we know that this bill grows out of the recommendation of the General Assembly of the United Nations, made last December. However, it made a proposal of residual relief for a term of 6 months following the termination of UNRRA on March 31. Herbert Hoover also recommends a 6 months' term to end with the fall harvest. The budget contains a provision for \$100,000,000 for 1947 and \$250,000,000 for 1948. In his message to Congress recommending this appropriation, the President stated:

The authorization recommended is designed for the urgent relief needs for the balance of the year.

The Under Secretary states, on page 3 of the hearings, in accord with the President's message, with Hoover and the United Nations, that the need is "particularly acute during the spring and early summer months," and that "there is every reason for anticipating that these countries will not need further free relief after 1947." And yet, in the bill, the State Department asks for sufficient relief to operate until June 30, 1948. Why should they ask to operate until June 30, 1948, when every recommendation, including their own, rebuts the necessity for such a long term? The only reason I can see is that if they should ask for three hundred and fifty million for 6 months, this would mean at the rate of seven hundred million a year. That is considerably more than half of what we contributed to UNRRA per year, and this would not sound well as residual relief. When the department finds that our stock of grain cereals is only sufficient for three-fifths of their requirements, they blandly propose that the other two-fifths be supplied from our crops next fall-page 97. How will that help for the spring and early summer months of the present year?

In the second place, the State Department asks for blank checks up to the amount of \$350,000,000 to be used in any country they see fit. It is true, they say, that at the present time they have in mind six countries—Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and possibly China. But that is only their present intention, and they reserve the right to make changes and additions if the relief funds are not used in the above areas or if, in their judgment, they should find that the money should be diverted to other areas.

Not only that, but they wish to keep secret the break-down of this \$350,000,-000 and the figures they have used as the needs of each country. In other words, they are asking the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs to stultify themselves and come to Congress and the people, advocating the grant of \$350,000,000 without giving the basis of their calculations. This ostensibly is none of the business of the Congress or the people.

It is true, they use as an excuse the pretext that once the allocation for each country is given, that country will consider that allocation as our debt to them, and a cut would cause dissension. are not impressed by this argument for keeping Congress and the people in the dark. How can the State Department assure enforcement of the stern conditions precedent proposed in the bill for the giving and continuation of relief when they show the aforesaid weakness? How do they expect to enforce nondiscrimination, freedom of the press, full publicity, and supervision if they dare not discontinue relief when it is not needed?

The State Department proposes to lay down such conditions for the distribution of this relief without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief; they tell us that where such assurances are not given, they positively will not go in and give relief; that in such cases the allocated amount will be used in other countries.

Mr. ROBSION. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield for a question. Mr. ROBSION. Is is said that it shall be distributed without regard to creed or politics? That would include Communists and other subversive groups, would it not?

Mr. JONKMAN. It certainly would. Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The purpose will be, however, to prevent discrimination in favor of Communists. That is the purpose of that restriction, is it not

Mr. JONKMAN. Certainly. I am not satisfied that such conditions will be accepted, for instance, in Poland or Hungary, which are absolutely dominated by the Communists; and in such event I do not approve of spending it in other countries with prodigality. But even if such conditions were accepted in those countries, does anyone believe relief would go to deserving Polish patriots as freely as to the members of the Communist Party line? Past experiences all show the contrary.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield for a question.
Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Is that

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Is that the reason that the amendment which the gentleman just spoke about was put in the bill, to make sure that it is not prejudicial either for or against Communists?

Mr. JONKMAN. It ostensibly was put in so that if a country is Communist dominated relief will not be given there if discrimination in distribution favors Communists. I am just as desirous of aiding those really in need in these countries as any other person; but if those people cannot be reached, is it wise to give such supplies to the governments of such countries where they will be used to bolster up the Communist movement?

There are other considerations which fall almost within the same category. For instance, on page 75 of the hearings it is admitted by the State Department that by this relief to Hungary we will be paying Hungary's reparations bill of 23 millions a year to Russia; that if Hungary had no reparations to pay, the relief would not be needed.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman submit to a question at this point or at least yield for an observation?

The gentleman has in his last statement developed a very important point, which is that if we do not want this money to be used by Russia for the purposes of that country, we ought to adopt the so-called Colmer amendment or a similar amendment that will be offered by the gentleman or some other member of the majority providing that no part of this fund shall be expended in any country presently dominated by Russia.

Mr. JONKMAN. Of course, that would not go to the people that we want to reach but to those they want to reach.

Mr. COX. And the gentleman is correct in his statement with reference to the admissions made by the Department of State.

Mr. JONKMAN. Then in Greece, of course, there will be duplication in that another economic mission will be set up there under the so-called bill for \$400,-000,000 relief to Turkey and Greece. Paul Porter has already admitted that the undertaking to Greece provided for in this bill should be merged with that in the four hundred million to be authorized by the Greece-Turkey bill.

It is even questionable what provision this bill makes for feeding undernourished children in the countries designated. Certainly they should be our first care and consideration. A reading of page 41 of the hearings speaks of a future contribution for that purpose. Certainly, such supplementals as codliver oil and milk for children are in as much immediate need as anything for anybody.

While the Greece and Turkey aid bill is primarily concerned with reconstruction and military aid, the bill presently under consideration also transcends the bounds of strict relief and goes into rehabilitation and reconstruction, as indicated on page 4 of the hearings and in the bill itself, reciting processed and unprocessed materials for clothing and fuel, while the so-called secret documents seem to go even further than that.

In the third place, the State Department, while assuming that other nations will contribute as in UNRRA, has no assurance that they will join us in this understaking.

The over-all cost of this relief undertaking has been set at \$610,000,000, of which the State Department proposes that we pay 57 percent, or \$350,000,000 with the other 43 percent, or \$260,000,- 000 to be borne by other countries. However, this seems to have had only scant consideration. On page 81 of the hearings, the State Department says:

This figure of \$350,000,000 was in some respects a figure based on judgment and in part picked out of the air.

With reference to the willingness of other nations to contribute, according to the hearings on page 10, the only definite assurance they had was with reference to Great Britain's contribution in Austria, which they claimed had already received \$40,000,000 from Britain. They emphasize this time and again—pages 3, 10, 11, 88, and 90-althought on page 88 it is clear they are pessimistic about further aid from Britain. As this seemed rather anomalous that Britain would be pulling out of Greece and yet be distributing relief in Austria, inquiry at the proper source elicited the information that this \$40,000,000 was a straight sterling loan to Austria and not a grant. The State Department later qualified its statement and admitted that it was partly a grant and partly a loan, and there the matter stands with reference to Britain.

The only other nation consulted, as far as the record shows, was Canada. After several discussions, they got no further than that the Canadian Government was sympathetic and thinking about it.

Australia last year suffered severely from drought and probably will be unable to assist. Yet if other countries contribute in the same ratio as they did in UNRRA, these three countries, United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia, will have to contribute two hundred fifteen millions of the two hundred sixty millions expected from the other nations of the world under this program.

Under UNRRA the United States contributed annually \$1,350,000,000 to the operational fund against a total of four hundred ninety-nine million by all the other nations combined. Of this amount the United Kingdom subscribed three hundred twelve millions, or about 62 percent, Canada sixty-nine millions or about 14 percent, and Australia thirty-eight millions or about 8 percent. At the same ratio the United Kingdom would have to contribute under this program one hundred sixty millions, Canada thirty-five millions and Australia twenty millions.

In other words, the \$260,000,000 to be contributed by other countries has by no means been assured to the State Department; or do they seem to have considered whether, if any countries should contribute, these would have to set up their own relief agencies or whether the United States in this venture would become a fiscal agent of foreign countries.

Finally, the State Department has not made any on-the-spot check of the needs in these countries. It does not know whether there is scarcity in Warsaw or Athens; and if so, which of the two has the greatest scarcity. Its analysis of needs might be very misleading. To arrive at a country's needs it strikes a balance of the excess of estimated imports

over exports and assumes that the resulting shortage is the exchange needed to buy necessaries of life and to prevent economic retrogression. In other words, if, as was reported from Greece on March 29, she squandered her foreign exchange by "importing 19 tons of colored combs of all sizes, huge quantities of toy balloons, nylon, and lipsticks of all shades, and other fantastic types of commodities," this would raise her imports that much in excess of exports; and according to State Department diagnosis, she would need that much more exchange to purchase the necessaries of life.

In short, there may be no relation of this unfavorable trade balance to the food supply. It is similar to a squandering family which may produce or earn—export in goods or services—\$100 a week and spend—import—\$125. It is certainly running into trouble and will need credits or loans, but that does not necessarily mean that the children are not being fed, although, of course, such may be the case.

Or, if you want to absolutely clinch this fallacy, just consider what the administration includes under import needs. The American people are led to think import needs means food, seeds, medicines, and so forth. But to arrive at the needs of, that is, one country for the authorization in this bill-in other words to feed starving people—the import needs for 1947 include industrial oilseeds, cotton, wool, cellulose for rayon, raw jute, wool rags, cattle hides, calf hides, cellulose for paper, lumber, pig iron, steel products, iron scrap, copper, tin, nickel, rubber totaling \$250,000,000. Of course, a part of this can be paid for with exchange received from exports, but the bulk we are furnishing under the name of direct relief. This probably explains why, as I said at the outset, the preamble speaks not of direct relief, but of promoting healthy economic conditions abroad.

The same uncertainty lies in their proposed machinery for the distribution of relief. The relief goods will be turned over to the controlling governments for distribution. This is the same hurdle that caused such a miserable flop in UNRRA. But the State Department says, on page 33 of the hearings "if you did it effectively—direct distribution with American personnel—it would take all this money to pay for the personnel to look after it."

The question may well be asked: How much of the money will it take to make an effective check on ruling governments' distribution? And if we do not make this supervision effective, how do we know our aid goes to the right people?

I propose to offer amendments which will reduce the authorization in this bill to \$200,000,000 and provide that no transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made thereunder after December 31, 1947. Then if there is urgent need at the approach of spring and early summer of 1948, Congress will be in session and can make further authorization at that time. We will also have a

better view of the over-all picture at that time

This will more nearly meet all the considerations which a judicious approach would recommend and is adequate to accomplish the desired result if distribution is made with reasonable diligence.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL].

Mr. Chairman, will the Chair adivse me how the time stands?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York, including the time yielded to the gentleman from Michigan, has 1 hour remaining; the gentleman from New Jersey. 55 minutes.

The gentleman from Michigan is

recognized.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, I did not intend to enter into this discussion or to analyze the provisions of the bill until I heard about the so-called Colmer amendment which, along with other countries, would exclude the people of Poland.

What I wish to say to the Committee and I would that this might enter the hearts of the membership of the entire House-is this one warning: Do not let your hatred of communism blind you to the extent that it will strengthen communism itself and drive into the arms of the communistic ogre the millions of anti-Communist Poles in that unfortunate country. Remember, there are fewer than 600,000 Communist Poles out of something like 24,000,000 people, and do not forget that they are only nominal Communists. I have talked to some of them. I would hate to mention their names here or state who they were, or what their standing in the affairs of Poland because of the results which might follow such disclosure.

The people of Poland, nearly all of them are waiting, they are biding their time; at present they are helpless and to a great extent it is our fault that they are helpless today. We have put them in a position where they could not properly take care of themselves, could not defend their ideals. That was a long time ago.

If you want to encourage the democratic elements in Poland and the other countries—and do not let anybody tell you that they do not know their friends, for they do-give them assistance. Suppose you do give assistance to some of these nominal Communists in Poland. It will be on the basis of less than one 1 Twenty-four will be anti-Communist Poles. Remember that. Do you want to nourish, strengthen that element? Do you want to stop communism dead in its tracks? Then give some encouragement to this desperately driven element in this country which finds itself in that unfortunate condition due to a certain extent to the lack of foresight on the part of ourselves.

Our people had too much of the wrong kind of advice at Tehran and at Yalta, and I am not so sure whether that kind of advice was not still present at Potsdam. It is not the fault of the people of Poland that communism is on the loose in that country.

The time to make some amends, the time to strengthen the anticommunistic

element in Poland and in the other countries similarly situated, is now. In every instance the relief that you give to these people will go, nineteen-twentieths of it, to the people who despise and hate communism just as much as you and I.

Let me say by way of presenting my credentials, to the Members of this House, particularly with regard to some of the younger Members, that long before this war I consigned to the nether regions, to just plain hell. Stalin and Hitler. I said the same thing about the other criminal or second team of Molotov and Ribbentrop. Two of these have already gotten their just reward—Hitler and Ribbentrop. The others, Stalin and Molotov, I hope, will join that bestial quartet soon. However, my hatred of communism does not blind me to the fact that we have a job-to do, that there are desperately needy people in Poland. Yes, take Yugoslavia, which is not included here. Do you know that there are millions of Serbians and Croatians and others who are fighting communism today as much as ever? Do you know. and doubtless you must because it is something that is of current knowledge to everybody, that in the hills of Yugoslavia there is a radio voice which blares out to the world, particularly to communism, its defiance of communism and all it stands for. Those people need our assistance. They are looking to avowed anti-Communists, their friends here in America and elsewhere, for whatever encouragement we can give them. What they need mostly right now is sustenance, food, machinery, things to help them get on their feet. You strengthen Poland sufficiently and you will have the strongest anti-Communist force in Europe. She always has been anti-Communist. In 1939 there were less Communists in Poland per capita than there were in this country or in any other place in the world. Do you know why? Because they told me that all they had to do was turn to the East and sniff, and they got the stench of communism in their nostrils. They know communism better than we do and they abhor it. The hate of communism in the heart of every liberty-loving Pole is so strong that he will bide his time and suffer anything, but in due time he will turn on the vile Communist and drive him back to where he came from. The Poles will forever remember the treacherous stab in the back Russia gave them in fullfilment of her agreement with

If you want to aid this genuinely democratic element, now is the time to do so. I did not have the opportunity to listen to all that went on in the hearings, but I did read certain excerpts from the testimony of Will Clayton with reference to agreements to be made with recipient countries. I am confident from what I know of Will Clayton and as to his ability, as to his character, as to the warmth of his patriotism, when the time comes and the appropriation is made and the agreements are made, I am confident, I say, that men of the type of Will Clayton will see to it that the right parties will in all probability disseminate

the goods that are provided under the terms of this bill. This is not an appropriation; it is merely an authorization

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DINGELL. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. O'HARA. I wonder if the gentleman can assure us that there has been such a change in the personnel of the State Department that we are going to get any better advice now than we got before at Tehran and Potsdam?

Mr. DINGELL. Well, I could not say. I could not speak for anyone else. I think that the State Department on the whole has always been trustworthy and guided by very able men; by such able men as the illustrious Cordell Hull, a former Member of this House, and one of the outstanding citizens of his time. I felt pretty much the same way about the sincerity and ability of Mr. Stettinius, and I have the highest possible regard and affection for the great Secretary of State, George C. Marshall. I am confident that he and his advisers will not only do everything they can to help the people of Poland, but that whatever action they take will be for the purpose of establishing freedom, independence, and all the things that we believe in.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DINGELL. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman feel that the State Department could enter into a valid, enforcible agreement with the present Government of Poland so that we could be assured that this relief will get to the people?

Mr. DINGELL. I certainly do.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman three additional minutes.

Mr. DINGELL. I certainly do believe that we could enter into such an agreement with that government. My knowledge of the personnel of that government—and I do not know them individually, but there are some, I dare say, who despise and hate the very thought of communism, the same as the gentleman who raised the question, and that they, too, are waiting their time when the situation will change and Poland once again will be free.

Might I say now, too, that so far as the personnel of this great committee is concerned, I believe that my friend the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom] and the distinguished chairman of this committee the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Eaton], whom I have known so long and so favorably for all these years, are not being fooled about the possible effect of the fulfillment of this bill. I do not think they would have cooperated and reported it favorably if there was any doubt that a valid and enforcible agreement could be entered into with the present Government of Poland. We hold the whip hand and the control and can revoke any agreement that has been violated.

Let me just say this: We have distributed much of the worldly goods in Poland, not only through UNRRA, but through private sources and through the Roman Catholic Church, and I have assurance from at least the source that had to do with the distribution of food through the Roman Catholic hierarchy that the food did go to all the needy people in Poland, and if it did-and some of them might have been nominal Communists—the distribution by the law of averages went more than 24 to 1 in favor of the anti-Communists.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DINGELL, I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. JUDD. I want to subscribe to the argument the gentleman has presented so forcibly that the more we are opposed to communism in Poland, the more we must do our best to help those who are fighting it, and who are fighting it on the ground. I want to ask the gentleman this question: Is it not a fact that ordinarily Poland has agricultural surpluses?

Mr. DINGELL. Yes; ordinarily that is

Mr. JUDD. Is it not more likely to be true this year than before because of the fact that she has taken over some of the richest agricultural areas of Germany?

Mr. DINGELL. I should not agree to that for just this year. I think it is possible for the future, but from my understanding of it that is not so and it is not contemplated that there will be any surplus this year. But should it be so, the agreement is not irrevocable.

Mr. JUDD. That is the point I want to bring out. Does the gentleman have any information as to the prospects for crops this year in Poland?

Mr. DINGELL. I do not. Mr. JUDD. We could not get information on that in the committee.

Mr. DINGELL. From what little I know of that phase, some crops have been hard hit in Poland.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 additional minutes to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. JUDD. What is the big reason for the failure when they normally have surpluses, internal confusion?

Mr. DINGELL. They have had one of the most severe winters in the history of Poland, which has decimated the wheat crop, and the rye upon which the Poles depend so strongly is also in short supply.

Mr. JUDD. Have the work animals been taken away?

Mr. DINGELL. The work animals have been taken away, and of course that is a basic thing that has to be corrected. You remember that the Germans took every horse and milk cow in the nation, all the livestock and fowl, down to the last goose, they took every piece of industrial and farming machinery that was in Poland, it all went into the maw of the steel mills in Germany. Remember that in Poland they had far more mechanized farming than they did in Germany. I remember seeing it there in 1939. I saw American tractors, I saw

American threshing outfits, I saw men and women working with American farm machinery, then I saw women using hand sickles just across the border in Germany. But that is all changed. Their farm implements and animals sequestered by the German invaders are only now being replaced by UNRRA and other relief sources.

Mr. JUDD. Does not the gentleman think that if we get Poland through this particular hard year she ought to be on a self-sustaining basis?

Mr. DINGELL. That is my hope and my prayer, and I think it will materialize.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DINGELL. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MASON. I just want to call attention to the fact that the distinguished chairman of the committee [Mr. EATON], and the distinguished gentleman from New York, were fooled when they supported and pushed through the UNRRA

Mr. DINGELL. The gentleman may have his opinion about being fooled about UNRRA, but the fact of the matter is that UNRRA on the whole did a splendid job in spite of the fact that it had its human defects. It nevertheless did a splendid humanitarian job.

Mr. BLOOM. If the gentleman will yield, I cannot agree with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mason] with reference to UNRRA. I think UNRRA did a very good job under the circumstances.

Mr. DINGELL. I said that.

Mr. BLOOM. If it were not for the job that UNRRA did at the time, I hate to think of the condition the world would be in today.

Mr. DINGELL. And how many additional corpses there would have been in Poland and in all the other needy coun-

Mr. BLOOM. We would not have enough money in this country today to do the job we are trying to do now with \$350,000,000. We ought to be thankful for the job UNRRA did so, notwithstanding the fact that it made a lot of mistakes.

Mr. DINGELL. May I say in conclusion that if it had not been for UNRRA not only in Poland but in the other unfortunate and in large part subjugated countries there would have been millions of additional persons who would have died of hunger, cold and disease. Remember it is said that as a result of the war most of the children in Poland up to 18 years of age are tubercular, and various other diseases are rampant throughout that unfortunate country. What would have happened if it had not been for UNRRA? You may find fault with UNRRA, and it was humanly defective, no question about it, but it did an emergency job and it did a splendid job in spite of the fact that we were not fully satisfied.

(Mr. DINGELL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his re-

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. Bolton].

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, it was not my intention to speak at all today, as I have had the unfortunate mishap of losing most of my voice. But there have been things said during this debate which impel me to make an attempt to speak briefly.

May I say just one word about UNRRA because I was among those who fought very hard to have that bill contain some protection against the political use of food. Unhappily, we were unable to get any such restrictions or limitations into that particular legislation. Though I am quite in agreement with the statements that have been made about UNRRA doing a great deal of good, I have been forced to realize that, in addition, UNRRA did a good deal of harmpolitical harm.

But to get on to my subject. Your Committee on Foreign Affairs began its study of this bill a good many weeks ago. Since that time certain changes have taken place in the general situation. But there is no less desire on the part of the people of this country to do whatever we can to feed the hungry and to give medical aid. Naturally, we had to take cognizance of some of the things which have been brought to our attention in the meanwhile. One of those is that the demands upon us are going to be so great that we should know rather more definitely than we do what our own possibilities are. We are not going to be able to do the job which lies before us to do-to be the hope of the worldunless we have a certain strength here at home. That strength is of many different varieties. I am not going to enlarge upon that.

It would seem that we do need in this legislation a definite control of the money and we need a very real plan. It has been noted to you that Mr. Porter suggested that this relief, or part of it, be added to the bill which will be coming to us in the not too distant future with reference to a different kind of assistance to Greece and Turkey. I think it is very important that this bill be not mixed up with that bill and that we stop thinking of it as an extension of UNRRA because it is not an extension of UNRRA.

The reason for House Joint Resolution 153 is not to stop totalitarian expansion. We get the opportunity to have some-thing to say about that in another bill. It is really to feed the hungry; and if we are going to feed the hungry we better do it before they starve to death. We cannot wait indefinitely before helping them. Of course, indirectly, if we feed the hungry, and they know it comes from a capitalistic country, and if it is done well and it reaches those who really need the help, we will do something to stop some of that expansion because we would then be demonstrating what we as free men and women can do in the world. We have shown them that nobody fights quite so well as a man who is free and no woman in any part of the world goes to his help and is quite so capable as the woman who is free.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the lady from Ohio five additional min-

Mrs. BOLTON. In order to make my own position clear on this legislation, I would like to state reluctantly that I am as impatient at the tactless and rather stupid action of the State Department with the Foreign Affairs Committee of this House as anyone in the House. I regret extremely that they still feel they can bring us with impunity a lot of material all bound up, top secret stuff, when that same material is available to all in other places. It would appear that they feel we are of very little account. I confess I am inclined to serve notice on them that if they are not careful the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, at least the majority side of it, may notify them that we will oppose legislation presented to us in such fashion on the basis that such methods do not give us adequate material with which to present it to you. In the matter of this bill it seems to me that it is so necessary that we provide some method of giving expression to the generous inclination of the American people, recognizing the need to feed adults and children, that I shall vote for this bill.

I have a great deal of confidence in the membership of this House, Mr. Chairman. I trust that what is written in by the membership in the form of amendments will have the proper constructiveness necessary to make it possible for us to do the job in an efficient American fashion, that will satisfy our people, and that will not make such inroads upon us that we cannot meet the needs of our expanding responsibility. Those needs are going to be very great, Mr. Chairman, for upon us, without any doubt, will rest the future of our civilization.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the lady yield for a question?

Mrs. BOLTON. I will be happy to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. KEATING. Under section 4 of this resolution it is provided that when these supplies are transferred or made available, the President shall cause representatives of this country to see that certain things are done to supervise their distribution. I do not seem to find in the next section, in the provisions for cutting off relief, any correlative provision, to say in effect that if the President's representatives are not able to make that report, the relief may be cut off.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. BOLTON. I yield.

Mr. JUDD. I think the gentleman will find the answer on page 4, line 16, under clause (g). They must give assurance, before the relief is given to them, that they will allow representatives of the United States to supervise. Then, under section 5, it says he shall terminate the supervision of relief assistance if he finds that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not carried out.

Mr. KEATING. I thank the gentleman.

Mrs. BOLTON. And if the President does not stop it at this point, the Congress has the power to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Ohio has again expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD a letter addressed to me

by the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, covering this legislation.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Is that secret? Mr. EATON. It is not secret.

The CHAIRMAN. That request would more properly come when we are in the House

Mr. EATON. Then I wish to read the letter if that be appropriate at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has that privilege.

Mr. EATON. I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk may read this letter for me.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.
The Clerk read as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, April 23, 1947. The Honorable Charles A. Eaton,

The Honorable Charles A. Eaton,
Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Com-

MY DEAR DR. EATON: In response to your request I am indicating below our answers to certain questions regarding the proposed post-UNRRA relief program.

Question. What will be the agency set up in any Government department or independently for the purpose of administering this relief, and who will be appointed to be the administrator?

Answer. It would be our intention to appoint a relief director in Europe who will supervise the relief program. We believe that the most important and critical func-We believe tion in connection with the proposed program is the supervision of the distribution of our relief supplies and the enforcement of the undertakings which would be required of the countries receiving relief. This can most effectively be done in Europe rather than from Washington. It is planned to recommend that Mr. Richard F. Allen be appointed to this position. He was in charge of Red Cross relief activities in Europe after the First World War and during the Second World War was vice chairman of the American Red Cross in charge of all its activities in Europe. Mr. Allen would receive his instructions from the Secretary of State. A relief mission consisting of well-qualified American citizens would be established in each country receiving our help. These missions would work closely with our embassy and would function under the general supervision of the relief director.

In Washington the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Bureau of Supply, and other agencies would perform the procurement, supply, and shipping functions which they are properly equipped to handle. The programing of supplies and the coordination of the activities of these agencies would be done by a staff under the direction of the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Mr. William L. Clayton.

Question. What will be our policy regarding relief grants to countries, the governments of which are not in our opinion representative and democratic, or have not been elected in elections held pursuant to applicable international agreements?

Answer. It would be our policy to offer to help in preventing suffering and serious malnutrition in such a country to the extent that our assistance is clearly needed for this purpose. We have subscribed to the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations which states the principle that at no time should relief supplies be used as a political weapon and calls upon all members of the United Nations to assist in the furnishing of relief when needed and where needed. Our help would be made available only on the condition that the government of the country agrees to the stringent but fair conditions specified in the bill and lives

up to these conditions faithfully. These are calculated to provide adequate assurance that relief aid would reach the people needing it and would not be used to promote the political aims of the government. Furthermore, the requirements for full publicity in the country would insure that the people would know the American source of the help and would understand its purposes. Our estimates indicate that Poland is the only such country which may need relief from us.

Question. Is it intended that the amounts authorized in the bill will be adequate to take care of the relief need of the countries assisted through to the end of the crop year 1948?

Answer. The amount requested is to assist in meeting the estimated relief needs for the calendar year 1947. In the actual operation of the program, some shipments may slip over into the first few months of 1948. With the possible exception of Austria, we do not anticipate that further relief will be necessary unless disastrous crop failures or other unforeseen events occur.

Question. What measures will be taken to see that each country receiving relief assistance does everything possible to help itself and reduce its needs for relief as soon as possible through utilization of its own resources and the work of its own population?

Answer. The bill requires that any country receiving relief must exert all possible efforts to speed its own recovery. It further provides that our relief shall be terminated if we are not satisfied that this is being done. We would keep a close check on the activities of the countries in this regard.

Question. What assurances or expectations do we have of assistance to the countries to be benefited from other countries than our own as contemplated by the program?

Answer. The British have announced a program of \$40,000,000 in aid to Austria. The Norwegian Parliament has voted the equivalent of \$3,000,000. Denmark is making available the equivalent of \$4,000,000. New Zealand has stated its intention to make available some meat and other commodities. On the basis of consultations which have been conducted with other countries, we believe that additional contributions will be forthcoming if favorable action is taken by the United States, since some countries are waiting to see what action we take.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Sadowski].

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I must take just a few minutes to express my opposition to the warped thinking behind these so-called Colmer amendments that will be offered later. I cannot understand how anyone can have this bitterness, this hatred, this inhumane feeling toward the Polish people. What have they done to deserve this? What other people have suffered as much as those people have in this war? What other people were greater allies of ours than were the Polish people? Why this attitude toward those people? Was it their fault that they were overrun by the German Army and by the Nazis? They did not wish it, they did not desire it. It happened. Nazism and Nazi ideology was sought to be impressed on those people. Was it their fault that they were overrun by the Russian Army, that the Communists came in? They resented it. They have fought communism and nazism more than any other people in the whole world.

You may say, "I do not like the government in Poland." Well, 95 percent of the people of Poland may not like their government either. Does that mean they must starve to death? Is it of their own choice? Is it of their own choosing? How can anyone take that position now and say, "We are not going to continue to aid these people who have suffered so much because they happen to be bordering along Russia?" Geographically they are in a bad way, it is true, but they cannot help that. Geography made it so.

Let us help those people. Everyone who has come back from Poland, including Bishop Woznicki, of Detroit, as well as the people who have gone down there with Catholic relief organizations and with the UNRRA organization, everyone that I have talked to said to me that the Poles are not Communists; the Poles are Catholics, the Poles are good Christian people. They cannot make Communists out of the Polish people.

Mr. Chairman, six or seven million of those people died during the war. Five million more would have died if it had not been for UNRRA aid. They need this aid and assistance and they are entitled to it.

The Polish people have gone to work digging coal in the mines. It is one place in all of Europe where production is above prewar production. Coal production is above prewar coal production in Poland. It is really amazing. They have rolled up their sleeves, they have gone to work. The people are working. There are no strikes over there. They are struggling. They know what condition the whole world is in. They gave of their own coal, thousands of tons of it, to UNRRA for distribution to other countries. UNRRA was distributing Polish coal, mined by Polish workers. Those Polish miners must have clothes. They must be fed so that they can work. Those people are not lazy. They are hard working people. They are struggling bitterly to reconstruct their land and to rebuild their means of livelihood. Certainly we cannot take the position that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Colmer] and some other of these gentlemen are taking today and say that we shall deny them aid, because, unfortunately, Joe Stalin's armies happened to run through those countries and taken over control. That is against the will of the people in those nations. Do we not understand that? We cannot let those people starve. We must help them.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. SADOWSKI. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. OWENS. Did the gentleman from Michigan hear one word in this Chamber today indicating that they would not be willing to give the people of Poland any relief or even indicating they would not be winning to give the people of Poland every bit of that \$350,000,000 mentioned here instead of approximately 50 cents a person for the persons who have to be helped throughout the world?

Mr. SADOWSKI. I heard language used here that the satellite countries should not receive any of this aid. But what does that mean? You are referring to Poland as a satellite country, are you not?

The time of the The CHAIRMAN. gentleman from Michigan has expired. Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10

minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH].

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, if ever there was a blank check presented to this House, this is it. This bill comes in here much in the same way that previous bills have come in wherein we are asked to appropriate huge sums and trust to the particular department to use its judgment in the dispensation of those funds.

There is not a Member in this body who does not want to do all he possibly can to assist the starving people throughout the world. This is a relief program on a piecemeal basis. It is a hodgepodge proposition. We know that the relief problem is not limited to those countries which have been named. As a matter of fact, the relief problem in occupied areas, central Europe, Germany, today is very, very serious. The relief problem in China is likewise very serious. What we should be considering today is an over-all relief problem so that we then might intelligently approach the problem as it exists.

Former President Hoover testified that if we were to consider the world-wide relief problem that we would be spending between \$1,200,000,000 and \$1,500,-000,000 within the next year. Obviously, we are going to be called upon to handle the whole problem eventually. Now, why is that not in this bill?

There is one question I want to call attention to. We hear constantly this statement that the need is great, and it is, too, but it is not a question of need. What have we got to supply that need? Mr. Hoover says we can spend \$125,000,-000. Now, why appropriate \$350,000,000? But that is what we are asked to do. We cannot, and I challenge anybody on either side to show how we can spend \$350,000,000 the balance of this year.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. KEE. The gentleman says Mr. Hoover said we can spend \$125,000,000. If the gentleman will look on page 59 of the hearings, he will find that Mr. Hoover said we were warranted in authorizing \$350,000,000.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I remember that testimony very well. Nevertheless, there has been no showing in the testimony that there is more than \$125,-000,000 worth of materials available.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. Is it not true that at the very place mentioned, Mr. Hoover said, "I think you are warranted in authorizing \$350,000,000 if the administration will undertake to carry out the suggestion I have made here"-a whole series of suggestions, which were to carry over to make it last for 2 years, and many of those suggestions have not yet been adopted.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is absolutely right. As a matter of fact, none of them has been adopted.

Mr. KEE. I think if the gentleman will read the bill he will find that at least half of the suggestions are incorporated in the measure itself, and the other suggestions have practically been carried out by the plans of the State Depart-

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I am sorry I cannot agree with the gentleman.

The testimony on this bill occurred last February. Great stress was laid on the fact that the great need was for carrying them for the spring and summer prior to the harvest. Within 3 or 4 months they will be harvesting in some of these countries, and I say there is no justification at this time to appropriate \$350,000,000.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. DORN. In lines 7 and 8 of this bill we have this expenditure limited to certain things, among which are fertilizer and seed. I know from personal observation in Europe that the potato crop is being planted right now, the sugar-beet crop is being planted, and the wheat crop and the rye crop will be harvested, as the gentleman says, in the latter part of June and July. In another section of the bill it is stated that no appropriations will be spent after July 30, 1948. I want to know about this appropriation for fertilizer and seed for crops that are already in the ground, that are being planted right now.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. The gentleman is correct. It does not make sense. We should not spend for seed and fertilizer now.

Mr. Chairman, at the end of the first section I propose to offer this amend-

Appropriations authorized by this joint resolution shall be available for relief in Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and China: Provided, That the President, if he shall determine that emergency needs exist in any other country, is authorized to utilize not more than \$15,000,000 for the purpose of providing relief in such other countries.

I believe the time has come for the Congress to designate the countries where relief will be administered. It is true this is not an UNRRA proposition, but certainly it is a matter over which we should have some control. The days of the New Deal blank checks are over.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. If we do that, this is what is going to happen. If we designate specifically in the bill certain countries and certain amounts, then we practically are obligated to give those countries that amount of money, whether or not they live up to the rules and regulations as laid down by our Government. We make the rules. The United States Government makes the rules and if they do not live up to those rules, then we can stop

all relief instantly. That is the only reason that that is not inserted in the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I am sorry, but I do not agree with the gentleman. That does not make sense so far as I am concerned in the light of our experiences with UNRRA. We were going to do all those things, but they were never accomplished.

Mr. BLOOM. UNRRA was an international organization.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Yes, yes, I understand that, too.

Mr. BLOOM. I agree that it can be done but it is on account of the experiences that we have had with UNRRA. I say it is not advisable to do it. There is no reason why you should do it except that you would foreclose yourself from stopping any relief if you legislate that the relief is to go to certain countries in certain amounts, irrespective of what they do.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. But we are providing \$15,000,000 that can be expended any place where the administrator might find it necessary outside of those countries I have named.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. Is it not a fact that the gentleman's amendment does not specify the amounts that are going to any country but merely specifies the countries to which the relief must go?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is

Mr. VORYS. Is it not true in the Greco-Turkish program it has been recommended that we specifically name the countries so that apparently in the matter of assistance there is no objection to naming the countries although what we furnish is conditioned upon their performance?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is right.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. KEATING. Is not a fact also that even though we do name the countries any relief to them is still conditioned upon these later provisions of the bill?
Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Positively.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. OWENS. What provision of law would it be where, if we should name the countries which are to receive relief, that we would not have the right to rescind because of some action which they might take, and why it would be otherwise if we were not to name them?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. The gentleman is right.

Mr. BENDER. What percentage of this money would go for administration expenditures?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I am not able to answer that question. I am sorry.

Mr. VORYS. About \$500,000 for 53 persons. That is the amount that is proposed.

Mr. BENDER. Fifty-three persons to spend \$350,000,000? That is amazing.

Mr. VORYS. Fifty-three additional persons in addition to our missions all over the world.

Mr. BENDER. That is, additional persons?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. BENDER. How many of the people who are taken off the pay rolls here in Washington will be put on this pay roll over there as experts? That is, people who are being taken off the Interior Department and other departments?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I vield such time as he may require to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Springer].

SPRINGER. Mr. Chairman, House Joint Resolution 153, now before the Committee, provides for the authorization of an appropriation of \$350,000,000 for the provision of relief assistance to the people of devastated countries by the late war. If the first sentence contained in the bill should control, then I am confident many of the members would be inclined to give it their full support. Every Member of the House wants to extend aid, by way of food, clothing, medical supplies, fuel, and other necessary items for people who are hungry and starving, and who are in great need and distress. May I say, Mr. Chairman, that it is my constant desire to aid all those who are in great distress, and which distress has come upon them not by choice, and not by their own invitation.

Mr. Chairman, this pending resolution is far different from the initial sentence. in the resolution. That sentence does not relate all there is to this measure. There is no provision contained in the pending resolution which announces to what countries, or to what particular people, this aid is to be extended: there is also a complete lack of information, from all of the debate, and from all of the information imparted by the report, as to who will handle this huge sum of money; and, there is a positive lack of any information, given during this debate, as to what group, or agency, or individual or collection of individuals, or "presumed-to-be-Governmenthead" in any country, will handle the fund allocated within that country; and, there is no information given to any Member of Congress as to whether this fund will be used to aid, or sustain, the communistic element in any of those countries. In many of those countries in Europe there is no staple government-there is no one with whom our country can deal. And, may I say, Mr. Chairman, that there is no definite information as to whether Russia, which nation has taken a "dog-in-the-manger" attitude toward the United States of America, will or will not participate in the division of this large sum of money. These are some of the reasons, which now present themselves to me, which appear to urge me to oppose this resolution.

Mr. Chairman, not only the above statements have a definite bearing upon this question, but coming, quite soon, is another measure whereby we will be asked to make a loan, or a gift, to Greece and Turkey. Both Greece and Turkey may be considered as a recipient of funds under the present resolution-and there can be no doubt but those nations can be included in the allocation of the fund here asked, in the sum of \$350,000,000. The measure which will soon be presented to the House will embrace the huge sum of \$400,000,000 for Greece and Turkey. I wonder how many other nations, in Europe and elsewhere, will finally come in and ask for financial aid either for aid or for the development of their military establishment.

Mr. Chairman, some information has been suggested that the bill to be considered in the future will have much to do with the stamping out of communism in Greece and Turkey. Of course, that sum of money would not scratch the surface in any effort to combat communism in those countries. Recently, the President sought to secure an appropriation of \$50,000,000 to rid the agencies of our own Government from the Communists now upon the pay rolls. That is but one small segment in our country, and relates only to our Federal Government. Of course, if any care had been exercised by the Department heads, in employing the people who work there, there would be no need for the sum of \$50,000,000 with which to eradicate that un-American group from our Federal agencies and departments.

In this brief period, may I say that our Nation has suffered from the ravages of war; we have lost our boys; we have given money, munitions of war, food, and equipment of every character for victory; we have suffered greatly—and in finances, we have been the chief sufferer. Now, it is proposed that we feed, and finance, many of those European countries-and I am confident-and I am constrained to say-that the United States of America will ever do her full part, but she is unable to continue that program, unless our own people are made to suffer immeasureably thereby. Quite often, it is apparently easy for some people to urge the spending of the people's money-and the instant case is an apt illustration—but the people, those whose money is used for this and other spending purposes, have a voice in such matters. The people are worn out—they are sick and tired—they have given their all to aid. This proposal, here made, without any definite information upon the very material matters involved, is merely another plan to make it hard for our own people to exist in these post-war days. It is my fervent hope that every Member will give most careful consideration to this proposal—and think first of the United States of America, before she is weakened or entirely given away.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the

gentleman from Indiana has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 8 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, this is the first bill before this House in which the Republican majority is called upon to assume the obligations and responsibilities of a bipartisan foreign policy. I think that should be made very clear. We are asked to appropriate money for a relief—a program undertaken by our Government as part of this bipartisan foreign policy. The reason is this: We have heard a great deal about the great heart of the United States. The United States has a great heart, but the United States also has a conscience. The United States also supports her international commitments. The United States made

a commitment before the United Nations that, if the United Nations would not go ahead with the UNRRA program, to which we were then the greatest contributor, we would go ahead with the unilateral program to relieve starvation and suffering in the world right now; not yesterday or the day before but right now, within this year 1947. I am very glad to note that no Member who has addressed the House has advocated that in any way we should not comply with that commitment. The debate has all been about the amount and about the conditions which would be established, to carry through our commitment. Accordingly I think it is only fair to our distinguished chairman and to all the members of the committee, including the minority members, that we analyze for a minute just what the Committee on Foreign Affairs did with this bill-just what conditions they established in the bill.

When the committee received the bill as House Joint Resolution 134, the only conditions upon the expenditure of this money which the bill provided were three: First, that the supplies transferred pursuant to the bill would be distributed without reference to race, creed, color, or political belief.

Second, that representatives of the United States press and radio could observe and report freely what was done in the country assisted with the relief; and, third, that the country furnished relief would give us information as to what was being done with it.

Now, let us see what the committee wrote in as strong conditions. First, that full publicity had to be given in every country which was getting this relief assistance about where it was coming from and all other details. Second, that each country benefited would make the maximum effort itself for its own reconstruction, a very important point in view of the legitimate criticism about this very aspect of the situation.

I was in Greece as recently as December 1946; there I obtained information on Greece's alleged failure to have an adequate taxation policy; on the allegedly improvident use of her gold reserves and of her foreign exchange at certain times; on her oversized civil service; and on other features of the national economy requiring reform before Greece could be said to be doing everything to help herself. Much of this reform has already been undertaken, I understand, but the basic principle for us in extending relief aid to the countries that need it is that we shall be entitled to make these reforms a condition of our granting relief.

A third condition the committee wrote into the bill is that representatives of the Government of the United States should be permitted to supervise the distribution of this relief directly, right on the ground. If we are going to have a bipartisan foreign policy and take the responsibility as the majority in Congress, then we must have a certain amount of faith in the agencies of the United States that are going to carry it out. We cannot assume that the people in the State Department are any less servants of this country than we or any less conscientious or any less honost until we

have reason to know they are. In writing the provisions of this bill the committee certainly tried to make them tough, but if the Members can do any better, well and good. I will go along with them so long as it does not impede or stop this relief of essential food. Make the conditions tough but let us not condemn anybody in advance of intent to subordinate the interests of the United States in the bill's administration. Finally, the committee provided expressly that the President had to terminate this relief—he had no discretion he had to terminate it if the conditions set out in the bill were not complied with. Those are pretty strong conditions, but just to add one further, the committee provided that by concurrent resolution of both houses of Congress at any time the relief could be terminated; and that, Mr. Chairman-and I believe many of the members are lawyers—will be written into every single relief assistance contract made with any country which is to benefit under this act so that they will know it in advance.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, as I understand it, intends to make on-thespot checks on the relief assistance granted through its own means, through its subcommitees. It intends to observe on the spot, as former President Hoover suggested, how this relief program is being carried out and to bring in a recommendation to Congress that it should be terminated to any country when it is satisfied that the will of Congress, the intention of Congress in the matter of this relief is not being carried out.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield. Mr. OWENS. Permit me to say to the gentleman that I admire the statement he has made. It shows a knowledge of the subject. For that reason will he tell me whether the statement that has been attributed to former President Hoover that we would have to use possibly \$1,500,000,000 if the program included Turkey and Greece, and whether or not the gentleman from New York is in accord with such statement.

Mr. JAVITS. I do not know, I may say to the gentleman from Illinois, the conditions set by former President Hoover in naming that figure but I believe it included other countries; for instance, Germany and Austria, the only countries to which he went on his last

Mr. OWENS. And one other question, whether or not the gentleman would be favorable to the proposed aid to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. JAVITS. I may say to the gentleman that the program for Greece and Turkey will be before the Congress for consideration in the near future. I hope it shall be possible for me to vote for it, and I make this statement in the expectation that amendments which I propose to offer will be found possible of adoption by the House; but I would like to make this point perfectly clear, that if this Greek-Turkish aid program is undertaken it will have no duplication with the relief program which is now before us. The former is a reconstruction program with certain phases of

economic rehabilitation and military equipment, but the program now before us is a food program dealing with the basic essentials of life. There is no duplication whatever. But I would like to make this perfectly clear, if you are going to give relief, and I think most of us want to, you have got to pass this bill or you will not have anybody to save from communism.

The minority report on this bill was prepared by Members of much greater seniority than I, but I submit, with the greatest deference, that their proposal to offer amendments which will reduce the appropriation in the bill to \$200,000,-000 should not prevail. The minority made two main points: One, that the program will terminate as of the end of the year 1947; and, two, that our expectation of getting help from the countries in need from other nations will probably be unfounded. Certainly, as to the latter point, if our expectations are going to be unfounded, we need more, not less, money; and, as to the former, we had an expression in the testimony of a very distinguished witness of the people in the matter of dealing with food, D. A. Fitzgerald, Secretary General of the International Emergency Food Council on leave from the United States Department of Agriculture—that to supply the basic essentials of food alone in 1947 to the European countries to be relieved under the bill we will have to spend \$296,000,000.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield. Mr. LODGE. Is it not also true that Mr. Hoover recommended the full figure of \$350,000,000?

Mr. JAVITS. Yes; Mr. Hoover recommended the full figure in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired. Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I vield the gentleman one additional minute.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. JONKMAN. Is there any reason why the fund of \$200,000,000 recommended should be increased until definite evidence of need beyond \$200,000,000 is shown? What evidence is there that \$200,000,000 is not enough?

Mr. JAVITS. I may say, when my senior colleague asks that question, that this bill has been pending in the House for over 2 months and it promises to be pending another 2 months before it is finally passed; therefore, you cannot expect emergency appropriations. have to make plans in advance, which is what this bill does. On the other point, namely, the adequacy of the sum authorized, the expert witness whom everybody relied on before our committee, Mr. Fitzgerald, said that we need \$296,000,000 for food alone in 1947.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

(Mr. JAVITS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his re-

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. Jackson].

Mr. JACKSON of California. Mr. Chairman, I have listened with keen interest to all of this debate and I think I would be remiss if I did not mention at this time the character, the hard work, and the honest approach that has been brought to this subject by our beloved and distinguished chairman the gentleman from New Jersey. I do not know of anyone who is more devoted to the principles of humanity, who has more hatred of things which are not American in their concept or in their application than the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Eaton]. I do not know of a man in this House who typifies Americanism more than the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

I should like to say that every subject that has been under discussion here this afternoon was considered in all of its ramifications by the committee. There has not been one question posed upon the floor of this House, there has not been one amendment suggested that was not explored, that was not voted upon by the members of the committee. Extensive hearings were conducted and thousands of words of testimony were taken. Everyone who could reasonably be expected to offer anything to the committee in the way of constructive help was heard. The fact, the fundamental fact, and the thing we cannot afford to lose sight of is the certainty that unless we take positive, definite action, millions of human beings will starve. I am not a sentimentalist. Four years at war have made me more of a materialist than a sentimentalist. But I do think we have a definite obligation to do something and to do it fast.

This program has one thing which preceding programs have not had. This is an American program under American supervision and direction. We are not subject to the vetoes of any other power and we are not subject to the direction of any other nation as to where or how or in what manner this food relief is to be distributed. I think that is a most

important point.

You may or may not agree with the choice of the recipient nations to whom this relief is to go; but if I do nothing else I would like to add a word to the remarks of the gentlemen who said: "Let us distinguish between Communist dominated governments and Communist-dominated peoples." Let us not offer our aid and assistance through any channels to those who oppose our order, but let us not, on the other hand penalize those who are made subservient to communism by the bayonets of the Red army at their throats.

We have done everything in committee possible under the circumstances to hedge this program about and to assure that it will be a well-ordered and wellorganized program of relief. I am not a slave to either the language of the bill as it now stands or a slave to the report as it stands. I agree with some of my colleagues on the committee and with a great many Members of this House that the bill can probably be well and properly amended. I voted for several amendments in committee that were defeated. It is still my intention to support the bill. I will support amendments I think which strengthen it; but I did want to make one brief appearance on the floor in behalf of the bill because I do consider that it is not only humanitarian in its purpose, but essential to our continued well-being. UNRRA is ending. The one thing that is not ending is famine, and it will not. If we are to uphold the highest precepts of our Nation, if we are to uphold those principles of humanity which have always distinguished the American Nation, I feel that it is essential that we go along with this bill as properly amended.

In conclusion, and to answer those who fear or appear to fear that some of this aid and assistance may be channeled through the recipient nations into countries where the aid is not needed, I should like to read a brief excerpt from the testimony before the committee in which I questioned Mr. Hoover, and I quote:

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Hoover, through your great experience in this field I should like to hear your considered opinion as to whether or not this program, as it is presently contemplated, and with your suggested amendments, can be depended upon to actually deliver this aid down to the grass roots of the recipient countries without undue fear of diversion of the supplies into the black markets of the countries concerned, or the channeling of the aid from the American people past the individuals who need it and into countries totally unrelated to the subject needs?

Mr. Hoover. There are a number of problems involved in your question: In the first place, I have never found any difficulty about determining whether food is being taken out of a given country. That is a matter of some inspection at the border which is not difficult to arrange. ing of consequential amounts of food into channels that go over frontiers is not so

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACKSON of California. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KEATING. I was wondering whether, in further answer to your question, President Hoover indicated whether he would feel as he does if these amendments were not adopted, or whether you feel that some of his suggestions were adopted.

Mr. JACKSON of California. In answer to the gentleman, I feel that some of his recommendations have been included in the bill, and I will go further and say that some more might well be included in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Lodge], a member of the committee.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Chairman, I, too, want to pay my personal tribute to the distinguished chairman of our committee. I want to complement him on his wisdom, his forebearance, and his deep understanding, not only of the personalities which compose the committee, but of the human problems which are involved in this bill. I think we are very lucky to have a man of his caliber with us in this body.

I have listened with great interest this afternoon to the various arguments which have been brought up on the floor. I am in agreement with many of them. I am not in agreement with them all. I think it would be easy for us to find many reasons why we should not do this thing: That the relief will go into the hands of the Communists, or that we cannot trust the State Department, or that we do not know that these countries are doing what they can to help themselves. There are plenty of reasons of that sort that we can conjure up. But all of these reasons ignore one signal and overwhelming question: What is the constructive alternative? If we do not give this relief, what will happen? And I think that when we approach that problem we can look at this whole subject, not only in the light of human decency and charity, but in the light of our own national self-interest. I yield to no one in my desire to help feed and clothe these destitute people in Europe, but I suggest to you gentlemen that it will be impossible for us to implement whatever foreign policy we may have, short of isolationism, unless we are dealing with a people who have at least got a bare minimum of existence, who have the basic essentials of life. If we do not have that type of humanity to deal with, then all that we may plan here in Washington with respect to foreign policy will come to naught. If you feel that we must have a constructive foreign policyperhaps you do not think it should be President Truman's, but perhaps you feel, nevertheless, that isolationism is not the policy; I personally feel strongly that isolationism is not—then we must have contacts with the rest of the world. How can we have contacts, friendly contacts, fruitful contacts, contacts which will symbolize our own ideas of freedom. if we are dealing with a people who are starving to death?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. VURSELL].

(Mr. VURSELL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his re-

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Chairman, the minds and hearts of the speakers preceding me have been wandering across the seas all this afternoon. Their hearts have been bleeding for the people of other countries. In the short time allotted me I want to turn your thought and attention to the people of the United States of America for a change and say something for them in closing this debate.

Dean Acheson and the State Department promoted UNRRA, and more money was wasted, three to five times over, than the \$350,000,000 proposed in this bill. I wonder how long the State Department will be able to come down and wave the magic wand and continue to lead this committee and the Congress in their deliberations and help to form their policies, when as an administrative office they have shown absolute incompetence through waste and squandering of the people's money. Out of the \$2.-700,000,000 that was given them through UNRRA they have wasted probably \$1,-000,000,000, and helped to build up communism to oppress the people of the European countries and of China.

They talked about Dean Acheson and others picking this estimate of \$350,000,-000 out of the air. I want to speak for the American taxpayer, and say that it will not be so easy on them or you when you pick the \$350,000,000 out of their pockets. You have been so used to throwing millions and billions around for the past 14 years that you have lost sight of the value of money.

They ask for \$350,000,000 in this bill, but Senator Byrd, a Democrat, says we will probably be called upon to support appropriations for relief in total to the extent of \$15,000,000,000. We are committed to appropriate for relief something like \$1,500,000,000 during the coming year. Can we afford it? Is it not time to give more consideration to the taxpayers of this country, more consideration to preserving their financial solvency in this country, so that we can take care of our own people.

Mr. Chairman, I will be against this bill unless some amendments are offered to it and passed which will give this country control of the distribution and which will cut this bill down to \$100,000,000.

This amount is all they can spend between now and the fall harvest, when they should be able to feed themselves.

Of course, the State Department wants to put in an extra \$250,000,000 more, and they will then keep on spending millions till the money runs out.

There will be opportunities for other aid to be extended through Government departments such as the War Assets; Then there are many millions of dollars contemplated in further aid for the rehabilitation of foreign countries which will doubtless go through the Export-Import Bank and the World Bank for Reconstruction.

May I call to the attention of the Members of this House that you are acting here only as the agents of 100,000,000 taxpayers, who are going to have to furnish this money. I sometimes wonder what has taken hold of the thinking of the Members of this Congress, or rather, what has so dulled their conception of the value of money.

I realize that for the past 14 years billions have been thrown around by the Government as though no one had to pay, the costs piled upon the people by the action of their representatives. It seems to me that the sensibilities of the Members of this House and the appreciation of what it means to vote millions and millions of dollars has been case-hardened and dulled. It seems that we do not fully appreciate the man-hours of work and production it must take to create such savings of hundreds of millions of dollars.

When you vote to appropriate \$350,-000,000, as requested in this bill, your are, in fact, compelling all of the people to work extra hours or days for the Government without pay, because the Government takes their earnings in taxes.

Mr. Chairman, some of you get so sympathetic and high-minded for peoples of other countries that you very willingly

cast their burdens of making a living on the backs of the American taxpayers in our own country.

I know of no other group of men in the United States who, for the past number of years, have been so liberal with spending the other man's money and loading him down with taxes as has the Congress of the United States. You have allowed billions to be wasted, and probably over a billion dollars which we have paid into UNRRA for relief and foreign countries was wasted by that reckless organization. Millions of it went to strengthen communism in several European countries. I predict that unless restrictions are put on this fund when it is voted this same UNRRA group will show up on the pay rolls to continue their nefarious work and waste of the American taxpayers' money. I have no faith in the State Department on its record in conjunction with UNRRA in being capable and trustworthy for the administration of any relief funds in the

Mr. Chairman, I want to give you some authentic figures of just a part of the money we have spent in the last couple of years in our effort to play Santa Claus to the world. When you have read these figures you will have a little better appreciation of how well you have tried to serve the world and how poorly you have served the American Government and the American taxpayers in the past.

First, we are committed to about a billion and a half dollars in relief for 1947. During the war we gave Russia \$11,320,-864,109 in lend-lease.

To Russia since VJ-day, \$226,000,000 and yet the State Department further wants to send her some \$25,000,000.

To France since VJ-day, \$411,500,000; to Czechoslovakia, \$174,000,000; to Tito and Yugoslavia something over 33 millions; to Poland, 20 millions.

Under UNRRA we have expended \$2,-700,000,000. To Greece, 560 millions; to Italy 500 millions. We have spent nearly a billion in Germany, Austria, and Japan. We gave England \$4,000,000,000 and France \$500,000,000.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

Mr. Chairman, through the Export-Import Bank there is earmarked for France \$550,000,000, also another credit line to France of \$650,000,000. For Belgium, \$100,000,000; to the Netherlands, \$293,000,000; to Denmark, \$20,000,000; to Finland, \$35,000,000; Poland, \$40,000,000; to China, \$64,000,000; to Czechoslovakia, \$20,000,000. We gave in relief to China \$750,000,000. Our total lendlease to China was \$1,543,000,000.

Then, through the Bretton Woods, we set up the International Bank for World Reconstruction, which will make loans to various other nations of the world. This bank has a capital of \$8,000,000,000. The United States Government has underwritten the "lion's share" of \$3,175,-000,000.

In addition to this we have set up the Monetary Fund for Stabilization of Currencies capitalized at \$7,300,000,000 of which again, the large sum of \$2,750,000,000 of that capital structure is under-

written by the United States Government. I ask the question, How long will this Congress continue to commit the United States Government to finance the world? We cannot continue to do it without bankrupting our Nation financially.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Murray].

(Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I have made a chart covering what I want to say because I believe it will be easier to see it that way. The reason I did that is because to me it shows a situation that should be presented to the American people. American people at this time are being asked as taxpayers to furnish \$350,000,-000, which they will have to pay, of course, in taxes. But, in addition to that, every time we ship any of these things away we must realize we are also asking the people to make another contribution in the form of higher prices for their groceries. It is becoming a little irritating at times to hear people get up and shed tears because food prices are high, and then turn around and advocate shipping of enormous quantities of the scarcer food products all over the world. Who is making food prices high? I am willing to assume my share of the responsibility but I would just like to have the rest of the people in Washington assume their share of the responsibility. If I vote for this appropriation, surely I should in fairness assume my share of the responsibility for causing higher food prices. If you do, please accept your share of the responsibility.

This chart happens to show the beef situation in the last 25 years. We have heard about how much beef we shipped after World War I. We shipped considerably more than we have in any year since World War II. For practically 25 years we have been a Nation that did not furnish her own beef. We were on an import basis. Yet, all at once we blossom out and tell the world we are going to feed it. You can see what happens. If in 1945 we exported 25 times as much beef as we did in 1944, are you surprised at advances in the domestic market price?

I ask you: Is it any wonder that your wives have difficulty when they go to shop in order to secure a good cut of meat?

Do you realize that in many cases only the choicest cuts of meat are being purchased for export? I read this in an editorial in the Oshkosh Daily Northwestern. I checked it. I asked a representative of a big packer in Chicago the other day why it was that certain buyers only took the choicest cattle. I said, "Can they not buy them much cheaper somewhere else?" He said, "I presume they could but they would have to pay for them." I said, "Don't they have to pay for them if they get them from the United States?" He said, "You will have to use your own judgment, the same as I do."

I do not want them to be misled by a lot of this propaganda about OPA, because there never were any calories in OPA and there never will be. Important food products not exported are bringing at the farm level, a price comparable to the OPA price plus subsidy. If it were not for loans to other countries and for UNRRA shipments many farm products would be at support levels this very hour. The American people are entitled to know this and to know the economic reasons behind the scenes that have put prices at their present level. When the American farmer has not been provided a market for 25 years for a product and all at once we step out and try to feed the world, you can see what effect that has on our own markets, and how much difficulty that makes for our own consumers. They should realize that. They should realize that as one of the reasons why they have to pay more when they buy meat.

I did not show the imports on this chart with reference to pork, because the imports do not amount to much. But you can see here the large percentage of American pork that is being exported during the last year. Our exports in the fiscal year 1945 were nine times the amounts exported in 1941. Pork exports are not as much as they were after World War I, but it is a large amount when you consider the increase in the number of people in the United States in 1947. When you take this amount of pork off the American market you can see the effect that has on the meat counters. From 1920 to 1930 we exported one and one-half to two billion pounds of pork each year. In 1945-46 fiscal we exported 600,000,000, and this dropped to 159,000,000 in 1935 and to 253,000,000 in 1941. In 1945 we exported 2,221,000,000 pounds, so you can see the effect that has had on the meat counters of America. If it is good policy to do it, the American people should know they are paying for it first in taxes, and they should know they are paying for it in their grocery bills, they should not be misled into thinking that it is done by some magic or that it is just picked out of thin air. No one can boast about feeding the world and giving the farmer high prices and then complain about the food prices at the grocery stores of our land.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Murray] has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. RIZLEY].

Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Chairman, I think all of us are more or less troubled about this legislation. I know of no one who wants to withhold aid from people who are hungry. There are some things I cannot understand. I notice the plea has again been made by one of the distinguished members of this committee that there should be no amendments offered to this bill. I recall that when the UNRRA bill was before the House the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom], now the ranking Member of the minority on the committee, made the same strong plea. I was

one of those who then protested against UNRRA. I said I was in favor of helping in a relief program, but I thought if the United States of America was to furnish 72 percent of the money, we should have something to say about how and where it was spent. But the gentleman held up his hands in holy horror and said: "No; we must not amend the bill." We now know by sad experience that our contribution should have been safeguarded.

I find now that there has been considerable change in sentiment. I find now. after American dollars and American goods, representing approximately 72 percent of all of UNRRA, were going into some of these countries that are encased behind the so-called iron curtain and the people of those countries were told it was benevolent Russia that was furnishing the relief, we could not even get into those countries to see how the funds were being administered. It might have been well to have had some safeguards in the legislation at that time. The people of this country who are paying the bill are entitled to know how their money is being used.

I recall very well that amendments were offered to the UNRRA bill through which we would permit the press to go into those countries and publicize the things that were going on, but the same gentlemen who now say, "No, no; we must not amend this bill" objected strenuously to any amendments along that line and so we find today, that our communist ally made good use of Uncle Sam's money and commodities in promoting their own ideologies, knowing that the Congress of the United States had refused to permit their activities to be given the bright light of publicity. And I want to pause here long enough to say that I do not go quite so far as some who would permit the people in some of these communistic countries to starve, just because they happen to be under communistic influence. It may not be their fault. And so I do not think we should say to them "No, we cannot feed you because the communists control you." I certainly would not want some administrator to point to some fellow and say, "Well, you happen to live out in a communist ward; for that reason we are going to let you starve to death." Certainly we should see to it that none of our relief funds or goods are turned over to communistic governments or communist administrators and I assume we have now had enough experience that we have learned our lesson.

The thing I cannot understand is why this committee did not give more heed to the recommendations made by Mr. Hoover. I know, of course, that Mr. Hoover at one time was very unpopular with my friends over here on the right, but the present President of the United States has found it necessary to call on Mr. Hoover's great ability and experience in handling relief and has commissioned him to go over into Europe on two occasions in the past 2 years and make a report to the President.

Mr. Hoover came back with a report. Mr. Hoover did not say that he thought the State Department should be given a blank check to handle this relief matter; no, no; Mr. Hoover made among other suggestions that further careful study be made of the need for this relief in each of these countries and that the relief should be made after full consideration and examination on the ground by specialists appointed by the United States Department of Agriculture, the United States Public Health Service, and the International Emergency Food Council.

He goes on further to say that the distribution should be continually under the supervision of and satisfactory to specialists from these same agencies.

But for some reason I do not understand, this great committee saw fit to ignore that suggestion of Mr. Hoover and they have said, "No, we are just going to give a blank check for \$350,000,000 to the State Department." Certainly in my opinion the State Department has never exhibited any great administrative ability. The State Department is not an administrative agency, it is a policy-making agency. Yet we are asked to pass this bill without amending it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired. Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield me another 5 minutes?

Mr. EATON. My time has expired, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey has 1 minute remaining. Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield me that minute?

Mr. EATON. I yield the gentleman

one additional minute.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?
Mr. RIZLEY. I cannot yield right

One reason I am a little bit skeptical about turning the distribution of these funds over to the State Department is that I do not believe that the State Department under UNRRA has done too good a job in protecting relief funds. I have a letter here I intended to read but time will not permit, where the State Department through UNRRA permitted UNRRA relief funds to be used to buy 21 transport planes at a cost of approximately \$5,000,000. Those planes were turned over to a Chinese relief organization and the Chinese relief organization in turn, turned the planes over to General Chennault. General Chennault has established a commercial air line with these planes that were purchased with UNRRA funds to the tune of \$5,000,000. I have a letter here from UNRRA. The general is going to pay for those planes how? In the use of his commercial air line he is going to distribute some UNRRA relief and at a price that he is going to fix with the Chinese Government, pay for the planes in services. He will become the owner of this commercial air line, paid for by the relief funds, made available by the taxpayers of this country who thought their tax dollars were to be used to feed and clothe

hungry people.

I think this bill should have some safeguarding amendments.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Jarman].

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, in view of certain references which have been made this afternoon to former public officials, particularly the reference just indulged in by the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma, about the attitude of certain people on this side of the aisle toward former President Hoover, it occurs to me that it might be appropriate to conclude the debate on this side by reading a brief statement I made to President Hoover, and, incidentally, I was the only man on the committee, Democrat or Republican, who addressed him as "Mr. President" instead of "Mr. Hoover," when he was before our committee:

Mr. President, the chairman very appropriately referred to you, in introducing you, in some such language as "the outstanding authority in the world on relief."

While I have no question, I wish to express to you my deep appreciation, which I feel sure is shared by the people of the United States generally, of your great accomplishments, not only in the immediate past but after World War I, and what I am sure you are destined to do in the future, not only directly for suffering humanity, but indirectly, in view of the good will and other benefits coming to this country for your own countrymen. Thank you very much.

Mr. Chairman, does it seem at all logical or reasonable for a committee, the majority of the membership of which I believe feels toward President Hoover just as I expressed there, to blandly wave aside his recommendations without good reason? No, it is not logical, Mr. Chairman. All these matters, as I said before, were thoroughly discussed and thoroughly considered. The bill was considerably amended and the majority of the Committee on Foreign Affairs brought to the House a bill which the majority of its Members on both sides of the aisle believe to be for the best interest of this country.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. OWENS. I like the remarks the gentleman made concerning ex-President Hoover. Is the gentleman in accord with what he stated there, namely, that he believes in order for funds to be administered sufficiently and economically we should appoint an administrator to administer that fund?

Mr. JARMAN. That is passingly strange, coming from the gentleman. On the gentleman's side of the aisle you have talked about bureaucrats all of these years and I imagine still are; yet you want to create a bureaucracy to run this relief program which is comparatively small. No. I want the State Department, which has embassies in all those countries, to supervise this program, under the direction of the President, who I imagine will designate an excellent and able administrator.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. Lar-

Mr. LARCADE. Mr. Chairman, anyone who has observed my position in regard to international affairs and the for-

eign policy of this Government well knows my position in regard to these matters.

I have frankly admitted that I have been confused and could not understand what I considered as so many inconsistencies in our actions and policies since, and during the last World War.

Some of my criticisms were placed in the Congressional Record under the title of "Santa Claus" and so forth, and like my colleague the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Vursell], who has just preceded me, I have time and again claimed that we should think about of our own country, our taxpayers, and not continue to give the resources and substance of our country away to other countries, and have long ago called attention to the fact that it was time for the peoples of all of these other countries to go to work and do something for themselves.

Of course, I have not been opposed to render such aid as was possible to starving peoples, within the limitations of our resources without depriving our own people, and while I know the vast majority of the American people, approved of such programs by the Government, and many thousands participated in relief by charitable and religious organizations, I have doubted the wisdom and the ability of 6 percent of the world's population being expected to continue to feed the balance of the world indefinitely.

It is true that I voted for appropriations for UNRRA for relief to countries devastated by war; however, I was shocked by the manner of administration of this program, and it is not necessary to reiterate what every Member of Congress knows in respect to the administration of that program.

Only yesterday during debate on the rule on the bill H. R. 153 now under consideration, my colleague the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Dorn], in discussing our aid to other countries, brought an admission from one of our colleagues who is considered to be fully informed on the subject "that about \$1 out of every sixty actually goes to the place it is intended for."

Mr. Chairman, in justice to our constituents who have to pay the taxes for such programs, how can we continue to vote millions of dollars when administered in this fashion? And for how much longer and for how much more will we be called upon in the future?

Mr. Chairman, while I feel certain that the bill under consideration will pass, I do hope that amendments will be adopted which will at least, protect us against a repitition of the waste in former programs, and that this country will at least obtain credit for furnishing the aid and relief and accomplish the end for which it is claimed.

(Mr. LARCADE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Hays].

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, I shall support this resolution because I believe that we must utilize every resource to relieve human want in the distressed areas of the world. We have expended billions in a war to preserve our institu-

tions and we cannot be indifferent to potential threats related to the misery which the appropriation is designed to alleviate.

The Government will not be asked to continue this program indefinitely. The Foreign Affairs Committee gives us an encouraging picture of progress but leaves no doubt in my mind as to the urgency of the current appeal. I am confident that the people will approve our action in authorizing this aid. Our own national interests are vitally involved.

At the same time we do not discount the humanitarian element in this program. We would have to renounce one of our finest traditions to hold that the suffering in foreign countries is not an official concern of the American people. The problem is too great to be solved outside of governmental enterprise.

The minimum safeguards are in the bill. I believe it will be constructively administered. I know that will be true if we stick to our emphasis upon "helping people to help themselves."

As a device for stabilizing conditions and building good will for America as well as conserving human values the program embraced in this resolution should be approved.

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Albert].

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, I am of course moved by the humanitarian considerations contained in this bill. No one is more anxious than I to do what I can to alleviate human suffering and the awful hunger and despair that has followed in the wake of the great war.

I realize also that communism feeds on human misery; that if the democratic countries desert the overridden peoples of the world, these peoples may feel that they have no place to turn except to communism. I cannot, however, see us take this step without expressing my own reservations.

First of all, I do not want to see us pour relief into one frontier of communistic-dominated countries, while Russia shovels it out on another frontier.

Secondly, we are now confronted with the greatest war debt in the history of the world, and we are forced to take account of our own economy.

Thirdly, we face tremendous responsibilities to our veterans, and I for one, am going to insist that they be fully met. Need I call attention to the fact that my good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Florida [Mr. Rogers] has introduced a bill to provide for the immediate cash payment of terminal-leave bonds? I am happy to state that I was one of the very first to sign the petition to bring this bill to the floor. After all these weeks the bill still lacks the necessary signatures.

Fourthly, are we going to do anything about our old-age-assistance program? It seems to me to be high time that we took care of our own old people. Numerous bills to correct this situation have been introduced. When can we expect one of these measures to come to the floor?

What are we going to do for soil consideration for our crop-insurance program next year? What are we going to to about our long-standing obligations to our Indian citizens?

I cannot say that there is no need for this foreign-relief bill. Nor do I have any doubt but that our great President will see to it that it is administered in such a way as to enhance the cause of humanity, of democracy, and of American idealism throughout the world. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the fact that we have obligations to our own people; obligations to our own country. It must remain, as it has been for all these years, the greatest Nation in all the world.

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, there are no further requests for time on this side.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further requests for time, the Clerk will read the bill for amendment.
All time has expired. The Clerk will

read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, etc., That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$350,000,000 for the provision of relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, we have had a very illuminating and instructive debate here today. It is very evident that it will be impossible to deal properly with the great mass of amendments that are pending this afternoon.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. I might suggest that I have consulted the minority leader, and I announce at this time that if the Interior Department appropriation bill is concluded on Friday, we will go over until Monday. Our plan is, of course, to take up the Interior Department appropriation bill tomorrow, and so we have agreed to put this matter over until Monday, as the gentleman from New Jersey so well says, in order that the amendments may be considered at that time

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Schwabe of Oklahoma, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, had come to no resolution thereon.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST LEON JOSEPHSON

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that pursuant to House Resolution 192, Eightieth Congress, he did,

on today, April 23, 1947, certify to the United States attorney for the southern district of New York, the willful, deliberate, and inexcusable refusal of Leon Josephson to be sworn and to testify on March 5, 1947, before a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities in response to the subpena served upon him on March 5, 1947, and his willful, deliberate, and inexcusable refusal to be sworn and to testify before the same subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities after he had appeared before it on March 5, 1947.

The Chair desires to announce that pursuant to House Resolution 190. Eightieth Congress, he did, on today, April 23, 1947, certify to the United States attorney, District of Columbia, the willful, deliberate, and inexcusable refusal of Leon Josephson to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities in response to the subpena served upon him on February 4, 1947.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST EUGENE DENNIS

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that pursuant to House Resolution 193, Eightieth Congress, he did, on today, April 23, 1947, certify to the United States attorney, District of Columbia, the willful, deliberate, and inexcusable refusal of Eugene Dennis, also known as Francis Waldron, to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities in response to the subpena served upon him on March 26, 1947.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RIZLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in Committee today.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to extend her remarks in the RECORD and include a speech delivered to the Veterans' Club in New York City yesterday.

Mr. CLEVENGER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an American Legion

Mr. JUDD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an article.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that today, following any special orders heretofore entered. I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wis-

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MUNDT and Mr. GAVIN asked and were given permission to extend their remarks in the Record and include an editorial.

SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. PHILLIPS] is recognized for 45 minutes.

A SUGGESTION REGARDING THE GREEK LOAN PROBLEM

Mr. PHILLIPS of California. Mr. Speaker, the speech delivered before this House on March 12, by the President of the United States, has been acclaimed by some as the outstanding statement of a new American world policy. It has been condemned by other people as an invitation to disaster not only for the United States, but for world civilization and world order. It should be obvious, Mr. Speaker, that any message, on any subject, which has in itself the power to invite such divergent opinions, warrants the close and careful scrutiny of the Congress. We must recall the law of true statesmanship, that panic never creates policy.

In writing a weekly letter to the newspapers, immediately after the delivery of the message, and attempting to set down my first reactions to the President's message, one of my comments was that the President himself seemed to be more nervous than should have been expected under the circumstances. Some observers, both here and abroad, have commented that the tone of the President's message seemed to reveal a state of panic. I am not entirely sure that I agree with the comment, and certainly a state of panic is not warranted by the facts of the present world power situation.

I base that statement, Mr. Speaker, and my following arguments on the fundamental fact, to which every thoughtful person will agree, but which has been permitted to become more and more obscure since Potsdam, namely, that the Soviet Union is an economic and industrial vacuum rather than a big power ready for any new war.

The fact that Mr. Stalin, and the other players on the red squares of the international chess board, have been permitted a certain amount of success with their propaganda-or, in the words of a country in which poker is a national pastime, their bluff-should not blind democratic people everywhere in the world to the basic fact that the Kremlin has every reason to think twice before it oversteps the weak line of defense which the devastation of a long and cruel war has left the USSR. I am sure every military expert will agree with my contention that it is preposterous for a mighty and peace-loving United States to cringe before the rumblings of a propaganda machine from a weakened postwar Moscow.

If we keep in mind this basic fact of present world power politics, I then submit, Mr. Speaker, that the ever recurring "emergency situations" with which the executive branch of this Government continues to present us, reveal a basic weakness in the present administration's over-all approach to problems of foreign affairs. Evidence accumulates to show that the present administration is panicky, confused, and short-sighted in the way it is handling foreign relations of the United States. Frankly, it would seem as though the State Department is never satisfied unless it can stagger continuously from one crisis to another crisis, and from one emergency to another emergency. The poorly prepared always hide their confusions behind the cry, "Emergency."

The total destruction-moral, financial, psychological, and industrialwhich World War II brought to this sad world, will remain for years as a challenge to our common labor of reconstruction. No sane student of postwar world affairs would deny that for a moment. You and I will not deny it, Mr. Speaker. This broken world is not going to be rebulit in a year or two. This uphill work, to set the world going again, will surely be confronted with emergency world situations which must be met with long-range and well thought out remedial action by all the nations which look hopefully toward peace.

Admitting this obvious and tragic fact does not imply, however, that the Congress of the United States will blindly foot all the bills of such present and future "emergency situations" which our State Department announces as fore-boding the end of the world, or at least as the ultimate crises in American history. The greatest power on earth cannot permit itself to fall into such cheap melodrama

So we turn now, Mr. Speaker, to the President's request of March 12, for \$400,000,000 of American taxpayers' money to protect and reestablish the democratic way of living in Greece and in Turkey. It is necessary to examine the stated purposes of this emergency aid. The reason given by Mr. Truman for the urgent need of this American assistance, was the fact that if we did not step in where Great Britain is pulling out, both Greece and Turkey would fall prey to the insidious expansion of communism, under the direction of Moscow. I am as militantly opopsed, Mr. Speaker, to the blackmailing and to the undermining of other nations by our former ally, the Soviet Union, as is any Member of this Congress. I cherish the hope that, by the grace of God, the present human suffering everywhere in the world will teach the peoples of the world the way of peace and the road to freedom. If this issue could be decided on the basis of moral emotions alone, I would immediately cast an affirmative vote for this emergency gift to the two nations around the Dardanelles. I submit however, Mr. Speaker, that \$400,-000,000 is an amount which the present administration has arrived at by a sheer arbitrary guess. Military experts have indicated to me, and to other Members of this Congress, that if we have any thought of doing a real job, from the Adriatic to the Persian Gulf, we had better be prepared to spend \$4,000,000,-000, rather than \$400,000,000, for such a purpose. Once again it seems to me that Congress is being asked to underwrite the guesswork of the executive branch of this Government.

But staggering as these figures are, to be taken from the tax moneys of the American people, and concerned as I am on the practical issue of the ability of this Nation to keep on supporting the world, what gives me the greatest and most genuine concern is the fundamentally false philosophy which seems to underline the whole thinking of the present administration on world affairs. We are still being asked to believe that we can buy friendship. We are supposed to accept the idea that we can purchase

freedom with dollars. We are to believe that when we are asked for help by a distressed neighbor that it is enough for us to draw a check and mail it to him. We are supposed to believe that the spiritual and moral battle against Communist tyranny can be settled in terms of dollars and cents.

Mr. Speaker, we are being asked to keep on living in the valley of lend-lease. I want to move out. I think every thoughtful Member of this Congress wants to move out. This is certainly one place where we are not required to keep on living where we do not want to live because of a housing shortage, also created by the policies of the administration. We should arm ourselves with moral and spiritual power and unite freedom-loving nations everywhere on the battlefield of liberty, decency, and international understanding.

If the representatives of the Moscow Government wish to continue their mad and treacherous blocking of all recovery and reconstruction of this postwar era, then why do we not go before the United Nations General Assembly and identify the Moscow Government as the potential, if not the actual, enemy, not only of the democracies in fact, but of human liberty everywhere in the world? The time has come to put Mr. Molotov and Mr. Gromyko in the international isolation ward.

Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that Divince Providence has made the United States of America the strongest Nation on the earth today for reasons which we ourselves may not yet see clearly, but in which we have great and enduring faith. I reject the shallow philosophy which dominates the State Department. American world leadership must have a much more profound meaning than simply for the United States to be the banker for a defunct imperialism, once dominated by the British Empire, or to be a sort of petty-cash purveyor of emergency funds, for nation after nation, irrespective of the actual needs of the nations themselves. We must take the dollar sign off of our world policy, not because the United States is unwilling to carry whatever part may be decided to be ours, in bringing peace to the world. but because a petty-cash foreign policy, even to the New Deal tune of staggering billions, is absolutely out of tune with the real challenge of the present world

Either we will begin to lead the world in terms of spiritual and political ideas, or we will continue to throw our money, in terms of billions of dollars, out of the window to an ever-expanding world WPA.

The philosophy of the New Deal did not work at home. The present administration would like to have us believe that it will work abroad.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the approach of the present administration to world affairs is in reality cheapening the reputation of America all over the world. I would like to have the policy makers of our State Department come out of their secret chamber, where they keep themselves hidden away from the representatives of the American people.

I would like to know who they are and I would like to know what their objectives are, and above all I would like to be told why they think that these policies, proven failures at home, have any chance of success merely because they are to be tried on an international scale.

Let our so-called foreign policy experts listen to the following statement, made by the executive directors of the International Montary Fund, in their annual report of September 1946. This is what they say:

The road ahead is not an easy one. Although foreign aid has been of great assistance, it is important to recognize that recovery has depended and will continue to depend primarily on their own efforts.

The tragedy of Greece is that the heroic people, whose heroism blends into every preceding era in the history of the world, never had a chance, under the imperialistic system, to govern their own affairs. The attitude of the representatives of Great Britain in postwar Greece was, in the words of people who have been in that country recently, an insult to the democratic spirit, and a damper on the independence to which that nation is entitled. We as Americans abhor the idea that when a situation in any nation has developed into such a mess that it threatens world security, it should then become the burdensome duty of the United States to send in another set of WPA administrators. Frankly, if three centuries have not taught the British Government how to cope with such a situation, what wonderland of maladministration can we not expect from our Paul Porters or our Ed. Pauleys, trained in the school of propaganda, politics, and extravagance, familiar to everyone in this room who has been in Washington during any part of the last decade.

That alternative does not tempt me. Mr. Speaker. On the contrary, I am here today to warn this Congress that Greece has suffered, and suffered enough, We owe it to the Greek people to realize that the untold suffering of that nation should make us very hesitant before we turn Greece into a strategic arena, where two diametrically opposed world powers are to draw their battle lines. Human consideration, and statesmanship under the terms of the Republic which made this Nation great, cannot afford to look upon the homeland of a great little nation as nothing but a geopolitical area of power politics.

Of course, Mr. Dean Acheson has assured us that the American unilateral action in Greece is not likely to bring us into war with the Soviets. But then, Mr. Acheson does not have a reputation for being among the accredited major prophets. I also recall that during the discussion over the British loan, some months ago, Mr. Acheson admitted to a feeling that it was not necessary to supply the Congress with full details on matters of this kind. I would be much more inclined to suggest, Mr. Speaker, that the Members of this Congress listen for a moment to words of the world's press and the world's radio. Not being a Henry Wallace, I take no interest in what the Communist world's press is shouting.

The immoral obstructionism of the Communists, and of their fellow travelers, in this country or elsewhere, deserves no hearing in the halls of freedom. What I am worried about is the fact that both conservative and genuinely liberal newspapers and radio voices are warning us that the Truman doctrine is neither practical nor healthy. For example, the Hilversum radio—in Holland—says this:

The President's address was nothing short of an ideological and economic declaration of war on the Soviet regime.

The Stockholm radio commented as follows on the speech:

The United States initiative will hardly contribute to peace and relaxation.

A commentator on the Schwarzenburg radio—in Switzerland—pointed a finger at the never ending inconsistency of United States foreign policy, in the following observation:

A few weeks ago, the United States refused to grant a loan to Greece of twenty-five millions. Today they offer her ten times as much and even extend their generosity to neighboring Turkey. The American Government seems to be very fond of this kind of change, which fringes on the theatrical.

The Shanghai radio summarized its views in the following not-very-complimentary words:

It seems that Truman has asked for an America-first policy, whatsoever be the risk involved.

While in France, even a De Gaullist paper like L'Orde, which certainly does not harbor any Communist sympathies, warned:

We don't think that Truman's speech can serve the cause of international peace.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the Congress could, of course, take the rash attitude that we do not care what other nations think or say; that we are interested in American security, come what may. Such an attitude would fit the picture given by the Montreal Star, when it says, in an editorial:

The United States action is regarded here as being strictly in the field of power politics.

Speaking of power politics, let me point out that even British spokesmen are not too sure about the possible success of our new departure in world affairs as proclaimed by the Truman doctrine. The Daily Telegraph of London, which has supported the policies of imperialism, interpreted the Truman speech as follows:

The President's message constitutes a complete vindication of British policy in Greece.

God forbid that this Nation should ever come to be identified, in the minds of free peoples, with the exploitation and the snobbery which has followed imperialism, wherever it went. If the British record in Greece is to require vindication, let it not come from the free shores of the United States, a Nation founded by men and women who sought to escape the tyrannies and the restrictions of the Old World and who set up in the New World a Nation dedicated to freedom which has since served as a beacon light for all other peoples.

I much prefer, Mr. Speaker, to agree with the cautious words of the Manchester Guardian, which said:

It would be absurd and unworthy for us to condemn the United States for trying to do what we have failed to do.

I must ask: Why does the President insist on having the United States take over a failure; a bankruptcy? What hope have we that we will be more successful in carrying out a policy that has proven itself a failure? I can already hear the loud answer: Ah, but we are wealthier than the British; we are stronger than all nations; we can be just as tough as Mr. Stalin and his gang.

I must therefore ask in all sincerity, Is this the history of America? Is this, in fact, the American way? More than that, I must ask, very seriously, does this unilateral policy, pronounced by the President, conform with our pledge to uphold and strengthen the United Nations? I shall return in a moment to that vital question.

I want first to point out two related sets of facts: First, I want to remind the Members of the Congress that the spokesmen for this administration have been bad guessers so often that I for one see no reason at all to accept their present arguments, in favor of Greece and Turkey, as infallible, or even justified by the facts? Let me point out briefly that these spokesmen for the administration were wrong in their guesses on the effects of the Bretton Woods Agreement. How many Members recall the definite statement on this floor that the passage of the Bretton Woods Agreement would make loans to individual countries unnecessary?

How about the administration's guesses regarding the effects and significance of the loan to Britain or the loan to China? The former was to solve at once the problem of the sterling bloc, and the latter was to keep China on an even keel. In fact, let me comfort and encourage the Members of this Congress with the thought that our own guesses are at least as good as the guesses of the administration experts have turned out to be. Could it not be, in the present case, that the political experts of England, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, China, and France, quoted above, are quite as well-informed regarding world trends as are our own so-called experts? Prudence leads me to suggest that such may well be the case.

I am sure that we must all agree with the Hilversum—Holland—radio, when it sizes up the real problem before us in the following excellent statement:

The crux of the whole issue is whether or not the United States will be able to stamp out misery, hunger, starvation, and squalor in those countries that have now become American protectorates to all intents and purposes.

Now, I would ask frankly, Mr. Speaker, if we have ever begun to fathom what misery, hunger, starvation, and squalor World War II has left us with? Have we seen these countries in what would be considered normal times; can we visualize them now, in the wake of war?

Do we really pretend, even to ourselves, to believe that the United States alone can stamp out this world-wide misery? Do we wish to see more and more parts of the globe turned into American protectorates?

Mr. Speaker, I reject imperialism of any kind; above all I reject the Red imperialism to which President Roosevelt bowed supinely at Tehran and at Yalta. And so I reject the false idea that what the sick and broken world now needs is an America with a check book in one hand, and supporting with the other hand a world imperialism which is slipping from the weakening hands of the British Empire. The Truman doctrine is both false and un-American.

The second set of facts is concerned with the economic side of the problem.

As practical people, we Americans have long since begun to recognize the fact that the United States cannot keep up this mad flow of dollars, east and west and everywhere. I suggest to you, Mr. Speaker, that as of this date we have given away the following staggering amounts:

To UNRRA	\$3,000,000,000
To Great Britain	3, 750, 000, 000
To France	1, 300, 000, 000
To China	500, 000, 000
To the International Bank	2, 750, 000, 000
To the Monetary Fund	1, 500, 000, 000

Total_____ 12, 800, 000, 000

To this I add, and I am sure I add it with your full agreement, Mr. Speaker, the sum of \$31,000,000,000, spent on lend-lease, which gives us the staggering total of \$43,800,000,000. And in a few years, our occupation expenses, to which we are obligated, will increase this amount to something in excess of \$50,000,000,000, a combination of digits and ciphers which, prior to the advent of the New Deal, was thought to be reserved exclusively for the use of astronomers.

Now, Mr. Speaker, if any Member of this House should challenge my designation of these moneys as "gifts," I can only say that I meant no offense, but that my memory of post-World War I loans is still good, and that, furthermore, there are quite a few items I have omitted from my list; for example, the running expenses of UN, or the constantly recurring amounts, in current appropriation bills, covering expenditures that we thought, and often are told, are concluded. In addition, I submit earnestly that, in my opinion—and I suspect in the opinion of most of us in the Congressthese \$400,000,000 asked for Greece and Turkey will not only fail to meet the demands upon us for that particular area, but may well be only the beginning of a list of gifts, the scale of which might run somewhat as follows:

To Greece \$250,000,000
To Turkey 150,000,000
To Korea 600,000,000

And I interrupt my accounting, Mr. Speaker, to remind you that the representatives of Korea say that they have already been promised this loan by the President; and to remind you that what Turkey is reported to want is not money,

but help in modernizing her army and her agriculture—

And finally, Mr. Speaker, if the earlier habits of the New Deal, and of this administration, and of the preceding administration, have set any precedents, or given us any historical background, we will probably start down the list again; so I will, as a reminder, add a second loan to Greece, in the same amount:

To Greece, second loan_____ \$250,000,000 Which makes a grand total, not included in my first list, of \$5,000,000,000.

You will observe, Mr. Speaker, that I have carefully refrained from adding that \$1,000,000,000, which has been talked of as a new loan to the Soviets. After all, we did not get much return, in the way of friendship, from our \$11,000,-000,000 in lend-lease gifts to Mr. Stalin and his politburo, an embarrassing fact which seems at this very moment to be troubling a distinguished Member of the other body. Furthermore, if the U.S.S.R. is so well-to-do that it can now afford, as the papers reported, to offer a loan to the British, not to mention the 500,000 tons of wheat which it took from the allegedly impoverished Russian people to send to the Communist leader, Thorez of France, I think that I meet with the concensus of opinion of this House when I omit that nation from my

In conclusion, the Republican Party served this Nation well by having the senior Senator from Michigan, a distinguished member of the United States delegation to the conferences of the United Nations, remind the President and his advisers of the fact that the United Nations was erected to make all nations cooperate for peace and reconstruction.

I am convinced that this is the crisis in the life of the United Nations. I have been to Geneva. I was there in 1937 on the day when the representative of China, the Honorable Wellington Koo, presently the ambassador of that nation to our Nation, made his plea to the League of Nations. I recall the encroachments into the Ruhr and the weakness of the League of Nations; I can see again the rape of China by Japan and I can hear, in my memory, only conversation from Geneva.

I can see Mussolini's legions invade Ethiopia; what a glorious revival, on a puppet scale, of the glories that once were Rome's, to conquer with modern weapons, the bare-foot and spear-armed troops of Haile Selassie. What fun it was, do you remember, to drop bombs on the natives from a plane and see them blown into the air like the petals of a flower. The impotence of the League of Nations was obvious to all the world. I do not want that to happen now. After serious meditation, however, I feel that the Vandenberg amendment does not go to the root of the present problem. I propose that Congress postpone any decision on the President's request for assistence to Greece and Turkey for the time being and, in the meantime, that Congress request the following steps be taken in this vital matter:

First. That a sum of not more than \$50,000,000 be given immediately to Greece, to reestablish sound money in that exploited country, and to make such relief and reconstruction purchases as are necessary to carry her people over the next few, critical months; and

Second. That the Greek Government present immediately to the United States an honest and long-range rehabilitation plan for Greek economy and Greek industry; and

Third. That the United States present to the General Council of the United Nations in September a challenge to have all member nations come to the assistance of Greece, a nation—itself—which fought the Fascists and the Nazis, and which now finds itself threatened by a foreign-inspired Communist revolution; and

Fourth. That if the General Council does not bring the case of Greece before the UN Security Council, the United States itself do so, and demand that the Soviet veto be declared unlawful if a majority vote in the Security Council shall invite the United States and other democratic nations to defend Greek freedom against totalitarian communism; and finally

Fifth. That the United States, while waiting for such practical and positive action by the United Nations in September, order adequate United States naval forces to patrol the eastern Mediterranean this summer, to keep peace in those waters for the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, I submit these suggestions to the Republican leadership in both Houses of the Congress of the United States, and to the proper committees of both Houses, particularly to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and to the Subcommittee on State of the Committee on Appropriations, of this House in which I now speak.

I submit them, also, to that jury which will decide the answers for all of us, to the voters of the United States, the very future of which, as a free nation, may well hang upon the slender thread of this decision.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PHILLIPS of California. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Did the gentleman from California include also the \$15,-000,000,000 that Wallace recommended that we give Russia?

Mr. PHILLIPS of California. I have not come to that. I will see how much that now makes my list. Does the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin think Russia is going to get that on Mr. Wallace's suggestion?

Mr. O'KONSKI. I hope not.

Mr. PHILLIPS of California. May I say, Mr. Speaker, that Turkey is reported not to want money but to want help in modernizing her army and her agriculture.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AID

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following

privileged resolution (H. Res. 173, Rept. 299), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Whereas the importance and complexity of aid required by foreign nations and peoples from the resources of the United States is assuming increasing proportions; and

Whereas such aid directly affects every segment of the domestic economy of the United States; and

Whereas the problems relating to such aid are of a nature to lie within the jurisdiction of a number of the standing committees of the Congress; and

Whereas these problems should, in order to safeguard the resources and economy of the United States, be given the most careful consideration in relation to each other; and

Whereas an integrated and coordinated study should be most valuable to the standing committees of the Congress: Therefore be it

Resolved, That there is hereby created a select committee on foreign aid composed of 15 Members of the House of Representatives, who shall be appointed by the Speaker, 10 of whom shall be selected as follows: 1 from among the majority members and 1 from among the minority members of each of the following committees: the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Banking and Currency, the Committee on Armeda Services, and the Committee on Agriculture. The Speaker shall designate one of the members of the select committee as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the select committee shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made.

The committee is authorized and directed to make a continuing study of (1) actual and prospective needs of foreign nations and peoples, including those within United States military zones, both for relief in terms of food, clothing, and so forth, and of economic rehabilitation; (2) resources available to meet such needs within and without the continental United States; (3) existing or contemplated agencies, whether private, public, domestic, or international, qualified to deal with such needs; (4) the administrative skills and performance of such agencies; (5) continuing wartime or other controls, if any, required to maintain prices of com-modities in short supply at reasonable levels, whether such controls be domestic or international; (6) any or all measures which might assist in assessing relative needs and in correlating such assistance as the United States can properly make without weakening its domestic economy.

The committee shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) from time to time as it shall deem appropriate, but not less often than once in each 6 months.

For the purpose of this resolution the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, or employ such personnel, to borrow from Government departments and agencies such special assistants, to hold such hearings, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

THE TURKISH LOAN

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, as everyone in the House knows, I am completely

opposed to the military alliance with Turkey proposed by the State Department to the House. I am opposed to pouring American taxpayers' money into every corrupt dictatorial government everywhere in the world that may say that it is against communism, provided we will dump good, American dollars into their lap. I have pointed out that the Turkish Government is in an excellent financial position—better than we are, as a matter of fact. I have pointed out their age-old violation of sworn commitments. I have pointed out, too, their persecution of Christians and Jews for the past thousands of years. I have pointed out that even while we have been considering the bill to give aid to Turkey. they have violated one of the provisions of that bill, namely, the provision which guarantees the freedom of the press.

But, Mr. Speaker, this does not complete my objections to this bill. On this floor I have said that the present Turkish Government is a dictatorial government. Now, our State Department knows that, Mr. Truman knows it, everybody knows it—everybody who has taken the trouble to examine the facts. I have inquired from the Library of Congress and from a variety of sources, including the Turkish Embassy, to find out how many people voted in the so-called elections that they had in 1946, and I have discovered that nobody in the city of Washington, including the State Department, the Turkish Embassy, the Library of Congress, knows how many people voted in Turkey. Is not that interesting? For every other country in Europe it is possible to obtain the election figures. You can find out how many people voted in every single country in Europe, except Turkey. Nobody knows how many people registered, how many people were eligible, or how many people voted.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. BENDER. I yield to the gentle-

woman from Ohio.

Mrs. BOLTON, Does the gentleman trust the figures that may have been given in the matter of the votes in such a country as Yugoslavia?

Mr. BENDER. At least they have figures, but we have no figures for Turkey. I would not say that I trust the figures from the present Yugoslavian Government too much, but we do have the figures, and the figures are available in the Library of Congress. We have no figures at all given us from Turkey.

Mrs. BOLTON. Perhaps we have not asked in the right way.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, after 20 years of a single party government the present Turkish dictatorship decided to license an opposition party in 1946. Some of the leaders of the party which had ruled Turkey for 20 years were sent out to set up an opposition party. Other political groups were considered to be subversive, and they were suppressed. Only the so-called Democratic Party—all of its leadership coming from the single party which had ruled Turkey for 20 years—was permitted to exist. Then in the summer of 1946 elections were held for the Turkish National Assembly. I believe that the House would like to hear

what the Newsweek magazine of May 27, 1946, reported on that election:

When the Democrats began to organize, however, they ran into trouble. They accused civil authorities of preventing them from setting up headquarters on a Nationwide scale. They declared provincial state governors refused to allow Democratic rallies, and constantly intercepted mail and telephone messages. They said policemen beat up their followers. Finally, as a protest, they issued a manifesto declaring the Government nondemocratic, and decided they would boycott both municipal and national elections. President Inonu seized upon this action to imply that the Democrats were actually Communists who wanted to discredit the Turkish Government in the eyes of other states. He promised Turkey would fight political parties inspired from abroad and acting as foreign instruments.

Well, Mr. Speaker, here we have a government, a dictatorship for 20 years, which set up an opposition party, handpicked its leadership, and the very moment that the new opposition party began to raise any real question about conditions in Turkey, they were called Communists. Imagine the political atmosphere which must exist in a country where a political party which advocates free enterprise is labeled Communistic.

The blunt and brutal fact, Mr. Speaker, is that the present Turkish Government is an out and out dictatorship without civil liberties and without political liberties of any kind. The record demonstrates this.

Mr. Speaker, why does our State Department ask us to form a military alliance with a government which they know to be a dictatorship? Why does our State Department have the audacity to tell the Congress that Turkey is on the road to democracy? Why does our good President, Mr. Truman, expect us to pour the the American taxpayers' money into a corrupt dictatorship?

Mr. Speaker, the policy does not make sense. It offends the common sense of the ordinary American citizen—the policy is one which leads to war. It is a policy of intervention throughout the world—it is a policy which destroys the United Nations. This Congress should repudiate the short-sightedness of Mr. Truman and of his State Department.

(Mr. BENDER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. DOLLIVER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. TOLLEFSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a radio address.

Mr. HAVENNER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article by Thomas L. Stokes.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include a letter I received from Colonel Johnson, and also a chart, if under the rules the chart may be inserted in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'Konski] is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of the Members of Congress the fact that this Government's international trade policy is influenced to a very large extent by a distinguished Russian-born intellectual and world planner whose name on the pay roll is Lewis L. Lorwin, but who also has used the name of Louis Levine as an author.

I understand that Dr. Lorwin's impressive title in the Department of Commerce is the economic adviser of the Office of International Trade. The OIT is being headed by an eminent New Dealer, Thomas C. Blaisdell, whose many governmental assignments have included economic adviser to Rex Tugwell during the days of land resettlement and association with that wizard of economics, Robert Roy Nathan, in the War Porduction Board.

Now, there is nothing mysterious about Dr. Lorwin's use of the alias, Louis Levine. You may pick up practically any volume of Who's Who in America for the past 20 years and find the name of Louis Levine, but for his biography you are referred to another page under the name of Lewis L. Lorwin.

It may not be important, but note that as Lorwin he spells his surname L-e-w-i-s, while as Levine he spells it L-o-u-i-s. It certainly would have been less confusing for his many readers of his extensive political and economics works and his lecture followings, not to mention his many committee colleagues and governmental associates, if he had made up his mind as to which way of spelling his surname he preferred. I would think he might sometimes get confused himself as to this Jekyll and Hyde sort of nomenclature he apparently adopted for himself for some inexplicable reason.

I have not had time to read through all the editions of Who's Who since 1926-27, but in that particular year, on page 1818, Lewis L. Lorwin is listed, but after his name it says, "See Louis Levine." So you look up Louis Levine on page 1183, and you find that his family name is given as Lewis Levitski Lorwin. Thereafter, later volumes of Who's Who read: "Levine, Louis, see Lewis L. Lorwin," with the exception of the current edition. The name Louis Levine is not listed in the 1946-47 edition but Lewis L. Lorwin is listed in all his Marxist glory.

While all this Lorwin-Levine rigmarole may not be known even to Members of Congress who have had occasion to consult the Office of International Trade, I find that the Library of Congress is aware of the double identity of the scholar from Kiev.

Among the books in the Library of Congress which are attributed in Who's Who to Dr. Lorwin, or Levine if you prefer, there is one entitled, "The Taxation

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DIGEST OF

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE

Issued For actions of April 29, 1947 April 28, 1947

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CONTENTS

Buildings and grounds 2 Cotton	Foreign affairs3,24 Information	Prices
Flood Control		Wool

HIGHLIGHTS: Congressional action completed on bill authorizing D.C. Commissioners to establish daylight-saving time. House agreed to investigations of procurement, buildings, publicity, rules and procedures, etc. Sen. Maybank submitted resolution acking CCC to recognize smaller vendors in purchasing cotton for export. Rep. Harris opposed reduction in ACP.

HOUSE

- 1. DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME. Passed with amendment S. 736, authorizing the D. C. Commissioners to establish daylight saving time in D. C. (pp. 4279-90). The Senate agreed to the House amendment (p. 4268). The bill will now be sent to the President.
- 2. INVESTIGATIONS. Agreed, without amendment, to various resolutions authorizing or providing frade to the Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee for investigations as follows: (p. 4276)

H. Res. 196, procurement and building.

H. Res. 197, publicity and propaganda.

H. Res. 198, actions, rules, procedures, etc., by Federal agencies.

3. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on H. J. Res. 153, to provide relief for wardevastated areas (pp. 4291-302).

PRICES. Rep. Norton, N. J., spoke in favor of price reductions (p. 4278).

SENATE

- 5. LABOR-FEDERAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1948. The Appropriations Committee reported with amendments this bill, H.R. 2700 (S.Rept. 146) (p. 4244).
- 6. CROP INSURANCE. Sen. Johnston, S.C., submitted a S.C. Legislature memorial urging funds to liquidate USDA crop insurance obligations (p. 4243).
- 7. LABOR-RELATIONS. Continued debate on S. 1126, the labor-relations bill (pp. 4254-74).
- FEDERAL AID. Sen. Vandenburg, Mich., submitted a Mich. Legislature resolution urging reduction in Federal aid programs to the several States (p. 4243).

- 9 SMALL BUSINESS. Received from Commerce Department the final report of operation of the Smaller War Plants Corporation and the Office of Small Business(p.4240).
- 10. TRAMSPORTATION. Sen. Thye, Minn., submitted a Minneapolis, Minn., C of C resolution favoring adequate funds for maintenance of navigation structures and aids in the 9-foot channel of the Upper Miss. River (p. 4244).

BILLS INTRODUCED

- 11. RECLAMATION. S. 1175, by Sen. McFarland, Ariz. (for himself and Sen. Hayden, Ariz.), authorizing the construction, operation, and maintenance of a dam and incidental works in the main stream of the Colo. River at Bridge Canyon, together with certain appurtenant dams and canals. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 4245.)
- 12. FEPTILIZERS. S.J.Res. 108, by Sen. Butler, Nebr. (for himself and Sen. Eastland Miss.), to prevent the dismantling of fertilizer plants in Germany. To Armed Services Committee. (p. 4245.)
- 13. COTTON. S. Res. 108, by Sen. Maybank, S.C. (for himself and Sen. Hoey, N.C., and Sen. George, Ga.), asking Commodity Credit Corporation to consider smaller vendors in purchasing cotton for export. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (p. 4245.)
- 14. PERSONNEL. S. 1173, by Sen. Ellender, La. (for himself and others), to prevent corrupt practices in connection with Federal elections, and to prevent pernicious political activities. To Rules and Administration Committee. (p. 4245.) Remarks of author (pp. 4251-4).
 - H.R. 3234, by Rep. Morton, Ky., relating to the acquisition of civil-service status by certain war-service employees. To Post Office and Civil Service Committee. (p. 4304.)
 - H.R. 3239, by Rep. Keating, M.Y., to amend section 4 of the U.S. Employees' Compensation Act. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 4304.)
- 15. FLOOD CONTROL. H.R. 3233, by Rep. McGregor, Ohio, to amend the Flood Control Act, 1938. To Public Works Committee. (p. 4304.)
- 16. FOREIGN TRADE. H.R. 3229, by Del. Farrington, Hawaii, to repeal the act of April 29, 1902, relating to the procurement of statistics of trade between the U.S. and its noncontiguous territory. To Ways and Means Committee. (p. 4304.)
- 17. PERSONTEL. H.R. 3232, by Rep. Stevenson, Wis., "to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act. To Post Office and Civil Service Committee. (p. 4304.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

- 18. AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM. Extension of remarks of Rep. Harris, Ark., opposing cuts in the agricultural conservation program and including a statement by county committee chairmen justifying the continuation of the program (pp. A2070-1).
- 19. WOOL. Sen. Saltonstall, Mass., and Rep. Murray, Wis., inserted a Washington Post editorial, "Wool Dilemma," pointing out the problems of supporting domestic wool and maintaining the spirit of the reciprocal trade policy (pp. A2050-1).
- 20. PRICES. Extension of remarks of Rep. Mason, Ill., blaming Government support programs for high food prices and including an article by Mark Sullivan on the

Appendix of the Record in two separate instances and in each to include editorials.

Mr. BREHM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the Record and include extraneous matter.

Mr. O'KONSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made earlier this afternoon.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and

include a radio address.

Mr. BRADLEY of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the Record and include a resolution of the City Council of Baltimore in support of an adequate merchant marine.

Mr. LEFEVRE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the

Appendix of the Record.

Mr. SHAFER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD in two separate instances and in one to include a reso-

Mr. JUDD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD in two instances and in each to include an editorial or an article.

Mr. DEVITT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a resolution by the Certified Public Accountants of Minnesota.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine asked and was given permission to extend her remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an act concerning displaced persons.

Mr. FULTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the Record and include an editorial from the Pittsburgh Press.

PERMISSION TO FILE MINORITY VIEWS

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may have until midnight tomorrow night to file minority views on the bill H, R. 3203.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio? There was no objection.

SPECIAL ORDER TRANSFERRED

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, I had a special order for today. I ask unanimous consent that it may be transferred to Monday, May 5, following the legis-lative business of the day and any special orders heretofore entered for that day.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. KLEIN] may address the House for 30 minutes tomorrow after the disposition of the legislative business for the day and special orders heretofore entered for that day. The SPEAKER. Is there objection

to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO PEOPLE OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 153, providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 153, with Mr. Schwabe of Oklahoma in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair state that when the Committee last had this joint resolution under consideration the first section of the resolution had been read.

The first section of the joint resolution. is now open to amendment.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Jonkman: On page 1, line 4, after the words "not to exceed" strike out "\$350,000,000" and insert "\$200,-000,000."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for an additional 5 minutes, and to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, this amendment proposes to strike out the authorization of \$350,000,000 and insert in place of it \$200,000,000. It is complementary to another amendment which I expect to offer to section 2 reducing the term from June 30, 1948, to December 31, 1947.

Mr. Chairman, I supported the two authorizations for UNRRA in the sum of \$1,350,000,000 each. I did that with some misgivings, but especially on the second authorization. At that time I offered an amendment that we give notice to the United Nations that at the end of this term the United States would withdraw from UNRRA. That was done because I felt that at some time this should become residual relief instead of what it promises to be—permanent relief year after year. I am concerned that that is what this bill contemplates at the present time; that is, that we are going permanently into the relief business, the only difference being that the United States is singly and alone taking over the burdens of UNRRA. I think I can point to the evidence which sustains that conclusion, and I want to examine with you the record and show that there will be no need for relief after 1947.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. Does this amendment eliminate those countries that are Communist-controlled?

Mr. JONKMAN. No; it does not.

I do not see how any Member can consistently vote for relief through or in 1948 when all the evidence, the only thing that we have to guide us, shows that there will be no need for relief after 1947. We all know that the inspiration for this bill came from the General Assembly of the United Nations where continuation of UNRRA was considered and their recommendation at that time was 6 months of residual relief after the expiration of UNRRA on March 31, 1947, which would bring it up to October or until the next crop year.

Mr. Hoover recommends on page 55 of the hearings:

These estimates, except for Austria, in my view should first include the period from the end of UNRRA until the 1947 harvest.

President Truman in his message recommending this legislation said:

The authorization recommended is designed for the urgent relief needs for the baiance of the year.

That is on page 2 of the report.

Under Secretary of State Clayton said on page 13 of the hearings:

Question by Mr. JONKMAN. Is it your belief from present indications that they will have less acute need for 1948 than they will in 1947?

Answer by Mr. CLAYTON, Yes. They have made such progress in the last 2 years, considering the conditions under which they have had to live and work, remarkable progress in many of these countries, that if the progress should continue at the same rate at which it has gone in the last 2 years we believe, as I stated here, that the need for relief by the United States Government wili have been met and passed by the end of this year. I refer to free relief, of course.

Mr. Acheson, Under Secretary of State, in a letter written and produced at the debate in the House of last week, April 23, and; therefore, the last word on this subiect. wrote:

Question. Is it intended that the amounts authorized in the bill will be adequate to take care of the relief need of the countries assisted to the end of the crop year 1948?

Answer. The amount requested is to assist in meeting the estimated reitef needs for the caiendar year 1947.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DONDERO. Was there any evidence submitted before the gentleman's committee indicating that the problems of Europe today are more politcal than they are economic?

Mr. JONKMAN. Well, there is that indication. I repeat:

The amount requested is to assist in meeting the estimated relief needs for the calendar year 1947. In the actual operation of the program, some shipments may slip over into the first few months of 1948. With the possible exception of Austria-

Now, mind you, with the possible exception of Austria; not probably exception--

we do not anticipate that further relief wiii be necessary unless disastrous crop failures or other unforseen events occur.

Now, Mr. Chairman, there is no other guide for us, there is no other evidence for us than that relief will not be needed in 1948.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN., I yield to the gen-

tleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. They have had ample opportunity to make two crops since the war closed. The war did not tear up their fields; it tore up the factories and the towns. With the exception of Germany, you might say, there has not been a gun fired across the soil of any country for 2 years, and there is no reason on earth why they should not have made crops, except that they have been harrassed by a communist regime or encouraged to beg help from us.

Mr. JONKMAN. I thank the gentleman for his contribution. But I want to emphasize what I was just saying. There is nothing else to guide you. The evidence positively shows that no relief will be needed after the end of 1947, and even the statement "with the possible exception of Austria" makes it stronger. They say they may need some limited relief; in other words, the other countries absolutely will not need it.

Now then, why do they ask for \$350 .-000,000 to run through 1948? There was \$100,000,000 in the budget to take care of 1947. I want you to look at the record and see what those who prepared this legislaion had in mind.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield. Mr. DONDERO. Does the gentleman think we ought to make a difference between the Governments of Europe which are dominated by communism and those which are not dominated by commu-

Mr. JONKMAN. Well, it is most difficult to say that we are not going to go into those countries dominated by communism, if we can control this relief so that it goes to needy people without regard to creed, color, or race.

I ask you then, why do they ask for What is \$350,000,000 to run into 1948? the analysis of it? I will give it to you again from the record, from the evidence, from the only thing that we have to guide us in this matter. This is from the hearings:

Mr. Vorys. Then in addition to the \$500,-000,000 of UNRRA products yet undelivered by UNRRA, I understand that \$100,000,000 of this \$350,000,000 to be authorized by this legislation would be the amount distributed

up to June. Is that correct?
Mr. CLAYTON. That depends on how soon this \$350,000,000 would be available to us if at all, by Congress, and how quickly we could enter the procurement. The critical time, as I have said in my previous statement, is in the spring and summer before the harvest comes in.

That is the spring and summer that we are now in.

Therefore we would like to get the money as quickly as we can and start shipping wheat and other supplies as quickly as possible.

Mr. Vorys. I noted in the budget that \$100,000,000 of that was put in for fiscal year 1947.

Mr. CLAYTON. That is just an estimate, sir. We would like to spend more than that if we could in the fiscal year 1947.

Mr. Vorys. According to the budget, you would contemplate that \$250,000,000 would be distributed through 1948?

Mr. CLAYTON. That is the estimate we made; yes, sir.

In other words, they are going to spend \$250,000,000 in 1948 where there is no need of relief in 1948 according to all the testimony available.

Let us fortfy that just a little further. Mr. Tyler Wood, Deputy to Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs,

Mr. JARMAN. You spoke of the \$100,000,000 last November, and the acting chairman spoke of \$200,000,000. Are those figures in the budget?

I think that should be \$250,000.

Mr. Wood. Yes, they are in the budget. They are on the expenditure budget, which is the \$37,500,000,000 that everybody is talking about, and the estimate is that of the \$350,000,000 that is in the budget, \$100,000,000 would actually be spent in the fiscal year 1947 and \$250,000,000 in the fiscal year 1948.

In other words, we have the same thing there. They are contemplating expenditures into 1948 to the amount of \$250,-000,000. I submit, however, why should they propose this when no relief is needed in 1948.

Mr. Chairman, my amendment does not hold them to the \$100,000,000 that was contemplated for 1947, that would carry them through the spring and early summer of 1947. I think, Mr. Chairman, that we could with consistency cut this authorization down to \$100,000,000, and that would meet the needs of 1947. That is what the evidence shows. But I am not asking for that. We propose to give them under this amendment \$200,000,-000. That is up to the end of the year. On January 3, 1948, Congress will be in session. We have not yet seen, Mr. Chairman, how this replacement for UNRRA is going to work. We know that UNRRA worked very, very poorly. I dare say from what I have seen that if 10 to 20 percent of the \$2,750,000,000 that we put in there actually went to the needy people for food, medicine, seeds, and so forth, it is a high percentage. What assurance have we that this is going to be handled any better?

I hope my amendment will be adopted. It provides ample funds for the balance of the year 1947, and at the end of that time Congress will be in session if further help is needed.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

(Mr. JARMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his re-

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, we are all well aware of the fact that this House is so large that it is utterly impossible for it to function as a strictly deliberative body. We fully realize the impossibility of 435 Members sitting in this Chamber and discussing an item of legislation. Why, we would never get through. It would even take us more time than is required in another place I know of to pass legislation. Therefore that realization requires us to rely very heavily on the committees of the House. One specializes in foreign affairs, one on the armed forces, and one on appropriations.

We naturally and properly look to the Appropriations Committee on matters germane to it. We look to the Committee on Armed Forces on matters of defense. It is equally natural for us to look to the Committee on Foreign Affairs on matters of foreign relations. But regardless of which committee it be, the only way the committee can bring the results of its work to the House is in a report. These circumstances place a heavy responsibility on the committees to make sure that the reports speak the truth, of course, the same responsibility rests on the shoulders of those who submit minority reports.

We have in this case a very strong majority report and a strong minority report. The minority report is signed by three able members of that committee. three very fine gentlemen of whom I am personally quite fond. I want to read . the two concluding paragraphs of that minority report:

We propose to offer amendments which will reduce the authorization of this bill to \$200,000,000 and provide that no transfers of supplies or establishments of credits may be made thereunder after December 31, 1947.

This will more nearly meet all the considerations which a judicious approach would recommend and which is adequate to accomplish the desired result if distribution is made with reasonable diligence.

That is what the minority report says, my friends, from which this amendment results with which the majority of the committee, and I mean the majority of both Republicans and Democrats, are in complete disagreement.

I quote again from that same minority report, on page 9:

Finally, the State Department has not made any on-the-spot check of the needs in these countries. It does not know whether there is scarcity-

Remember these words—

whether there is scarcity in Warsaw or Athens; and if so, which of the two has the greatest scarcity.

Now, I read from page 86 of the hearings. Bear in mind that word "Warsaw."

The gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] was asking a question of the representative of the State Department. Mr. Wood, and he said:

Mr. Hoover made a great deal of the importance of having on-the-spot investigations and studies by qualified experts in the field of relief. As I understand your answer to Mr. Jarman's question, those on-the-spot investigations have not yet taken place in any of these countries.

Mr. Woop. No; I did not mean to give that impression. They have been continuous.

Mr. MUNDT. No special missions have been sent over to make a specific study leading up to this?

Mr. Wood. There have been continuous investigations by the people in the embassies in these countries, in addition to which there was this investigation, on which we had really expert people, made by the Devastated Areas Subcommittee of the Economic and Social Council.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. Of course I will have to yield to the gentleman-I am talking about him. But if he would let me proceed I might compliment him even more

Mr. JONKMAN. Does the gentleman mean by that last statement the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations made on-the-spot investigations?

Mr. JARMAN. I am reading from the hearings. I believe I reached the point where I said investigation was made by the Devastated Areas Subcommittee of the Economic and Social Council.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is the United Nations Organization.

Mr. JARMAN. Oh, yes; "on which we had really expert people." If the gentleman will permit me to proceed-my time is very limited.

There has not been in these countries a formal investigating committee from the outside, but let me assure you that, for example, we went into Poland this summer and Ambassador Lane and his whole staff were spending a great deal of time, not only in Warsaw, but all over the country, looking at the condition of the crops and interviewing people in various places.

Now, my friends, I submit to you the considered opinion—and I may be wrong, but if I am, I am subject to being challenged—that I do not believe that evidence is controverted anywhere in the hearings. Therefore, I do not believe there appears to be anything in the hearing to substantiate the positive statement of the minority report that no on-thespot investigations occurred. On the other hand, it is directly contradicted by the testimony. If that be true, who is the House of Representatives to followthe three gentlemen who signed this minority report or the Democrats and Republicans who agree to the majority report? The former express the opinion in the same report in which they say no on-the-spot investigation occurred, that \$200,000,000 will prove adequate; whereas the latter will, I am sure, reiterate the position they took when voting this amendment down in committee.

In conclusion, may I repeat that I have only the highest regard for those three gentlemen. I do not believe they would deliberately attempt to mislead this House. On the other hand, as I said last week, we are all so thoroughly occupied that frequently we do not have time to go into these matters, to study them from all angles as I know these three gentlemen would have done had time been available to them. In that event they never would have placed that statement in the report.

In view of that statement, how can we have too much confidence in their recommendation that \$200,000,000 would be adequate?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN] has expired.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The Clerk read as follows:

Substitute offered by Mr. Vorys:

Mr. Vorys moves to amend House Joint Resolution 153 as follows:

At the end of section 1 add the following: "there is hereby established a joint committee on International Relief consisting of five Members of the Senate appointed by the President pro tempore, and five Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker.

"It shall be the duty of the joint committee to study relief needs in foreign countries and the ability of the United States to furnish relief; the President shall keep the joint committee advised of foreign relief needs and the measures he is taking to relieve such needs and all expenditures in excess of \$200,000,000 from the appropriations herein authorized shall have the approval of the joint committee. Such approval may be given in detail or in gross amounts as the joint committee shall deem advisable."

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I offer this substitute as another way of solving the problem presented by my esteemed colleague the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman]. I offered the amendment to cut the amount of the authorization to \$200,000,000 in commit-In the meantime, time has been going by. I have seen how kleidoscopic and unpredictable the changes in Europe an din our relations with Europe make the future. I therefore propose the suggestion which carries out the suggestion made by Mr. Hoover before our committee.

If you will look at the hearings on page 57, you will find Mr. Hoover said:

There is no mortal man who can determine what the requirements of those various nations are going to be after the next harvest and determine the requirement of each nation after harvest, at the

Therefore, he suggested that a small committee of Congress be set up to review the needs after the next harvest. Remember, this is only an authorization bill. The Committee on Appropriations will have to do the appropriating. But only God knows what the needs are going to be in those countries next fall after their harvests are in, and what our ability will be to fulfill those needs after our harvests are in. Therefore, this amendment would provide for a review by an appropriate joint congressional committee on relief. All expenditures over \$200,000,000 would have to be approved by this committee.

Now, let us face the practical facts. We are hopeful that the Congress will be in recess this fall. Therefore, the Congress will not be here to review the authorization. If we have a program that runs up to December 31, it is not contemplated that the Congress will be in session in December. This authorization continues through fiscal year 1948, but the proposal has been made that it may be spent in 1947. Only God knows the needs. We know something about the needs, on the Foreign Affairs Committee, but, as I explained the other day, due to the way this was presented to us, only 6 of the 12 days of hearings are before you. The secret documents which gave the needs and the proposed distribution are not before us and, therefore, we cannot intelligently discuss this. But it seems to me that, patterning this after a similar joint committee that has been in effect for some years, we can do a good job. The Foreign Service Building Committee is made up of Members of Congress from the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. This is provided in the Foreign Service Commission Law Buildings, title 22, section 293, United States Code. That joint committee must approve, even though appropriations are made, before an embassy can be put up on foreign soil.

Under the proposed substitute I offer, a joint committee which would obviously be made up of a majority of the party in power in Congress would have to approve all expenditures after the first \$200,-000,000. If we adopted this we would have bipartisan power and responsibility in carrying out this policy in that we would have the Executive proposing the expenditures and the committee, a majority of which would be Republicans, approving these expenditures. I am sure the committee would approve them if the funds were necessary. In the event the expenditure were not necessary I am sure that such a committee would prevent needless expenditure.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield. Mr. EATON. Do we understand from the gentleman's amendment that this proposed committee is to be appointed from the membership of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House?

Mr. VORYS. The amendment merely provides that the Speaker shall appoint five members and the President of the Senate shall appoint five. Where they are to come from is left to the wisdom of these Presiding Officers. I imagine that the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House would be represented heavily. There might be members from the Appropriations Committees.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield. Mr. HERTER. Is it not true that in advocating the type of check the gentleman has in mind in offering this amendment, Mr. Hoover likewise recommended that the sum of \$350,000,000 be left intact?

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Hoover suggested that this sort of control would leave the authorization intact subject to appropriation, but would permit a congressional string to it in case the money were not needed, and would also give congressional power and responsibility to make this relief truly a bipartisan proceeding.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Was this amendment proposed in the Committee on Foreign Affairs?

Mr. VORYS. Yes.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. What was the result?

Mr. VORYS. It lost.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. By how many votes?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman's amendment provide for an administrator?

Mr. VORYS. That will be proposed in an amendment to be offered later.

Mr. HERTER. The purpose of the gentleman's amendment is to make it clear that the United States is preparing to contribute up to \$350,000,000 if it is needed; but there is not any sense in actually spending it unless it is spent after investigation and that investigation proves that it is actually needed.
Mr. VORYS. That is right.

This is only an authorization bill, but this will help the Appropriations Committee which would not be permitted to put any such legislative restriction in an appropriation bill in connection with any appropriation made beyond \$200,000.000; but if the Appropriations Committee is so disposed it would be subject to the control of this congressional relief committee.

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield.

Mr. JENNINGS. What assurance have we that any other nation in the world other than this Nation will make any contribution to this money that we are proposing to spend?

Mr. VORYS. We have no assurance

Mr. JENNINGS. I am talking about the percentage. What I want to know is if we have any assurance that any other nation on earth will make any contribution.

Mr. VORYS. We know that the British are going to lend \$40,000,000 in Austria, but due to the fact that no treaty has been had in the case of Ausstria it is doubtful in my mind whether Austria will come into this program.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has again expired.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to support House Joint Resolution 153, and I think it should be passed without amendment. I shall endeavor to develop my reasons for this statement.

Whereas I agree with my distinguished colleague from Ohio in that we should have a committee to study the way in which this money is to be spent, I believe that is part of a larger problem. For a long time I have been asking that there be a select committee of 23 Members appointed to make a full study of foreign policy, both economic and political, in every country and with full power to investigate the Department of State and the Foreign Service. So far as the committee suggested by my distinguished colleague is concerned, I believe it would be a subject for legislation other than House Joint Resolution 153.

Mr. Chairman, nobody has been any more outspoken against communism than I. I would vigorously oppose the spending of American money if in any way it could be used to advance communism and to assist Moscow-controlled governments. If this resolution were to continue UNRRA, I would strenuously oppose the measure. In the summer of 1945 I witnessed the UNRRA operations in western Europe and the Balkans. While in this area and particularly in Belgrade, the capital of the Moscow-Tito-dominated Yugoslavia, I learned that UNRRA was being used to advance the fortunes of the Communist Party. In an effort to focus attention on the misuse of UNRRA funds I introduced on October 10, 1945, House Resolution 369 to set up a committee to make an investigation of UNRRA.

UNDER SECRETARY CLAYTON'S ASSURANCES

The joint resolution under discussion provides for unilateral relief action by the United States to prevent starvation. It is "based on the principle that relief of this kind is for people in need, and that these unfortunate people cannot be allowed to suffer from hunger because of the nature of their governments.

On February 25, 1947, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Mr. Clayton, appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee at the opening of the hearing on this measure. Fearing that the proposed relief might be used by Russiancontrolled governments to advance communism, I said to Mr. Clayton:

I just do not see how we are going to send relief, for instance, to Hungary, and particularly Poland, where there is Soviet-dominated government and let that government distribute the relief, without advancing the Communist Party in those countries. is what happened under UNRRA, as near as I can find out, and that is what worries me about this situation. I think if Russia is going to dominate those countries she had better help feed them.

To this Mr. Clayton replied in the following manner:

Mr. Merrow, may I say just a few words on that: Of course Hungary is hungry, and starving people are starving people wherever you might find them, under what conditions government or otherwise. However, I think, under the conditions which we will name in these agreements, you may be sure that the people getting this relief will know where it comes from and who is supplying it, that it will be distributed without discrimination, and that the purpose we have in mind will be accomplished to prevent starvation in these countries.

PROPOSED AGREEMENTS

In the appendix of the hearings, page 125, there is a statement by Mr. C. Tyler Wood, Deputy to the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, concerning the agreements referred to by Mr. Clayton to be made between the United States and relief-recipient countries. Under 13 headings Mr. Wood has outlined the agreements referred to by the Under Secretary. I quote only part of his state-

The agreements will provide for reports covering (a) prompt notice of arrival of United States supplies, (b) the allocation of those supplies to commercial and other channels and the quantity of supplies used for free distribution, (c) current inventories of all supplies available for relief, and (d) forecasts of local supplies which will become

available; the agreements will provide that the United States representatives will be completely free to observe, inspect, and travel at any and all times as they consider necessary, and the full cooperation of the Government in providing them with information, statistics, and reports; the agreements will provide that representatives of the United States press and radio will be given complete freedom to observe and report on the relief distribution; the agreements will provide that the recipient governments will arrange for publicity regarding the arrival of United States supplies, the channels of distribution, any unusual features of the distribution of supplies, and the utilization of funds accruing from sales of supplies for the benefit of the people; the agreements on this subject will give the United States control of the program at all times and provide a powerful means of enforcing compliance with United States wishes concerning the distribution; since conditions vary country to country, it is possible that other provisions will be necessary to insure proper conduct and effectiveness of distribution in some particular country.

REQUIREMENTS OF SECTION 3

In section 3 of the resolution it is expressly stated:

No relief assistance shall be provided under the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any country unless the government of such country has given assurance satisfactory to the President that (a) the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the people of such country without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief; (b) representatives of the Government of the United States and of the press and radio of the United States will be permitted to observe freely and to report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts and progress of the United States relief program carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution; (d) if food, medical supplies, fertilizer, or seed is transferred or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will be exported or removed from such country while need therefor for relief purposes continues; (e) such country has taken or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, it will furnish promptly information concerning the production, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such country; and (g) representatives of the Government of the United States will be permitted to supervise the distribution among the people of such country of the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution.

CONFIDENCE IN STATE DEPARTMENT TO ADMINISTER THIS RELIEF

The conditions set forth in section 3 of this measure in addition to the assurances of the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and the proposed agreements as outlined by Mr. Wood satisfy me that this money will be spent to prevent starvation and that in no way will it be used to further the interests of the Communist Party. For a long time I have been asking for a Select Committee to Study Foreign Policy and to study the Department of State and the Foreign Service. I have been requesting such a study not in an attempt to hunt witches

but to improve the State Department. I have confidence in Mr. Clayton and his associates and I believe that they will conscientiously carry out the provisions of the resolution and will fulfill the pledges they have made in reference to the agreements they propose to make with relief recipient countries.

TERMINATION

Furthermore House Resolution 153 provides that the President shall terminate relief assistance whenever by reason of changed conditions the provision of relief assistance provided by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, whenever the assurances of section 3 are not being carried out and whenever any supplies made available under this resolution or similar supplies produced locally or imported from the outside is being used for the maintenance of the armed forces in such country and whenever similar supplies produced locally or imported from the outside are being removed from such countries. Furthermore, the joint resolution can be terminated by a concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress.

SAFEGUARDS ADEQUATE

I believe the safeguards in this bill are adequate to insure the proper use of the funds provided. The measure has been carefully prepared and does not need to be amended. I believe that this aid is necessary to complement the aid we are going to give to Greece and Turkey. We are determined to prevent the spread of communism and one of the most effective ways to do this is to aid starving people in devastated countries. The rigid requirements which must be met before relief can be furnished to these countries will guarantee that the American taxpayers' money will not be used to bolster Moscow-controlled governments in nations such as Poland and Hungary. I hope this measure passes by a substantial majority.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Hampshire has expired.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be permitted to proceed for three additional minutes?

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. OWENS. Inasmuch as the gentleman stated that he does not want any amendment, and I have an amendment at the desk, I would like to ask the gentleman if he can state what the constitutional authority for this \$350,000,000 gift is?

Mr. MERROW. We have a constitutional right to appropriate any money that we desire for relief to any country.

Mr. OWENS. There is nothing in the Constitution on it. That is why I have the amendment. We cannot depend on it

Mr. MERROW. We have done it before. Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, the constitutionality is found in the power of the Congress to appropriate money for the general welfare.

Mr. OWENS. That is the amendment I have at the desk, but I do not believe it is sufficient without the specific amendment in the bill.

Mr. MERROW. There has been no provision like this before.

Mr. JAVITS. There is no question of constitutional authority.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. Does not the gentleman think we ought to put this matter over until tomorrow, until after we hear General Marshall?

Mr. MERROW. I would have no objection to that.

Mr. RANKIN. I think the measure ought to go over at least until we hear General Marshall tonight.

Mr. MERROW. I have no objection but I hope the measure passes.

YOU CANNOT TRUST A COMMUNIST

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, as I announced the other day, I will not vote for a single dime to go to any country that is Communist-dominated, for a gang of commissars to steal, misuse, and starve the helpless women and children in those countries.

I live in a country that once lost a war. I think I can refer back to that tragic era without in any way offending the sensibilities of anyone. There never lived greater soldiers in time of war, or greater citizens in time of peace than those brave men who wore the gray in that unfortunate conflict known as the Civil War, or the War Between the States.

When that war closed those men came home and tied their empty sleeves to the plow lines and began making their own way. I know because I saw it 25 years after the war closed. I have seen a one-legged ex-Confederate soldier leaning on his hoe for a crutch and cultivating his field, hoeing cotton, or cutting sugarcane.

One of the leading businessmen of the country in which I live told me that he plowed the milk cow the first year after the war closed.

Their horses were gone, and in many cases their outhouses, and even their homes, had been burned. There was hardly a home but had lost a son, and a large percentage of the ones who survived had been severely wounded.

They got no assistance from anyone, they were unable to do so; yet they struggled on, developed the strongest stamina ever known, and taught it to their children. It has been the savior of the Southern States for the last 80 years.

They were men, take them for all in all. We shall not look upon their likes again.

This war has been over 2 years, and the peoples of Europe have had ample time to make two full crops.

In the fall of 1945 the greatest soldier developed in this war, Gen. George S. Patton, came here to see me. He came by to thank me for defending him on this floor, as he expressed it, "When I was on the battlefront and could not defend myself."

He said, "Why are you people getting ready to feed Germany?" He said, "I have been all over Germany, and they have the finest crops I ever saw." That was in the fall of 1945. He said, "We didn't shoot up the fields, we shot up the towns and the factories and the cities."

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DONDERO. May I say as one who traveled over Germany in the summer of 1945 that I can confirm exactly what General Patton said.

Mr. RANKIN. I thank the gentleman from Michigan.

Last year I told another general, who was with General Patton, what General Patton had said, and asked him why the people were asking for help. He said, "The trouble is, the Communists went in there and drove off their livestock, and took their farm machinery," just as they will take this money if we pour it into those countries that the Communists dominate.

I am certainly going to vote for the amendment to be offered by my colleague the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Colmer] to deny this money to any country that is Communist-dominated.

Communism is not a form of government; it is a criminal conspiracy to overthrow every government in the world, including the United States. I read that to you from their own lips on this floor a few days ago. But, if you continue to go down into the pockets of the American people and pour money into those countries, I am not sure they will ever make a crop. They tell us that we have absolutely killed, in large measure, the desire of a great many people of Europe to become self-sustaining with the money we have already poured into those countries.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. The United States of America won this war, Mr. Chairman. We won it with our men, our money, and our material. We are today staggering under a burden of debt the like of which no other nation on earth ever saw or could survive. If you were to reduce price levels to what they were 15 years ago, the entire wealth of this Nation would not be sufficient to pay the public debt. It is about time that we take those things into consideration, and not be continuously pouring money by the hundreds of millions of dollars into areas where it promotes indolence and encourages

people to hold out their hands and beg for the American taxpayers' money.

I read portions of General Morgan's UNRRA was a farce. money provided was used to finance a lot of "joyriders" of a minority group, while they let many of the Christian women and children starve to death.

Now, you come along and ask for this \$350,000,000. Next week you are going to ask for \$400,000,000 to try to stop communism in Greece and Turkey. As I said before, if we are going to fight communism, let us begin on Capitol Hill. Let us begin in the House Office Building. Let us begin in the Senate Office Building and in the Library of Congress. Let us go down through the War Department, the State Department, and the Treasury Department, and every other department of this Government, and drive these Reds out of our Government. Then let us drive them from our educational institutions where they are poisoning the minds of the youth of America, and drive them from the radio where they are insidiously pumping poisonous propaganda into the ears of the unsuspecting men, women, and children of America. Let us clean them out of our picture shows where they are spreading before the youth of the land the insidious Communist lines that are undermining the moral fabric of America and destroying those things for which our forefathers fought, and for which our young men were told they were fighting in this war.

If we are going to fight communism. no man on earth will go farther than I will. But we cannot afford to fight it at one place and feed it at another. Therefore, I think we should carry this bill over at least until we hear General Marshall tonight, and we should probably postpone it indefinitely. Certainly, we should adopt the amendment to be offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Colmer] to provide that not a dollar of this money, not a dime of it, shall go to a Communist-dominated country.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes; I yield.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. I wonder if the gentleman saw in this morning's Times-Herald the statement by John O'Donnell where he points out in a quotation from a letter, that he received from some veteran down in Newport News, the names of the Russian ships that are there now loading the so-called UNRRA materials and heavy machinery and trucks and things of that kind.

Mr. RANKIN. I am not surprised.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Do you not think this is a little inconsistent for us to be considering a measure like this until that sort of thing is stopped?

Mr. RANKIN. Why, certainly. of those countries to which UNRRA assistance was furnished, Yugoslavia, for instance, took it to build up their armed forces and then with the very guns that we furnished them shot down, murdered, our aviators in cold blood and buried them without notifying the American authorities.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield to the gentleman for a question as the gentleman

Mr. MERROW. I .compliment the gentleman on the splendid fight that he has always made against communism. I want to say frankly that I would oppose a measure which would send materials to Communist-dominated countries if it did not contain certain restrictions.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Mississippi may proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire?

There was no objection.

Mr. MERROW. Subsection (c) of section 2 on page 4 of the bill says:

Full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of the United States relief program carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution.

I doubt if the Soviet-dominated governments of Hungary and Poland would agree to that.

Section 5 of the bill states that-

The President shall promptly terminate the provision of relief assistance to the people of any country whenever he determines that supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed from such country.

If the people of the countries in question know that the relief comes from the United States will it not help us fight communism?

Mr. RANKIN. I doubt it. In the first place, I would not believe a word a Communist would say. He does not believe in God. He is an atheist, and no obligation would bind him. Anything a Communist would sign would not be worth the paper it is written on. I do not care what they tell you about getting this money under their control, or this food and material. They will do just as they please with it and then lie to us about it.

Get the Record of Thursday, April 24. turn to page A1996 of the Appendix, and read the report on the Sovict spy ring and their traitorous operations in this country, in Canada, and in Great Britain. in flagrant violation of every obligation they have signed and every promise they have made.

Former Ambassador to Russia Hon. William C. Bullitt told the Committee on Un-American Activities that in his deliberate opinion if the Russians had the atomic bomb and we did not have it they would have dropped them on us long ago.

Mr. ROBSION. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield. Mr. ROBSION. Anyway, it would be distributed through this Government, would it not?

Mr. RANKIN. Why, of course. If we are going to feed the hungry people of Europe, we should do it through the International Red Cross.

The American Treasury is not inexhaustible. The American taxpayers are

not inexhaustible, although they have gone a long way further than any other country that ever existed in answering the appeals of people of other lands. In my opinion, we have gone further than we were justified in going in many instances.

I am not in favor of taking any chances on sending money into Communist countries or sending food into Communist countries, to be taken over and used by those Communist regimes that would use it to overthrow every other government in the world, including our own, undermine and destroy our way of life, and wreck our entire Christian civilization.

I think it is dangerous, and I am opposed to it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has again expired.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Jonkman amendment, and I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, let me say first of all, I congratulate this body on the close attention it is paying to the discussion dealing with the problems presented in this bill. I think it has seldom been true that a bill has come before you which required more careful attention, because, if for no other reason, the march of events and time since the date this was reported from the committee has changed some of the fundamental considerations.

On the face of these hearings you will notice they were held February 25, 26, 27, 28, March 3, 4, 5, and 6. The history of the world has changed since March 12, because that was the day that President Truman came before us and delivered his message concerning the Greek-Turkish situation. So much of the testimony which took place in support of this bill is obsolete today, due to the fact that the march of events has come along and changed it and made it antique and archaic.

I think this bill should be amended. I think it should be amended by the Members of this body this afternoon and tomorrow. I think we can tighten it up. I think we can improve it. Certainly, in view of what has transpired since March 12, I think we can save the \$150,000,000 which the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman] proposes to save in his amendment, where it would reduce the over-all figure from \$350,000,000 to \$200,-000,000.

May I point out especially to my Republican brethren who have had considerable to say about economy at this session, President Truman appealed to this Congress to appropriate \$100,000,000 for the fiscal year 1947 for the purposes provided in this bill. We now propose to double President Truman's recommendation, making it \$200,000,000 for the calendar year 1947, under the Jonkman proposal. If you go along with the bill as originally presented, or if you go along with the bill as it will remain if the Vorys amendment is adopted, or if it goes through without any amendment, you are voting to appropriate three and onehalf times as much as President Truman recommended in his annual budget message. I think we should consider this bill in view of what has happened in the world since the request was originally made. I would have favored the \$350,000,000 total had it not been that on March 12 the President proposed this new \$400,000,000 program, a program which I expect to support, a program which I think is now essential to peace and security, but a program which in large part overlaps, duplicates, and underscores the same program for which we are now voting \$350,000,000 unless you accept the Jonkman amendment.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield. Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Does not the gentleman think this House is entitled to know what the policy of the Government is in connection with the supplying of Russia with UNRRA supplies in the nature of trucks and heavy machinery, and also lend-lease material that could be used against us at a time when we are trying to stop communism by helping Greece and Turkey?

Mr. MUNDT. I certainly do.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. What I wish to know is why we should not be told whether they are going to stop the shipment of lend-lease materials and UNRRA materials in the nature of heavy equipment, machinery that could be used for the very purpose of doing the thing they ask us to do, stop Communism over in Greece and Turkey.

Mr. MUNDT. If the gentleman will support the Jonkman amendment he will at least make sure that the remaining \$150,000,000 which will become available in the calendar year 1948 will not be made available unless and until they stop that. The decision is in the gentleman's hands and in the hands of his colleagues this afternoon.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. I am going to support the amendment, but I want to know whether when we get the \$400,000,-000 bill for which they asked a rule today we are going to continue as we did before the war started, shipping hundreds of millions of dollars of scrap to Japan. The gentleman from South Dakota and I both fought the idea, but our views did not prevail. Are we going to do the same identical foolish thing and continue to ship all this material to Russia at a time when they ask us to put \$400,000,000 over in Turkey and Greece to stop Russia?

Mr. MUNDT. I think the gentleman understands, of course, that the time to make that fight will be in connection with the \$400,000,000 bill for Greece and Turkey. I shall do all I can to see that we do not follow policies which are opposed to each other, one of which would undo the other.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, and I shall not, I make this reservation to propound this inquiry of the Chair: Is there any way we can find out now whether or not this debate is going to be very limited and after a few moments a motion be made that all debate on this section and all amendments thereto be concluded? Because there are a lot of us who want to speak on this proposal. I want to speak on it myself.

Mr. RANKIN. I may say to the gentleman that as far as I am concerned this debate ought to be unlimited. Every Member of the House ought to have an opportunity to express himself.

I hope every Member will get the May issue of the Reader's Digest and read about the Russian spy ring in this country as reported on page 127 of the May issue. If he does, then tomorrow he will feel just as I do.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, for the purpose of making an inquiry, whether the Chair is about to state that as far as the Chair is concerned time for debate, like relief, will be unlimited?

The CHAIRMAN. As far as the Chair is concerned, it is, of course, unlimited; but such remarks should be addressed to the chairman of the committee in charge of the bill.

The gentleman from South Dakota asks unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes. Is there objec-

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Dakota is recognized for five additional minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Then I shall be happy to yield. I believe the gentleman who first addressed me was the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS].

Mr. RICHARDS. I am sure the gentleman did not intend to confuse the Congress in regard to President Truman's position in this matter. It is a fact that the President has asked the Congress for a \$350,000,000 authorization, is it not?

Mr. MUNDT. The gentleman is correct, \$100,000,000 for 1947, and \$250,000,-000 for the remainder of the program.

Mr. RICHARDS. No. I wish to ask the gentleman this: Is not the President's recommendation that this Congress provide \$350,000,000 for relief this year, but he does not specify that any part of it is to be provided for 1947 and the other part for 1948?

Mr. MUNDT. The budget message which spells out exactly what he has in mind this year provides \$100,000,000 for 1947 and \$250,000,000 for the remainder of the program.

During the hearings, as the gentleman knows, there was some confusion on the part of the State Department as to how much they would be able to spend during the remainder of this calendar year, some even believing we could not spend \$150,000,000 during the remainder of this year. Under the Jonkman amendment, however, we can spend \$200,000,000 during the calendar year 1947, which is more than the most optimistic witness before the Committee believed they could spend in so short a time.

Mr. RICHARDS. Is not the gentleman confusing this request for relief and the budget estimate for relief in the occupied countries of Europe?

Mr. MUNDT. I do not think so, because, as the gentleman knows, the estimate for the occupied countries goes to the Appropriations Committee and not to our committee, because it is handled by the Army.

Mr. RICHARDS. I would like to clear up what the gentleman means about this \$100,000,000 proposed by the President. The President has asked this Congress through the present authorization to provide \$350,000,000 for relief in six particular countries. None of these countries is occupied territory.

Mr. MUNDT. That is right, except for

Mr. RICHARDS. If the gentleman will refer to the Budget he will see most of the relief mentioned there refers to funds needed for relief in countries occupied by our own forces, such as Japan, Korea, and Germany.

Mr. MUNDT. That is a tremendously greater figure than the \$350,000,000. That runs close to a billion dollars and will be administered by the Army. I do not want to yield to the gentleman further. He may get his own time to discuss that.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. In view of the fact the bill is drawn in such language as to make certain that the Communists shall get the lion's share of the fund, does the gentleman not find it inconsistent with this later suggestion of extending aid to Greece and Turkey?

Mr. MUNDT. No. I do not think you can say that this bill is drawn so that the lion's share will go to the Communists. If the gentleman will support, as I feel confident he will, amendments which are to be offered by members of our committee, we are going to tighten this bill up so none of it will go to the Communists.

Mr. COX. I hope the gentleman and his colleagues will make certain to write into the bill all of the recommendations made by ex-President Hoover.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes. We propose to bring them up one by one so none of this relief can go to help communism. If we fail to do that, and if under maladministrative practices the aid should go to fatten the Communists, we will of course be in a strange position of incongruity after passing the Greek-Turk bill.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KEATING. I have a high regard for the gentleman's study and judgment on this problem. Why does not the Vorys amendment, in the gentleman's opinion, give every protection which the Jonkman amendment gives and still take care of the possibility of meeting the larger demands?

Mr. MUNDT. I am glad the gentleman asked that question because I want to discuss it. In the first place I am one Member of Congress who is opposed to having the lower House of Congress delegate its authority and responsibility anywhere. I have opposed it as we have been repeatedly asked to delegate it to

the White House. I have opposed it when we have been repeatedly asked to delegate it to the State Department. I am opposing it when we are now asked to delegate it to a small committee to be set up, as the Vorys amendment would propose, and delegating the responsibility of the Members of Congress to a committee which acts without authority. because we would then have authorized the full \$350,000,000. Only the Jonkman amendment cuts it down specifically to \$250,000,000. If we authorize the entire \$350,000,000 that becomes a Congressional directive to the Appropriations Committee to make the full amount available. On the other hand the Jonkman amendment reduces that directive to a \$200,000,000 expenditure. Congress will be in session again next year. If it should develop the other \$150,000,000 is needed next year we could then authorize and appropriate it. According to former President Hoover, however, no more than \$200,000,000 and perhaps less can be spent effectively and helpfully during the remainder of 1947. It thus seems wise to limit this bill as the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN] proposes.

[Mr. CRAWFORD addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and ask unaimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, if I pretend to be anything at all in this life, it is to be a realist. I like to view problems realistically, and in order to do that I like to know the facts, and one of the troubles that I have found as a Member of this House in dealing with matters emanating from the distinguished Committee on Foreign Affairs has always been a deep-seated conviction that the House, as a House of Representatives, has never had all of the facts. And I know of no bill that has ever come before this House where that fact is so apparent as the bill now under consideration, because it has been conceded by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys], who brought here the secret files of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, giving the record before that committee held in executive sessions. So the members of the committee like the distinguished gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN] can stand up here and tell the Members, "Now, you other Members of Congress aren't supposed to know all the facts about this thing. You rely upon your committee."

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. He did not say it in that language, but he gave in substance that type of advice here just a little while ago. I say to the gentleman it is pretty fair advice, but what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. As part of this debate, I want to say to the gentleman that I would like to see him conform to that

advice in other days. It notice that he did not support the committee the other day when the vote on the Interior Department appropriation bill was before the House. He went off onto a tangent by himself. But when State Department matters are here or Foreign Affairs matters are here, the ordinary Member of Congress is supposed to sit by meekly and humbly and just adopt wisdom from the people of the Foreign Affairs Committee who have been privileged in their secret sessions to hear all the stuff that is given to them spoon-fed by the people from the State Department.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has referred to me. Will he vield now?

Mr. KEEFE. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama

Mr. JARMAN. The gentleman spoke with great irony of the secret sessions of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the executive sessions. May I ask the gentleman whether or not his Appropriations Committee has executive sessions, and whether even Members of Congress may appear.

Mr. KEEFE. Let me tell the gentleman, every Member of Congress can read every word that transpires in a meeting of the Appropriations Committee. They are all printed, and you have seen them here 6 or 8 inches deep. Every word is taken down, and they are brought here so that every Member of Congress can read those hearings.

What have you got here on this important bill? You have got just these little, few pages, and it is admitted that most of the important evidence that you received does not appear. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] brought them in the other day.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. KEEFE. I do not yield further. I have answered the gentleman's question. I have a few other things I should like to call to your attention about this bill.

Turn to the first page of the hearings and read the testimony of Will Clayton. What does he say? I quote him:

The UNRRA pipe lines will soon run dry.

The UNRRA pipe lines will soon run dry. I happen to have had the privilege, may I say to the distinguished gentleman from Alabama-

Mr. JARMAN. Do not address me if you will not yield to me.

Mr. KEEFE. I have already yielded to the gentleman.

Mr. JARMAN. Yes; but the gentle-man declines to further yield when I asked him a question.

Mr. KEEFE. I yield to the gentleman again.

Mr. JARMAN. I do not think it is fair for a gentleman to address another gentleman in this House and then decline to yield to him.

Mr. KEEFE. I have yielded to the gentleman. Does the gentleman want to say something more?

Mr. JARMAN. Yes.

Mr. KEEFE. All right; I yield to the gentleman. Does he want to ask a question?

Mr. JARMAN. I repeat that a while ago the gentleman spoke with great irony of executive sessions. When I asked him whether the Appropriations Committee, his committee, has executive sessions, and whether it permits even Members of Congress not on the subcommittee concerned to attend, he switched off onto secret documents.

Mr. KEEFE. No; I did not switch off at all. I told the gentleman the facts, and he was so excited he did not pay any attention to them. He did not hear them.

The point I want to make is just this: Here is just a little bit of the record of what transpired. Does the gentleman concede that this is not the whole record of the evidence before his committee?

Mr. JARMAN. If the gentleman will

yield, I certainly do.

Mr. KEEFE. All right; that is all I wanted to say. Then, of course, you have some information that the rest of us do not have. But I am basing my opinion, may I say to the Members, on what is here, and this is enough.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. Not right at this moment.

The UNRRA pipe lines will soon run dry.

I want to say to the gentleman that in another committee of this House I have heard the testimony with reference to the general relief proposals for money to take care of relief in occupied areas. I have heard a good deal about those pipe lines, and, being a realist. I want to talk about those pipe lines for just a moment.

You know, you cannot take \$350,000,-000 or \$200,000,000 and go out and spend it overnight and start the pipe line running, and then take a spigot and turn it off.

Did it ever occur to you that it takes weeks to get this program under way and that it takes weeks to go into our markets and purchase the wheat and other supplies that you are going to ship over there and that it takes weeks to get the food on the ships and get the ships chartered and routed to those countries to which they are going? And, then, when the goods get over there, what happens to it? What happens to this food after it gets there? Oh, you say, We are going to throw hedges around it. But when you take this food off the ships and you unload it, as you must, you say you are going to relieve Poland. Where does this food go? They have warehouses there. It goes into the warehouse. Then, after you get it there Joe Stalin says, Well, we are sorry, boys. We have the food over here but we cannot do it just that way. Supposing they do do things as your contract provides. Who gets the food? Who gets the wheat? Did anybody ask a question about that? You load a boat with wheat which has to be ground into flour. Who grinds it and who pays for the grinding? After it is ground into flour and is sacked, how does the wheat get to all these poor starving people that we hear about? How does it get into the bakeshops to be baked? Has anybody told you about that? You can

read the record of these hearings. They are barren of a single word on that subject. It would be interesting to know that, would it not? If these people are so poor and emaciated and are suffering so from malnutrition and they cannot work and do anything, how are they able to buy this food? Is it given to them? Is it distributed as relief? How does it

get to these poor people?

I will tell you how it gets to them from the evidence that came before my committee. They buy it and they buy it with the currency of the country that they live in. They pay for it in Polish currency or Austrian currency or Greek currency or whatever other country it might happen to be. And if a fellow does not have that currency, God help him. Then, who gets that currency? To whom does it go and what becomes of it? Has anybody told you about that? Well, it goes into our hands, but then what do we do with it? Does it have any value? In relation to the dollar, it does not have much value, but it is the medium of exchange of that country. Then, what do we do with it? We use it to buy more produce that is produced locally in those countries. Sometimes the thing is going to end. What becomes of the money that they collect? Is there a word in here about it? Not a word.

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. I yield.

Mr. SADOWSKI. The gentleman mentioned relief in Poland and the distribution of relief. Did the gentleman hear General Drury when he gave his report on UNRRA relief and distribution in Poland? The report was made here in the Speaker's dining room and all of us were invited to hear it.

Mr. KEEFE. I did not happen to be invited, or at least I do not recall it.

Mr. SADOWSKI. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. KEEFE. I yield.

Mr. SADOWSKI. General Drury told the group of Congressmen who were there to hear him, and there must have been at least 60 or 70 of us who heard the report, that he was very well pleased with the system of distribution. He told us that it was distributed on this basis. He said you did not give them a basket of relief supplies as you did here in the United States under the WPA program. He said they had to work in order to get this food. Everyone who worked received food. You were able to buy it, but you got UNRRA relief supplies only if you worked. The only other class of people who received UNRRA relief supplies were the orphaned children, and the disabled and hospitalized, and sick people. No drones received any relief supplies. Those who did not work did not get any relief.

Mr. KEEFE. I cannot yield further to the gentleman.

Let me call your attention to this language in the testimony of Mr. Clayton.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEEFE. In describing what the agreements are between this country and the countries receiving our help, he says this:

Our agreements will be very comprehensive and will include methods, principles, and policies for the distribution of all sup-The agreement would cover the questlon of ration systems that should be In effect in the country, and price controls. It would provide that there should be no discriminations, no export or diversion-

And so on and so forth. Now, UNRRA tried to get free access for radio and press into those countries that are dominated by communism. We tried to write such a provision in that bill the last time it was on the floor, providing there would be no distribution of UNRRA supplies in those countries that did not open up and let us see what took place. Do you think for a minute, speaking of the poor people of Poland, Yugoslavia, and those nations under the heel of communistic controldo you think that Mr. Stalin is going to open up those nations now and take down that iron curtain? If he does not, under the provisions of this bill, how are those poor people going to get any relief from these funds? Will you tell me that?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. I yield. Mr. RANKIN. The American supplies went into Russia, into the hands of Communist Russia and were distributed, and the people were told that they were coming from Russia. No credit at all was given the United States.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, I simply want to say in closing, if you go through this and analyze it step by step as to just what happened, yes, you can listen to some of these broad reports, but you get right down to it and you see how futile all these things are that we try to put around and hedge and protect this money. The safest thing to do is to see to it that we do not appropriate one dollar to be spent in those countries that are dominated by communistic countries or organizations. Then we are safe, and we do not need worry about it.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Is the gentleman in favor of the Jonkman amendment?

Mr. KEEFE. I am heartily in favor of it. May I say I thoroughly agree with what the distinguished gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman] said. I was in hopes that the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] could be so drawn that we could adopt the Jonkman amendment limiting the sum to \$2,000,000 and then set up a committee to see what the situation will be after this next crop year has come about.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. I yield.
Mr. COX. Will the gentleman not agree that if the statement made on the floor a short while ago with respect to supplies being sent to Russia under lendlease is true, then a colossal fraud is being perpetrated upon the people of the

Mr. KEEFE. I think that is a fair statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has again expired.

(Mr. MERROW asked and was granted permission to revise and extend the remarks he previously made in Committee of the Whole.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I rise especially at this time to try, if I can, to defend the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I think it is very unfortunate that any statement should be made on the floor of this House criticizing the committee for doing something that will permit them to legislate properly and to receive information by which no one will be embarrassed. Your chairman, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Eaton], has done wonderful work in the time he has been there. It would be impossible to allow the testimony of witnesses called in executive session to go out. It just could not be done. But all of the testimony was taken by the official reporter, and any Member, I believe, has the right to go up there and read the testimony given at that time.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I would prefer to make this statement if you will permit me. When you call an ambassador from a country to testify before the committee and that ambassador is going to return to his post in a few days, it would be very embarrassing if the testimony given by the ambassador were to be broadcast in such a way that he could not return to his post. You are withholding such testimony to protect yourself. If you want to get the real information, if you want to get the inside information, if you want to get everything he knows, if he is willing to give it to you, you cannot hold open sessions on an occasion of that kind; it is impossible to do it. But you have your 14 Republican members and you have your Democratic members and they get the evidence and the testimony that is necessary in order to legislate properly. I think every Member of the House, Mr. Chairman, ought to feel satisfied that the chairman and the members of the committee are doing the best they can under the circumstances.

· It is not all foreign affairs, because you must remember that foreign affairs is 50 percent domestic affairs as well. It is very unfortunate to give out the impression that your committee is functioning in secret and nobody is supposed to know anything about this. It is not so.

Mr. Chairman, there is one other thing I wish to say. We are asking here for an authorization of \$350,000,000. This is predicated upon what the other members of the United Nations are going to give. The total amount is \$610,000,000. If we cut the authorization, and it is only an authorization, the members of the Appropriations Committee do not have to appropriate the full amount if they do not want to; they hold their hearings, they get whatever testimony

they want to-if we cut the \$350,000,000 nearly 50 percent we are automatically going to cut the balance of the \$610,000,-

000 that we are looking for.

This is entirely different. I think those gentlemen who are bringing UNRRA into this legislative picture, Mr. Chairman, are not doing justice to the legislation we have before us. UNRRA was an entirely different thing. That was an international organization governed and controlled internationally, but this one is not. We said right in the beginning to the United Nations that we wanted to do this on our own, that we wanted to regulate everything.

The gentleman has asked how we are going to distribute the food. We will regulate every contract and every agreement entered into between these different countries; and it is not only for Europe, they have said nothing about China and I think China is going to take a great part of this. We do not know at this time really what is going to happen over there. They said, "Wait until we hear General Marshall's speech." General Marshall's speech tonight will not give you any information on which you can govern yourself in your vote on this legislative authorization in the House.

They say we must stop communism from spreading. We have to destroy communism in other parts of the world and we also have to destroy it in this country.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield. Mr. RANKIN. Are you not going to create a worse condition by encouraging communism?

Mr. BLOOM. I will answer that; I am just as good a Christian as the gentleman is. I am not that kind of Christian. If I find a man starving in any part of the world I am not going to ask him what his religion is or what kind of politics he believes in. I will feed the starying and give them a helping hand wherever they are. You cannot fight communism with empty stomachs.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York may proceed for 3 additional minutes, I want to ask him a question.

Mr. BLOOM. Two will be sufficient.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. If we go into these different countries-and I find there is nothing new about it, I have studied this thing for a long time, long before this war, and long after the first war. I have been through 3 wars; I know what we are going through; but I will say this, that we have to do this job here today and we have to feed these people at all costs, and it is not going to cost us more than this \$350,000,000. If we can give to the organization \$350,000,000 and let the other countries throughout the world

know we are going to do this and go along with them and want them to go along with us, then we will have them with us. If I know someone is starving any place and if I can get food to them, if I can give them a helping hand, I do not care whether it is in New York, Washington, or where it is, I am going to try to go

Mr. RANKIN. The trouble is when you send this food into these Communistdominated countries, the Communists take it and use it to suit themselves and let the Christian women and children starve to death.

Mr. BLOOM. It is up to us to make the rules and regulations so severe and make them so binding that the food will get to the starving people who need it. That is what ought to be done. We have everything to say in the matter. We hold the whip hand from beginning to end.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. Is the gentleman sure he was accurate in the statement he made that this is conditioned upon participation by any other government?

Mr. BLOOM. Oh, no; I did not say that. If I said that, I was in error.

Mr. COX. The gentleman used the word "dependent." That is not correct then?

Mr. BLOOM. It is dependent in this way, if you use the word "dependent." I. will admit that I did say that. There is a certain percentage of the different countries that will give a certain amount of money. The total sum is \$610,000,-000 of which our share it is stated we are going to give is \$350,000,000.

Mr. COX. It is proposed that we donate \$350,000,000 whether any other country gives a dime or not?

Mr. BLOOM. Oh, yes; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended one additional minute because I want to ask a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection . to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. OWENS. I have great confidence in the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I want to see the people of Poland and these other nations helped, but I am very doubtful about one question that concerns an amendment I have at the desk. Does the gentleman from New York feel this gift of \$350,000,000 is necessary for our common defense and general welfare?

Mr. BLOOM. For both and be sure that I said "for both." There is nothing stronger than the truth and that is the truth. sir.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. COOLEY. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs I wonder if my friend can give the House any definite information concerning the statement made a moment ago to the effect

that we are now shpping heavy equipment to Russia under UNRRA?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the

gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, answering the gentleman's question, of course that is aside from the bill we have under consideration, but let me say that Russia owes us under lend-lease about ten or eleven billion dollars. We have been trying to get some kind of answer from them, but they have not answered until just the other day. UNRRA has a contract with Russia. There are a few businessmen in this House and they will see the situation we are in. We have a contract. We have agreed to give, sell, or allow Russia to buy a certain amount of goods. This is a contract. Now, the United States does not fulfill her part of the contract. Let me tell you, Mr. RANKIN, about this. Listen, because this is good for you.

Mr. RANKIN. I will hear you. Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman cannot feel any worse toward those people over there than-I do, but they are a shrewd people. If we default on our contract, well, Mr. Soviet Russia will sit back and say, "When you fulfill your part of the contract we will talk to you."

Unfortunately we are in the position that if we do, well, we are dashed, and if we do not, we are dashed.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to inquire how many Members desire to speak further on this amendment, so that we can get some idea as to when we can conclude.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will

Mr. RANKIN. Which amendment does the gentleman refer to? There are two amendments pending.

Mr. EATON. This amendment and all

amendments thereto.
The CHAIRMAN. There are 12 Mem-

bers in addition to the chairman.
Mr. RANKIN. You cannot possibly finish this bill tonight. Why not carry it over until tomorrow? As I said, we want to hear General Marshall tonight, and I want every Member to read the story in the Reader's Digest before he votes tomorrow on this proposition.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to have the Committee rise at 5 o'clock because of other committee engagements that we have, so that a half hour from now we will rise. I do not see how we can vote on this bill tonight intelligently.

Mr. Chairman. I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 30 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I object, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 30

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. What is the parliamentary situation at the moment?

The CHAIRMAN. There is pending an amendment and a substitute therefor offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. A further parliamentary inquiry. That does not preclude other amendments to this section?

The CHAIRMAN. It does not.

The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. EATON) there were—ayes 73, noes 56.

So the motion was agreed to.
The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Caro-

lina [Mr. Richards].
Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time to clear up any possible misunderstanding that may have arisen from the remarks of the gentleman from South Dakota in regard to the President's request for relief funds this year. Bear in mind that the \$100,000,000 referred to by the gentleman from South Dakota was a \$100,000,000 estimate by President Truman to carry on relief expenditures for the balance of the fiscal year 1947. The \$350,000,000 provided for here is estimated to be used up by the end of the calendar year 1947, that is, to January 1948. It is entirely possible that there will be some slip-over for the delivery of some of these supplies into January and February 1948. I just wanted to make this absolutely clear.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me, inasmuch as he has been referring to my remarks?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. I refer the gentleman and my colleagues to the testimony at the top of page 84, where Mr. Wood, who spoke for the State Department all through these hearings, said specifically that in this amount of \$350,000,000 \$100,-000,000 would be spent in the fiscal year of 1947 and \$250,000,000 in the fiscal year 1948; so there should not be any argument about that. It is printed in the

hearings at the top of page 84.

Mr. RICHARDS. The gentleman's quotations are correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the substitute amendment.

Gentlemen, I speak not for the committee which needs no defense in view of the distinguished character and great reputation for public service of the chairman and many of the members who are far senior to me, including the ranking minority member, but because I

think no word has been spoken here this afternoon about the people who are waiting for this relief. We are talking about \$350,000,000 which sounds like a great deal of money. But let us realize that in Greece alone there are 7.000.000 people. I was in Greece. I personally saw the situation there. Just as these distinguished gentlemen tell you that they personally saw the situation in Germany, to which we are contributing no money in this bill—let us get that perfectly clear—I want to tell you what I saw in Greece. The roads are torn up and the railroads are torn up. There is no rolling stock on the railroads. The farms are denuded of the equipment with which to cultivate crops. The situation generally is a shambles. If the Greek people did not have this relief from us to look forward to, it has been said and said truly that their despair would drive them into the arms of communism, not tomorrow, but today.

We must send them this help so that these people can fight against communism. Remember that communism is an idea-a conviction. It is not anything that you can exercise with bayonets. It is the faith that the democracies have a heart and that the democracies will come to the aid of those countries that are starving and that the democracies will not let them starve, that keeps these people from turning to communism. The Communists tell them that we will let them starve and that we are so selfish, so money-mad, so generally egotistical and set on maintaining our own standard of living, which incidentally is two or three times theirs, that we will let them starve. The greatest thing in the world for communism is this debate taking place on the floor of the House

(Mr. JAVITS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his re-

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Colorado [Mr.

Mr. CARROLL. I have read the committee's report very very carefully. heartily endorse the position taken by a majority of the members on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, both Democratic and Republican. It is unfortunate that the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS] who preceded me had so little time to speak against the amendment. Therefore, I should like to interrogate the gentleman from New York if he will submit himself to questioning.

Mr. JAVITS. I shall be very glad to. Mr. CARROLL. Is it not true that \$50,000,000 of this sum will go to Greece for food and medicine?

Mr. JAVITS. \$50,000,000 or \$60,-000,000. If I may have a little more of your time, I am so grateful to you for giving me a little more time, I had started to say that we were fact-finders. The facts are in the RECORD regardless of what has been said here to the contrary. I most respectfully ask the Members to turn to pages 107 and 108 of the record in which we have the testimony of a man by the name of FitzGerald. Mr. FitzGerald is a technician and adviser to former President Hoover in all of these things. He is the Secretary-Gen-

eral of the International Emergency Food Council on leave from the United States Department of Agriculture. Fitz-Gerald said it would cost \$296,000,000 to acquire the elementary food and not anything else just this year. That is \$296,000,000. Those are the facts and negates completely this argument about the \$200,000,000 which with all due deference is made not by the friends of this bill but by those who feel that while they cannot defeat it at least they will cut it down so that it means nothing.

Mr. CARROLL. Exactly. And is it not true that this fifty or sixty million dollars for food and medicine lays the foundation for the bill which is to come before us relating to Greece and Turkey?

Mr. JAVITS. Without that we might just as well forget about the bill. We can not save dead men from communism.

Mr. CARROLL. Is it not true that in Italy alone between \$100,000,000 and \$150,000,000 is to be spent from this relief fund?

Mr. JAVITS. Yes.

Mr. CARROLL. So the relief money necessary for Italy and Greece as contemplated under this bill exceeds the amount of \$200,000,000?

Mr. JAVITS. Yes.

Mr. CARROLL. If this present amendment is adopted, it is crystal clear to me that it may deprive the United States and other countries functioning through the United Nations from giving adequate relief to the starving millions of men, women, and children in China, Poland, Hungary, and Austria. The hope of the people of these nations must be sustained by our unselfish action during the remainder of this year and through 1948. It is hoped by that time that they will-have sufficient economic strength to stand on their own feet. At this time they are prostrate, flat on their backs, and we must do everything possible to help them regain their balance. If we do not do so, starvation, disease, and terrorism will take over. I shall vote against the present amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Smith].

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Jonkman amendment.

The record before us is absolutely void of any showing that even \$200,000,-000 will be spent between now and harvest time of 1947.

As I said the other day, this is another blank-check proposition. We are asked to go along. If I am any judge of the sentiment that is exhibited in this House this afternoon, it is because our people are concerned about it. Our people are for no more blank checks. How did this. figure of \$350,000,000 come to be born? On page 81 of the hearings the State Department said:

This figure of \$350,000,000 was in some respects a figure based on judgment, and, in part, picked out of the air.

Picked out of the air by the State Department, based upon a survey that had been made by an agency of the United Nations Organization. In addition to the statement I have made—that they cannot spend \$200,000,000 for the rest of the year—secondly, there has been no assurance that this relief is going to get down to the grass roots. How is it going to be done? Just as my colleague the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Keefel said, it is going to get down to the grass roots by selling it to those people through the ordinary method of sales—through retail stores. I cannot conceive of a lot of those poor people who need this relief getting it at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Smith] has expired.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Sapowski] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Javits] has said it all in a few words. You cannot save dead men from communism.

I am opposed to the present amendment. I am particularly opposed to the Colmer amendments that will be offered later. The Colmer amendments would deny bread, aid, and assistance to the Polish people. I want to repeat, we have had so many congressional committees go to Europe and see conditions in Europe, but how many of you have been in Poland? How many Members of the House have seen Poland? I doubt whether three of you have seen conditions in Poland, yet here is a country that was most devastated; whose people have suffered most; where the Nazis and the Russians both did their damnedest. The Colmer amendments would deny to those people aid and assistance. Then, surely Hitler was right. Hitler would have won this war. We cannot-we must not-listen to that sort of reasoning or logic. Remember this: Germany on three or four different occasions has tried to swallow Poland, and did swallow it. Remember that Russia on three or four occasions in history has swallowed Poland and the Polish people. Remember that each time they had to vomit that country up again. They never could digest Poland or the Polish people. They are a Christian people, are a liberty-loving people. They are not Communists. Everyone who has been in Poland will tell you there are less Communists in Poland than there are in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Sabowski] has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Schwabe of Oklahoma, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration House Joint Resolution 153, had come to no resolution thereon.

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A further message from the Senate, by Mr. Carrell, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 736. An act authorizing the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to establish daylight-saving time in the District of Columbia during 1947.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. JENKINS of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the Record and include a resolution of the Lithuanian Society of Luzerne County.

Mr. CHADWICK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks with reference to one of the bills discussed

Mr. VORYS asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in the Committee of the Whole

Mr. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR., asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the Record and include an editorial from the Evening Bulletin of today's date entitled "No Somersault."

SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER. Under the previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Price] is recognized for 30 minutes.

WAR DEPARTMENT PROGRAM RELATING
TO IDENTIFICATION OF UNKNOWN
DEAD

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the press of postwar problems with which we must deal each day tends to obscure the actual price of victory paid for by our armed forces in the field with human lives

But while we go on in our efforts to shape the sort of world for which more than 300,000 Americans gave their lives, it is heartening to note that we have not forgotten our honored dead and the next of kin who gave their sons into the service when our country was attacked.

Today the Office of the Quartermaster General is actively engaged in determining where the next of kin of all identified American World War II dead who now rest in cemeteries overseas want their loved ones to be finally buried.

The War Department is pledged to carry out all feasible wishes of the next of kin. In order to carry out this pledge, personnel of the American Graves Registration Service, of which the Quartermaster General of the Army, T. B. Larkin, is chief, have been at work throughout the world, wherever our troops fought and died. To them has fallen the solemn duty of recovering remains, making positive identification, and reverently interring the remains in temporary United States military cemeteries until such time as the next of kin make decision as to final burial.

Last year I introduced a bill which became a law and which provides for the return to the United States of an unknown American member of the Armed Forces who will be buried in the National Cemetery at Arlington, Va., near or beside the remains of the Unknown Soldier of World War I. But the American Graves Registration Service is performing a noble and necessary work in taking every possible step to identify as many Americans who lost their lives overseas as is humanly possible.

The next of kin and relatives of our World War II dead should find some measure of comfort and solace in knowledge of the great care with which the remains of these honored dead are being

treated, the pledge of the War Department to carry out all feasible wishes of the next of kin, and the promise that no remains will be identified unless that identity is established beyond the shadow of any possible doubt.

In the wake of war in the Pacific, personnel of the American Graves Registration Service disinterred the remains of some 1,600. Americans who had been buried in the prisoner of war cemetery at Camp O'Donnell on Luzon, P. I. These remains were reburied in a temporary United States military cemetery at Manila.

But of these 1,600 remains, appreximately 800 were in an unidentified status.

Today it is gratifying to me to report that the Memorial Division of the Office of the Quartermaster General, where the Government's program relating to our military dead is being capably and ably directed by Brig. Gen. George A. Horkan, has identified 642 of these unknown Americans after approximately 9 months of careful, painstaking work. Letters have gone out to next of kin of these identified informing them that positive identification has been made and that soon they will be able to make the decision as to where final burial of their loved one shall be made.

This is typical, Mr. President, of the efficient work being done by the Quartermaster Corps today in carrying out one of the most solemn postwar tasks ever assigned to the War Department—the return and final burial of our World War II dead.

Identification work is one of the most important and vital aspects of this return and final burial program, for the War Department has given its pledge that no next of kin will receive the remains other than those to which he is entitled, and all identification will be positive beyond any question whatsoever.

In the case of these deceased prisoners of the Japanese who were buried at Camp O'Donnell, identification was based upon a number of facts. Reports of death and reports of interments were compared. An officer's diary and casualty reports were carefully studied. Finally, dental charts were compared and authenticated by an expert in toothchart identification.

All of this information was then studied by an identification board of Army officers, and certification as to identification was not made until all were satisfied that the case histories left no doubt as to the separate identities of the individuals involved.

Present plans call for the disinterment and reprocessing of all remains from the Camp O'Donnell cemetery that are still in an unidentified status in an attempt to obtain new dental charts, if possible, and additional identifying media. This is in keeping with the policy of the American Graves Registration Service regarding unknowns. That is, no case of an unknown will ever be considered closed. A constant effort will go on, through the years, to locate evidence and information which will eventually result in sufficient accumulation of evidence to ward rant identification.

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rade to grade, entirely aside from the general increases in salary provided by law. These reclassifications or reallocations have served materially to increase the cost of personal services in the Government. It has been the practice to treat these reclassifications as mandatory in character, to place them in effect immediately upon approval, and, if necessary, to incur deficiencies to the amount of the additional cost. The committee has given attention to the situation on a number of occasions and has finally determined that some curb must be imposed. The accompanying bill, therefore, carried the following section: " (see page 1 of this Digest). "Under this provision any agency which finds it necessary to reclassify positions must absorb the total cost thereof, out of currently available appropriations, or postpone the effective date until after they have been included in a budget and appropriations made therefor. In the past it has been the practice either to submit such items as deficiency estimates or, if current funds were sufficient to meet the cost for the remainder of the year in which effective, to include the cost in the next regular budget, purely as an adjustment in the base of an appropriation and as an accomplished fact. Hereafter, if such items appear as an increase in cost in the budget they must be presented before they can become effective and must be justified as an increase over prior appropriations. "

Farm credit. "An original estimate of \$500,000 (limitation on the amount of corporate funds to be expended for administrative expenses), the cost of administration of the act of July 12, 1946 (Public Law 505) extending the authority of the corporation to make mortgage loans to farmers was subsequently reduced to \$400,000. The volume of loans which was originally anticipated has not materialized and the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration testified that \$300,000 now appears to be an adequate amount to meet all requirements and that amount is recommended."

Pay costs. "The bill includes, as title II, action on the remaining pay increase items under Public Law 390, and other laws enacted during the last session of Congress and after enactment of appropriations for 1947 increasing compensation of Government personnel. The estimates proposed appropriations of \$23,692,416, and the bill recommends appropriations of \$21,643,610. Each of the items has been very carefully studied and funds of the various agencies have been thoroughly reviewed to determine the least possible amounts necessary to be appropriated to meet these mandatory expenses. Reductions have been made wherever possible, and in practically all instances the amounts proposed are acceptable to departmental officials."

Majority Leader Halleck announced that this bill will be debated Fri. (p. 4339).

- 2. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on H. J. Res. 153, providing for relief of wardevastated areas (pp. 4339-68).
- 3. TRADE AGREEMENTS. Rep. Hand, N. J., spoke against this program (pp. 4373-5).

SENATE

4. LABOR. Continued debate on S. 1126, the labor-management bill (pp. 4310-34).

BILLS INTRODUCED

- 5. VIRGIN ISLANDS. S. 1183, by Sen. Butler, Nebr., to incorporate the Virgin Islands Corporation. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 4308.)
- 6. PUBLIC LANDS. S. 1185, by Sen. Cordon, Oreg., "to provide for the disposal of materials on the public lands." To Public Lands Committee. (p. 4308.)

- 7. PERSONNEL. S. 1188, by Sen. Myers, Pa., to provide that consideration be given, in establishing retention preference regulations, to employees permanently injured in line of duty, and to permit exemption of such employees from the regulations. To Civil Service Committee. (p. 4308.)
- 8. TAXATION. H.R. 3248, by Rep. Brophy, Vis., to discontinue in effect certain war excise taxes. To Ways and Means Committee. (p. 4378.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX .

- 9. WOOL. Rep. Lane, Mass., inserted a National Association of Wool Manufacturers' resolution opposing the amendment to S. 814, the wool-price support bill, which delegates authority to the Secretary of Agriculture to Yevy import taxes on imported wool (p. A2099.)
- 10. PRICES. Rep. Larcada, La., inserted a constituent's letter suggesting an investigation of advertising, saying its reduction could bring prices down (p.A2098).

 Rep. Ross, M.Y., inserted a Long Island Star-Journal article, "Queens Merchants Lead in Price Cut Program" (p. A2102).

 Rep. Hall, N.Y., inserted his recent radio address on inflationery prices
 - (p. A2106).
- 11. ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Johnson, Tex., inserted Arthur Goldschmidt's (Power Division, Interior Department) recent address showing why there must be greater support for increased hydroelectric power (pp. A2096-8).
- 12. EDUCATION; FEDERAL AID. Scn. Umstead, N.C., inserted his recent radio address, "Federal Aid for Education" (pp. A2084-5).

Sen. Smith, N.J., inserted New York Herald Tribune editorials, "Federal Aid for Schools" and "More on Federal Aid for Schools" (pp. A2089-90).

Rep. Welch, Calif., inserted his statement before the Education and Labor Committee in support of his bill, H.R. 156, to provide Federal aid to States in reducing the inequalities of educational opportunities in secondary and elementary schools (pp. A2103-4).

- 13. RECLAMATION. Rep. Smathers, Fla., inserted a Miami Herald editorial criticizing appropriations reductions in funds for water surveys and examinations (p.A2090).
- 14. MONOPOLIES. Rep. McCormack, Mass., inserted Robert E. Freer's (Federal Trade Commission) article, "Dangerous Trend to Monopoly (pp. A2092-3).
- 15. FOREIGN RELIEF. Epech in the House by Rep. Crawford, Mich., opposing the grant of aid to "so-called communistic countries" (p. A2088).

 Insertions on the Greek-Turkey aid (pp. A2086-7, A2100).

BILLS APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

16. FARM LABOR. H.R. 2102, to continue the faré-labor supply program. Approved April 28 (Bublic Law 40, 80th Cong.). The act authorizes extension of the program through Dec. 31, 1947, and requires that it be liquidated within 30 days thereafter. Authorizes the continued use of all labor supply centers, labor homes, labor camps, and facilities heretofore available in this program by amending Sec. 2 (d) of the Farmers' Home Administration Act of 1946 to read "or January 30, 1948, whichever is the earlier" in lieu of "or until six months after the termination of the present hostilities as determined by concurrent resolution of the Congress or by the President, whichever is the earlier." Provides that this legislation shall not be construed to limit or

dress delivered by Hon. Arthur Goldschmidt.

Mr. WELCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Rec-ORD and include a statement he made with reference to H. R. 156, pending before the Committee on Education and

Mr. WOODRUFF asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances and to include in one an article and in the other data he secured from the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Mr. VAN ZANDT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of former prisoners

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a radio

address he recently delivered.

Mr. HESELTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article appearing

in the New York Times magazine.

Mr. McCORMACK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article.

· Mr. SMATHERS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include radio address.

RENT CONTROL BILL

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 200, Rept. No. 324) which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for consideration of the bill H. R. 3203, relative to maximum rents on housing accommodations; to repeal certain provisions of Public Law 388, Seventy-minth Congress, and for other purposes, and all points of order against said bill ar hereby waived. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 4 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the Chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

HOUR OF MEETING TOMORROW

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

PROGRAM FOR THE REMAINDER OF THIS WEEK

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this time in order that I may make a brief statement regarding the program for the rest of the week. First of all, in respect to the measure now pending before the House, it has been under debate and consideration for a considerable period of time. We had hoped that it could be concluded by this evening. I still express that hope, not that there is any desire or intention to foreclose debate, because it is a most important matter, but if it can be concluded it will materially assist us in carrying on with the program for the rest of the week and for next week.

We have scheduled for tomorrow the bill H. P. 3203, the rent-control bill. The rule on that measure has just been filed. It provides for 4 hours of general debate. Whether or not we can conclude that tomorrow I do not know, but by coming in at 10 o'clock certainly we can make very considerable progress toward its comletion.

On Thursday, as we all know, we are to meet in joint session to hear the President of Mexico. In addition, we hope to dispose of the bill H. R. 2780, the temporary housing bill.

On Friday we want to dispose of the deficiency appropriation bill.

It is expected that the conference report on the portal-to-portal pay bill will be concluded this afternoon, and of course we want to dispose of that this week if we

Next week it is probable that there will be an appropriation bill of considerable importance, and also the Greek-Turkish loan and some other matters that will be pushing for consideration.

As I said, I have made this announcement so that the Members may know what the program is and that we may all cooperate in attempting to carry it forward as expeditiously as possible.

BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication:

APAIL 29, 1947.

Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Speaker, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Speaker: Pursuant to the provisions of the act approved May 17, 1928 (U. S. C., title 10, sec. 1052a), relative to the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy, I have designated the following members of the Armed Services Committee to serve on the Board of Visitors for the Eightieth Congress: Hon. LESLIE ARENDS, Hon. HARRY L. Towe, Hon. LEON H. GAVIN, HON. WALTER NORBLAD, HON. LANSDALE

G. SASSCER, Hon. ROBERT L. F. SIKES, Hon. ARTHUR WINSTEAD.

> Respectfully your W. G. ANDREWS,

Chairman.

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO PEOPLE OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 153, providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of House Joint Resolution 153, with Mr. Schwabe of Oklahoma in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on yesterday there was pending an amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman] and a substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys]. Debate on the so-called Jonkman amendment and all amendments thereto had been fixed at 30 minutes. Of that 30 minutes, 20 minutes remain. The time was allotted to the gentlemen who had asked to be recognized, and the Chair will recognize them in the order in which their names were recorded by the Clerk.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. VURSELL].

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Chairman, it would seem to me that we can improve the bill before the House by adopting the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN]. That will give us an opportunity to save \$150,000,000. There are other amendments which in my judgment should be adopted and which will be offered as the bill is read for amendment to try to control the disposition of our relief in various countries. I am of the opinion that we have here a great opportunity to bring a little more sanity into the disposition of relief paid for by the people's money. I think if the House asserts itself and takes the action which it should, it might have some influence on what the House decides to do on the bill which will follow for \$400,000,000 which is known as the Greek-Turkish loan bill.

It seems to me, as I stated on the floor the other day, that the time has come when we must be more realistic about our approach to the problems of relief with respect to how they affect the American people.

We must stop voting blank checks against the finances and resources of our Nation. We must give greater consideration to the ability of our people to bear such large financial burdens.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Cooley] for 2 minutes.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, yesterday a statement was made on the floor that our Nation was continuing to ship to Soviet Russia trucks and heavy equipment. During the afternoon I propounded a question to members of the Foreign Affairs Committee with the idea of ascertaining whether or not that was true, and if it was true, just why. I did not receive a very satisfactory answer. That explains my taking the floor at this time, in the hope that some member of the Foreign Affairs Committee may explain to the House and to the country if the charges made yesterday are true, and if we are, in fact, shipping heavy equipment to Russia. I, for one, would like to know just why we are continuing to fortify communism in Soviet Russia when our foreign policy seems to be to check communism in Turkey and Greece and other parts of the world. There may be a satisfactory explanation. If there is, I think the country and the Congress is entitled to have it.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield. Mr. JARMAN. The fact is that inquiry reveals this morning that that is not occurring. As to the reasons why it was stopped, in the short 2 minutes, time would not be available to explain it. But suffice it to say that is not occurring at the moment.

Mr. COOLEY. Will the gentleman give an explanation at sometime during the day?

Mr. JARMAN. When opportunity presents itself, if someone else does not,

Mr. COOLEY. I thank the gentleman. I think the gentleman will agree that if that is being done we are following a rather inconsistent policy in fortifying communism, on the one hand, and trying to stop it, on the other.

Mr. JARMAN. And you are certainly entitled to an explanation, which can be made, but not in just a minute.

Mr. COOLEY. I hope the gentleman, or some other member of the Foreign Affairs Committee will make that explanation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has ex-

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman], for 2 minutes.

(Mr. JONKMAN asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks)

JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman. I would like to address myself to the substitute offered by my esteemed colleague from Ohio [Mr. Vorys]. If I understood the gentleman correctly, he asked permission to correct the RECORD this morning by insertion of the words "to strike out the Jonkman amendment." He said without those words his substitute would be meaningless. I quite agree with the gentleman. That is all his substitute does. It simply strikes out the Jonkman amendment. What does the gentleman propose to do? He says, "Give the full authorization for the \$350,000,000, then ask the Appropriations Committee to make the full appropriation of the \$350.-000,000, but do not let them spend any more than Jonkman says, \$200,000,000,

until some new committee authorizes the other \$150,000,000."

Just how is that going to be accomplished? How does the gentleman expect the Appropriations Committee to give the full \$350,000,000 under those conditions?

Now, the facts are clear. I say it is for the House to act on this authorization. I told you yesterday there was no dispute about the facts. The United Nations recommends relief for the balance of 1947. Herbert Hoover recommends relief for the balance of 1947. President Truman recommends relief for the balance of 1947. Mr. Acheson recommends relief for the balance of 1947, and says no relief will be needed in 1948, except possibly-not probably-but possibly a limited amount for Austria. Mr. Clayton says the same thing. Mr. Tyler Wood says the same thing—no relief will be needed in 1948. Then, why should we appropriate for 1948?

I have shown you by the testimony of Mr. Clayton that they propose \$250,000,-000 of the \$350,000,000 for 1948. Mr. Tyler Wood says the same thing. amendment gives them the \$100,000,000 which the budget provided for 1947 and an additional \$100,000,000 of the 1948 budget allowance, all to be spent in 1947. This will be ample and liberal for relief

up to December 31, 1947.

The Vorys substitute should be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. Morris] for 2 minutes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, this is a most serious matter that we are considering at this time. I am certainly not going to bind myself at this time to say I shall not support any amendment, but it does seem to me that the bill is a very good bill as it is written. It may be that the amount should be reduced. I am not sure as to that at this time. It seems there are safeguards and checks in this The President may use his discretion in the matter and then we ourselves may use our discretion. I feel certain that the President of the United States and those whom he duly constitutes under this bill are not going to do anything to further communism. I know I would not want to do anything to further communism; but, Mr. Chairman, may I suggest something I believe would be a good thing to do? It is to ask ourselves this solemn question: What would the Master of us all do if He had the authority to take this money and feed people? Would He ask if a man were a Communist? Would He even ask if he were a criminal? As far as I am concerned, Mr. Chairman, if able to do so I would give food to a criminal, to anyone who needed food.

I believe we will go a long way toward furthering democracy if we follow the humanitarian policy of feeding people who are hungry, when, of course, we are able to regardless of who they are. I am telling you that I believe we will do an injury to ourselves by trying to confine this matter to an absurd extent.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'Konskil is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. O'KONSKI, Mr. Chairman, 2 minutes is too short a time. I expect to get additional time later in the day. therefore yield my time now to someone

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] is recognized for 2 minutes.

DANGERS OF COMMUNISM-SOVIET SPIES

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, after listening to General Marshall last night, I am more convinced than ever that we can never deal with a Communist country.

I wish to call attention to the fact that on page A1996 of the RECORD of April 25, you will find a complete statement on the Russia spy ring in. Canada, the United States, and England.

The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. . JARMAN] on yesterday talked about the Committee on Foreign Affairs knowing so much more on this subject than the other Members of the House. The only committee in this House, and one of the two agencies of this Government that was on the trail of these Soviet spies last year was the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I have no time; I am sorry.

The other day we had before us Hon. W. C. Bullitt, former Ambassador to-Russia. The gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Bonner] asked him this question:

Mr. Bonner. What do you think Russia would do with the atomic bomb?

Mr. BULLITT. If she had it and we did not it would already have been dropped on the United States.

We need not deceive ourselves, communism is a conspiracy to overthrow this Government and every other similar government in the world, and they had their spies from one end of this country to the other, in this Capitol, if you please; and this man Gouzenko, who revolted, saw what his own country was doing to civilization. He came out and repudiated it and turned over the information to the Canadian Government. He said:

Holding forth at international conferences with voluble statements about peace and security, the Soviet Government is simultaneously preparing secretly for a Third World War.

He further said:

To meet this war, the Soviet Government is creating in democratic countries, including Canada, a fifth column in the organization of which even diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Government, take part.

How can we trust such a regime? It is time for the American Congress and the American people to awake to these dangers.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr.

GORDON] is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to urge the House to adopt House Joint Resolution 153 as reported out by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and I wish

to go on record as being particularly opposed to any amendment which would make Poland ineligible for relief assistance.

Poland has been branded as a satellite of Soviet Russia, and our former Ambassador to Poland, the Honorable Arthur Bliss Lane, has made the issue of Poland clear to the American people. I have followed closely the public speeches, radio broadcasts, press interviews, and so forth, made by Ambassador Lane. It is clear to everyone who listens to what this able man says that a distinction should be made between the present Government of Poland, which is controlled by Soviet Russia and run by its agents, and the people of Poland, who have never accepted this government by any of the democratic procedures.

The intent of the amendment aiming at striking Poland off the list of countries for which relief will be provided, aims directly at imposing a harsh penalty upon a people who never deserted our cause and who were saddled with a government without having been asked whether or

not they like it.

It is a different thing to brand a government as a satellite of Soviet Russia and a different thing to deprive the hungry people of Poland of the relief they well deserve.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs has put into House Joint Resolution 153, as presented by our chairman the gentlemen from New Jersey, the Honorable Charles A. Eaton, on April 23 a set of conditions which will have to be met by the present Government of Poland before relief assistance is granted to the

people of that country.

It is my considerate opinion that the conditions written into House Joint Resolution 153 are fully adequate for the full protection of our rights. The present Government of Poland will have to make sure that there will be no discrimination in the distribution of relief supplies; that there will be complete freedom of press reports on our relief activities; that full publicity will be given to the fact that the relief comes from the United States, and not from Soviet Russia; and that representatives of the United States Government will be permitted to supervise the distribution of food and clothing among the people.

The President of the United States will be authorized to cancel any further relief activities in Poland should the present Government of this country fail to

meet its obligations.

In my opinion, the safeguarding clauses provided by House Joint Resolution 153—if met by the present Polish Government—will prevent it from any cheating on our relief program and for using it for the purpose of spreading communism.

Should we, however, deprive the Polish people of our aid and assistance, the puppet Government of Poland will once more have to turn to Russia in order to obtain at least some quantities of food for their population, and this will provide the Government of Poland of any means of influencing the people of Poland, of alienating them to our ideology, and of directing the good will to Soviet Russia rather than to the United States.

I know how the people of Poland feel

toward the United States. I know that they will never become our enemies, as their Government wants them to be. But why help the Communists turn these people against us, and why penalize them for their present situation, for which they are not in the least responsible?

(Mr. GORDON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DAVIS].

(Mr. DAVIS of Georgia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, this bill does not propose to send gold and silver to Europe, but rather to send fuel, food, clothing, medicine, and items to aid in food production. Before fixing the amount to be sent, let us look at what we have to give. We have given away our natural resources with lavish hand. The time has come to think some of America and our own future. Some time ago I asked the reference department of the Library of Congress to give me facts as to how many years our supplies will last of such natural resources as iron, iron ore, coal, copper, and so forth, what the annual rate of depletion is, and the annual loss of topsoil by cultivation and erosion. We have given our goods away just as if there were no bottom to the barrel, and as though our natural resources were as unlimited as eternity itself. But this is not the case. On the contrary, the time is fast approaching when ours will be a have-not nation, in respect to some of the most vital and essential natural resources, and will have a shortage of others. This report from the Library of Congress states, for instance, that at the rate of use in the year 1944 our supply of high-grade iron ore will be exhausted in approximately 49 years, and that the rate of depletion is 2 percent per annum, which is greater than it was 10 years ago; that at the rate of use in 1946 our proved reserve of crude petroleum oil, unless now fields are discovered, will be exhausted in 121/3 years. If new fields are discovered, they will, of course, add to our proved oil reserve. But the rate of discovery of new fields is decreasing, and, of course, discovery of new fields will cease entirely some time.

The reports of high-grade commercial iron ore is that at the rate of depletion and consumption as of 1944, our known supply will be entirely consumed in 49 years. The rate of depletion is increasing today. These figures do not include submarginal fields.

On copper, as of 1946, the rate of consumption or depletion is 2.7 percent per annum, and at that rate, the known supply as of 1946 would last only 37.2 years. These figures do not include submarginal supplies

Because of erosion, approximately half a million acres of cultivated land are going out of production each year.

I cannot, of course, in 2 minutes, go into a detailed discussion of this very important report. I expect to insert the entire report in the RECORD within the next few days, but these facts need to be considered in connection with this bill

to give away \$350,000,000 worth of our products. So far as our generosity is concerned, the green light is changing to red. Not only for the benefit of generations far into the future—not only for the benefit of that generation composed of our own sons and daughters, but for the benefit of our own generation, you and me, we must begin to conserve our resources.

I believe this bill should be cut from \$350,000,000 to \$200,000,000. I further believe that this bill should name not only the commission to distribute the relief materials, but should also name the terms and conditions of distribution, and these terms and conditions should be such as to encourage these European nations to take over the task of feeding, clothing, and caring for themselves at the earliest possible moment and to cease looking to us for their upkeep.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey

[Mr. EATON] for 5 minutes.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I regret exceedingly to be in opposition to the two distinguished members of my committee, but I am constrained to oppose and vote against the Jonkman amendment and the Vorys substitute therefor, and I do this as a matter of arithmetic largely. We have about 35,000,000 people who are in starvation, disease, and despair. We have \$350,000,000 suggested in this legislation for their relief. That is \$10 apiece. The Jonkman amendment cuts it down to \$6. We might just as well do nothing. That is my reason for voting against the amendment.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. JUDD. Reference has been made here today to General Marshall's report last night on the Moscow Conference. I am sure all of us are grateful to him and proud of the way in which he conducted our affairs there, his patient courtesy coupled with firm adherence to principles, his refusal to yield to the pressures that have wrecked so many previous conferences. Today there are millions of people in Europe who love freedom and hate communism worse than anybody here possibly can. Our behavior at Moscow gave them their first ray of hope in months. What will happen to their new-born hope if they find that the very first action taken by the American Congress after the Moscow Conference is to cut drastically the \$350,000,000 proposed to help keep these millions alive while they struggle to overthrow the tyrannies under which they suffer? The money is authorizedit will be appropriated and spent only when need is demonstrated as it comes along. Will it not, in the gentleman's judgment, be disastrous to their hopes and ours and an undermining of General Marshall's work to take this action today?

Mr. EATON. It would be. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

I have a brief statement here settling the confusnon over the dates 1947 and 1948 which I would like to send to the desk and, if time permits, have the Clerk read. I do this for the enlightenment and benefit of all of us.

The Clerk read as follows:

In connection with the question of whether \$350,000,000 is needed for relief in 1947, the following information should be considered.

The report of the United Nations Technical Committee on Post-UNRRA Relief Needs found a total relief need of \$583,000,-000 for European countries in the calendar year 1947, exclusive of remaining UNRRA shipments. This figure did not cover any possible needs of China. The Department of State estimated the needs for Europe plus China at a total of \$610,000,000. This estimate is also for the calendar year 1947 exclusive of remaining UNRRA shipments. (See Mr. Clayton's statement of page 2 of the committee hearings under the heading "Relief needs in 1947.")

The President requested \$350,000,000 as the United States contribution to help meet the above needs. The President in his message of February 24, requesting the appropriation, said, "The authorization recommended is designed for the urgent relief needs for the balance of the year. The most critical period will be in the spring and summer months, when UNRRA shipments will cease and the harvests are not yet available." He must have been referring to the calendar year rather than the fiscal year, since it is clear that he did not intend to spend \$350,000,000 before June 30, 1947, which is the end of the fiscal year.

The budget indicated an estimated expenditure of \$100,000,000 in the fiscal year 1947, that is, prior to June 30, 1947, and \$250,000,000 in the fiscal year 1948. This was to cover the program of shipments from the period July 1 to the 31st of December 1947, plus small possible slip-overs in the first month or two of the calendar year 1948. This is clear from the letter of the Acting Secretary of State. He said, "The amount requested is to assist in meeting the estimated relief needs for the calendar year 1947. In the actual operation of the program some shipments may slip over into the first few months of 1948. With the possible exception of Austria we do not anticipate that further relief will be necessary unless disastrous crop failures or other unforeseen events occur."

Dr. Fitzgerald, Secretary-General of the International Emergency Food Council and food adviser to former President Hoover, agreed that a total of \$296,000,000 would be needed from the United States in the calendar year 1947 for food alone for the European countries excluding seeds, fertilizer, medical suplies and the other items in the bill and excluding any possible needs of China. (See bottom of p. 108 of the committee hearings.)

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired. All time has expired.

Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Chairman, do I correctly understand the parliamentary situation to be that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman] has an amendment pending before the Committee by which he would reduce the appropriation to the extent of \$150,000,000 to \$200,000,000, and the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] has a substitute amendment pending whereby he would authorize the full \$350,000,000 but delegate the authority to the Administrator to take a look at it later on and see whether we shall spend the \$150,000,000?

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the Vorys amendment and the Jonkman amendment be again reported so that we may all be familiar with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the amendments as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. JONKMAN: On page 1, line 4. after "not to exceed", strike out "\$35,000,000" and insert "\$200,000,000."

Amendment offered by Mr. Vorys as a substitute for the Jonkman amendment: Strike out the Jonkman amendment and at the end of section 1 add the following: "there is hereby established a Joint Committee on International Relief consisting of five Members of the Senate appointed by the President pro tempore and five Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker.

"It shall be the duty of the joint committee to study relief needs in foreign countries and the ability of the United States to furnish relief; the President shall keep the joint committee advised of foreign relief needs and the measures he is taking to relieve such needs and all expenditures in excess of \$200,000,000 from the appropriations herein authorized shall have the approval of the joint committee. Such approval may be given in detail or in gross amounts as the joint committee shall deem advisable."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Vorys) there were—ayes 29, noes 132.

So the substitute amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Jonkman) there were—ayes 130, noes 117.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. Eaton and Mr. Jonkman.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported there were—ayes 156, noes 138.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Smith of Wisconsin: Page 1, at the end of section 1, add the following:

"Appropriations authorized by this joint resolution shall be available for relief in Austria, Greece, Italy, Poland, Hungary, and China: Provided, That the President if he shall determine that emergency needs exist in any other countries, is authorized to utilize not more than \$15,000,000 for the purpose of providing relief in such other country or countries."

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, this amendment proposes to designate the countries where the money shall be spent; and in addition it provides further that \$15,000,000 shall be used in those areas where the State Department determines aid is necessary.

If this Congress wants to get away from the idea of writing blank checks then the Members of this House should support this amendment because it is a mandate to the Department that it shall spend the money in these countries named except with the \$15,000,000.

I know the argument will be advanced that Poland and Hungary are Communist-dominated. It seems to me in the light of the heroic struggle that the Polish people have made down through the centuries that we can afford to take a chance to see that these people are given the opportunity to benefit under this legislation. Poland, in all of its history, has never yielded to those who have overrun it. I believe that the spirit of freedom is more intense in Poland than it is in our own country. We are taking a chance; but it seems to me it puts it right up to the administrators. A contract will be made with the existing Polish Government for the handling of this relief. If the State Department is satisfied that the great bulk of the Polish people will not benefit, then by all means it should not enter into such an agreement: but it is an administrative matter. We cannot this afternoon afford to have word get back to these gallant Polish people that we have failed to recognize their need even though they are overrun by the Communists.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. KEEFE. May I ask the gentleman whether or not his amendment will in any way interfere with those provisions that are in the bill as proposed which require free access to the press and radio in those countries and even though free access is denied would the effect of the gentleman's amendment be to compel the furnishing of relief?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. No; in my opinion, no.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. DONDERO. Is the House to understand that as the bill stands now, Poland would be excepted from the benefits of this legislation? I do not so understand.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. No; that is not the case.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. KEATING. Is the \$15,000,000 a part of the \$200,000,000?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Yes; that is right.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from New York,

Mr. BLOOM. As I understand the gentleman's amendment, it specifically says that relief shall be given to these countries but no mention is made as to what amount shall be given to each one of the countries mentioned by the gentleman?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is correct.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman puts that in there to be sure that the thought expressed in the report is put in the bill?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is it exactly.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to

the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. OWENS. I am thoroughly in accord with what the gentleman has said and I believe the committee should accept the amendment.
Mr. CHADWICK. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CHADWICK. Will the gentleman advise us why Czechoslovakia is not included in the list of governments named? I think I know the reason and I believe it reflects credit on Czechoslovakia rather than otherwise but, in my opinion, it would be desirable to have the statement in the RECORD.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. It is my understanding that there is not the need that is contemplated by this legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to

the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. I wonder what good purpose it can serve to delegate any part of these funds to any one of the countries named. The administrator can do identically the same thing without the language of the gentleman's amendment by simply giving a very small token amount to any one of the countries named if he had no intention of giving it to them under the language of the bill as written.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. It is purely an administrative matter. In offering the amenament I want to see that these countries who are in such great need are benefited. It is entirely possible administratively that this money might be spread over any number of additional countries and we might, as a matter of fact, spend some of it in the Ukraine.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The gentleman is a member of the Committee on Foreign

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Yes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Will the gentleman state categorically and emphatically whether or not in his opinion the language which is in the bill before the House will permit part of the \$200,000,-000, as it now stands, to be used for Poland, Austria, and these other countries?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Yes, indeed; and it will go further than that.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Let me say that I

am opposed to the bill and I will vote against the bill if it does that very thing.
Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Answering the gentleman's question, may I say that in the bill itself there is no specific mention of any amount to any particular country. There is nothing in the bill to that effect and I think that answers the gentleman. The total amount authorized under this bill can be distributed any place in any of these countries that the organization or the Administrator feels so disposed to spend it in.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has again ex-

pired.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have one additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. KEEFE. May I ask the distinguished gentleman, who is a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, if under the bill, as written, and the State Department so decided, it could allocate money out of this \$200,000,000 for the relief of Russia or any other country?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. It could; yes, indeed.

Mr. KEEFE. If the amendment of the gentleman is adopted, as I understand it, he is pinning it down so that no part of this money can be used for that purpose?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Exactly so. That is the import of the amendment.

Mr. JUDD. It is a restrictive amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has again expired.

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended three additional min-

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Cennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. By designating the countries in which the money is to be spent, may I ask does that obligate the State Department to spend the money in all those countries or could the State Department just select two of them?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Yes. It is an administrative matter. They are under the legislation presumed to make a contract with these countries that are to get relief.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. There is nothing in the amendment and there is nothing in the bill thus far that would protect the people of America and our Government against these funds falling into the hands of those people that we are opposing today, the Communists, who dominate the governments of many of the countries.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Well, I think we can do it. I think this amend-

ment takes care of it.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana. How does this amendment take care of or protect us against these funds getting into the hands of the Communists and their friends?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. We certainly should assume that the State Department is not going to make that kind of an agreement.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. Do not the provisions in sections 3, 4, and 5 of the bill make it impossible that it could fall into the Communist hands and could be used by Communists alone? There are restrictions in the bill to take care of that, and the gentleman's amendment prevents any of these funds from going to Yugoslavia and to Russia; is that not true?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is

right, as I understand it.

Mr. VORYS. Is this not also true, that the gentleman's amendment contains this language: This provision shall not imply any obligations to give relief to any of the countries mentioned, so that it does not create any obligation to any country?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. JENNINGS. As I understand the language of the gentleman's amendment it, in a sense ,allocates this money to Austria, Hungary, China, Poland, Italy, and Greece, so that it cuts out Russia and it cuts out Yugoslavia.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is right.

Mr. JENNINGS. It goes to free people, the people who desire to be free in Austria, Hungary, Greece, Poland, and China. that we are undertaking to help.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is

Mr. KNUTSON. Not Poland.

Mr. JENNINGS. Yes; Poland is in

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. We are taking a chance on Poland and Hungary, and I hope that it will work out administratively.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. Colmer, for the Smith of Wisconsin amendment: On page 1,

after line 8, add a new sentence as follows: "Provided, That none of the funds authorized to be appropriated herein shall be expended in or used for such relief assistance in those countries whose governments are dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. I confess that I offered this amendment only after long, conscientious and thoughtful deliberation. But we might just as well recognize that we have reached the crossroads in our foreign policy. We had just as well recognize now as later that we are embarking upon the most important change in our foreign policy in the his-

tory of this country.

We have started out to do what? Fight communism. Now, let us not get away from the objective. We are going to oppose communism. If we are going to oppose communism, then we must oppose it on all fronts. We must be coldly realistic in the approach to this problem. We say that we are going to furnish \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey to combat communism—and we are doing that openly; we had just as well be frank about it. We are going to furnish the Greeks and Turks \$400,000,000 to be used by them, and as an incentive to them to keep communism from taking over their governments. But how are we going to do that on one hand and then turn around on the other and say that we are going to be the big brother and we are going to help everybody? We have to be coldly realistic. God knows I have sympathy with the starving people who are under the domination of the Soviet Republic. I have been over there; I saw them suffering. Of course they are suffering over there, all throughout Europe. But the point that I am trying to drive home here to you today is that if you are going to fight communism you have to fight it with its own weapons. You have to be coldly realistic, I repeat. If we are going to say to the people of Greece and Turkey, "We are going to give you \$400,000,000 to stop the inroads and the encroachment of communism here," and then we are going to say to those poor, oppressed people in the countries that are under the domination of Russia, "We are going to help you, too," what incentive is there going to be for them to try to get out from under the heel of oppression?

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that my time may be extended for 3 minutes

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield to my distinguished colleague on the committee.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman tell us who is to make the decision as to what country is a Communist-dominated country?

Mr. COLMER. I am sure the gentleman knows the answer to that question: The same sources would make that determination as would make it under his amendment, that is, it would be up to the administration to make that decision.

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield to my distinguished friend, who always speaks for the Polish people and speaks with

Mr. SADOWSKI. The gentleman's amendment actually proposes that the Polish people shall be given starvation, and thereby we are going to win them from communism. That is the gentle-man's logic and his reasoning, as I get it. I cannot understand that reasoning and logic that he is proposing here today. Certainly those people do not want communism any more than the gentleman does. They have had a government put upon them that they did not want. But the gentleman says to those people, "You must have a revolution first in your country before we will give you any aid.' Is not that his logic? How are those people going to have a revolution in the condition they are in now, when they are starved and sick and hungry? A man cannot fight communism, cannot fight Russia, in the position he is in in Poland today. But they have fought communism as no other nation has throughout the years. They fought for liberty throughout the centuries, and they have always won. They will fight again. But make them strong, give them physical strength to fight. You cannot expect dead Poles to fight communism.

Mr. COLMER. The gentleman has

asked me a number of questions all wrapped up in one. I said in the beginning, and I have great sympathy for the gentleman's viewpoint, that we have to be coldly realistic in this thing. We have to face this issue as it is, not as we would like to have it. Yes, I have sympathy with those people, but I repeat that if you are going to treat all peoples alike there is going to be no incentive for them either to stay out from under the heel of oppression or for those who are already under the heel of oppression to get out.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield.
Mr. BLOOM. In answer to the question asked by the gentleman on the other side, I believe the gentleman said that the way you determine whether these countries are under Soviet domination can be done by the administration. Has the gentleman thought of the fact that we recognize these countries and that their ambassadors are here? Can you see the position that we would be in if we say, "We are not going to recognize you on this thing because we claim that you are under Soviet domination?" are you going to get around the fact that they are recognized diplomatically?

Mr. COLMER. Somebody along the line must determine this. Do not forget that somewhere down the line there is a limit to the point to which this country can go to feed the world. If we are going to fight communism, we must fight it. As I said in the beginning, I do not like this sort of thing, either.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield briefly to the gentleman.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to say in reply to the gentleman from New York that these countries had their ambassadors here while they had a spy ring working in this country, too.

The time of the The CHAIRMAN. gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Colmer] may proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, I said in the beginning that I had given some thought and study to this matter. I do not have to apologize for that. I think most of the Members of the House know of the study that the Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planing made and they know its recommendations and how those recommendations are now unfolding in the light of present developments. To implement those recommendations, on March 24 I introduced a resolution that would do a number of things. Generally, it would advise the President of the United States and the Congress what should be the policy of the United States in this great crisis in the world. Among the provisions of that resolution is one that would deny economic aid and asistance to the Soviet Republic and to those countries under the domination of the Soviet Republic. We hope to have hearings on that resolution before too long. We must face this issue as it is. My amendment is consistent with that resolution and it is consistent with the Truman doctrine.

In our factories in this country today we have representatives of the Soviet Republic who are there as supervisors and as inspectors to see that the machinery that the Soviet Republic is getting from this country is according to order. They have hundreds of them. How many do you think we have in the Russian factories over there? We are today making the same mistakes in our foreign policy that we did prior to Pearl Harbor when we were shipping oil, scrap iron, and all those things that were necessary to build the sinews of war to Japan.

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COLMER. I yield briefly to my friend.

Mr. CHELF. I think the mistake was just made when the House voted 150 to 138 to yank the rug out from under Secretary Marshall in refusing to give \$350,-000,000, to the Truman program for aid to Greece. When we cut the sum to \$200,000,000 we seriously hurt our foreign policy and our defense against the spread of communism was badly weakened. It has cost the United States over \$250,-000,000,000 and over a million casualties in flesh and blood to win the war, and now we are being niggardly in providing sufficient funds to sponsor and preserve the peace. Why spend so much to win the peace and then literally toss it away once it is in our grasp? Russia wants a hungry Europe, because an empty stomach is far more receptive to communism.

Mr. COLMER. I appreciate the views of my distinguished friend from Kentucky. His views are always worthy of consideration, but the point of the matter is that this Nation is burdened with the greatest national debt that any country has ever accrued. There is a limitation even to the resources of this great Nation. We do not know where this policy that we are embarking on is going to lead There is a bottom in the Nation's meal barrel as verily as there is in the individual's barrel. We cannot help everybody, and sometimes I doubt whether in the final analysis we get much good will that way.

But be all of that as it may, we are all interested as a Christian people in trying to help our less fortunate brethren. But what assurance can we possibly have in the light of our knowledge of the Russian system that any substantial amount of this money sent into those governments which are dominated by Russia will ever reach the objective which we have in mind, namely—the starving people of those countries? We are told that there are safeguards of inspection and publicity, and so forth, in this bill to insure that objective, but I point out to you that everyone who knows anything about the Russian system knows that these governments in the dominated countries are nothing but puppets—the creation of Russia. Is it reasonable to assume that money, foods, fertilizer or machinery turned over to those puppets of Russia would be delivered to these starving people or reach them? And bear you in mind that under the provisions of this bill that is what is proposed to be done. From my knowledge of that situation over there no one can convince me that this relief turned over to these governments cannot and will not be diverted from the channels through which they are expected to flow to these starving peoples. Can anyone argue successfully for a moment that a carload of fertilizer, for instance, which is turned over to one of those puppet governments cannot be diverted even though we have a handful of representatives on the ground?

Mr. Chairman, I fear that the game is not worth the candle, and personally I cannot go along with that line of reasoning, especially when I know it to be a fact that Russia has already stripped many of these countries of much of the assistance which they now so badly need and which under this bill we would propose to turn over to them to be delivered to these people.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, I have waited a long time for an opportunity to speak on this bill. Before I give my words I would like first to present my credentials.

I am not a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. I have never made any Government junket, flying over Rome and posing as an authority on Italy, or flying over Poland and posing as an authority on Poland; but I do know something about European affairs.

To give you the meat of my background, I am not one of those that switches with the breeze. I will refer you now to the Congressional Record of February 12, 1945, when the crime of Yalta was announced to the world. It was almost treason for anyone to say anything against that crime at Yalta. I did, and I was accused of preaching treason. I refer to the RECORD. That is more than 2 years ago. It is written in the RECORD, so I am not patting myself on the back, and do not interpret it as such, please. But here we have a statement from a distinguished Member of this House, and similar statements were made in the Senate:

Mr. Speaker, no conference of the allies in this war previous to that historic meeting just completed on the Crimea has had great-

er significance. It was a defense destined to lay the foundation of the world of tomor-The results of the conference are better than the most optimistic expectations. They are better because they are based on a truly growing confidence among the allied governments. They breathe sincerity and strength. Each great power made concessions. They were based on the American concept of conciliation of different points of view, and not based on a single opinion.

That is the opinion that was expressed in the House. That is the opinion that was expressed in the Senate. That is the opinion expressed by radio commentators, by newspapers, by the State Department, and by the OWI.

I took the hard fight and the uphill

fight. In a 1-hour speech that day I concluded my remarks by saying:

Mr. Chairman, just as these words about Munich are today the laughing stock of the world, just as the praise which was sung of Mr. Chamberlain has now become the laughing stock of the world, just so the words of praise that are being sung about the crime of Yalta will likewise become some day the laughing stock of the world.

That is more than 2 years ago. I want to tell you why I think I am qualified to talk on this subject. Since that time I have given many speeches. They have been reprinted all over the world. Here is a copy of a speech I made in this Congress, reprinted by the Polish underground in Italy. Here is another one reprinted by the Polish underground in France. It was reprinted by the Polish underground in England, carrying my words of advice, that the day would come when we would regret the sellout of Poland at Yalta.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'KONSKI. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. By the "Polish underground" the gentleman means the anti-Communist Polish underground?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Yes; definitely.

Then, on May 3, 1945, that is, almost 2 years ago, I gave a speech on the floor of this House, of which more than 500,-000 copies were ordered and distributed throughout the country, wherein I said that the Government of the United States of America is making a mistake; that we are making the Russians so strong and communism so strong that eventually we are going to have trouble with them like we had trouble with Hitler and trouble with Japan because we made them too strong.

May 24, 1945, a speech in the RECORD, "Trouble With Tito; We Asked for It."

Two years ago I told you we were going to have trouble with Tito in Yugoslavia: that we should not give him any money or food or anything that would make him strong.

"Lithuania Under Red Fascism," in 1945 I told you what was going on in Lithuania.

I took every one of those countries, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia. In addition, Mr. Chairman, in the last 2 years I have talked in every city of any consequence in this Nation. Talked to whom? To Americans of Polish descent, of Serbian descent, of Slovakian descent,

of Finnish descent, all of them who have relatives in those countries.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 15 additional minutes to tell my story.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object—and I am not at all sure that I will object-if the debate is to be very limited on this, I shall have to object, because there are those here who desire to plead the cause of the American taxpayers and bond buyers, and we will expect some time on this subject also.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair, of course, cannot give the gentleman the

answer to his question.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I serve notice that if necessary, I shall object to any extension of time unless the chairman of the committee assures the House that he will not move to shut off debate. We should have time to debate this question as to whether or not we are going to send funds to the agencies of Russia on the one hand to support Russia and send funds to the enemies of Russia on the other hand.

The CHAIRMAN. It does not lie within the province of the Chairman to decide. The Committee itself will decide

The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent to proceed for 15 additional minutes. Is there objection?
Mr. O'BRIEN. I object.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman from Wisconsin be extended for 10 minutes.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Chairman, I ob-

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'Konski] may proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request that the gentleman from Wisconsin may proceed for five additional minutes?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I thank the membership for being so very generous with me.

Mr. Chairman, we are in a most tragic dilemma right now. We are confronted with the question of stopping Moscow. We want to help poor and starving people, yet we are in a dilemma whereby in attempting to help those poor and starving people we will be forced also to help communism. There is no way out of it. Let us take the unfortunate situation of Poland. The people of Poland have a government that is not the will of the Polish people. The people of Poland have a government, Mr. Chairman, that was forced upon them by the Government of the United States of America as one of the Big Three powers. The government of Poland today was thrust upon the Polish people. The Polish people were not even consulted. The Polish people were not even invited to Yalta. The Polish Army that was fighting the enemy all over the world was not even given the consideration of once being asked for a word of advice. Three holier-than-thou men went over to Yalta and set up the Polish Government.

The leader of the Polish Government today is not even a citizen of Poland. He has been a citizen of the Soviet Union ever since 1921, and the Polish people still do not recognize that as their government. But the Government of the United States of America does recognize that as the Polish Government. So we are out to punish those people for a government which the Polish people do not want but a government which the United States of America forced upon them and a government which the Government of the United States recognizes. So that is the dilemma in which we find ourselves.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'KONSKI. I yield.

Mr. DINGELL. And the ratio of nominal Communists in Poland is less than 1 to 30 anti-Communists. Is that correct in the gentleman's estimation?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Yes. If war ever breaks out between the United States and Russia, just as Poland was the first country with courage enough to stand up and fight Hitler you will find the Polish people fighting alongside the Government of the United States of America: you will have the Poles alongside the United States of America sooner than you will have the people of Italy. They will go like they went in all the other wars, to the side with the more opportune chance of winning the war perhaps, they will go where they can get fat like they got fat in this war, and likewise a lot of other countries I could name. You have more Communists in Italy today, real honest to God Communists who are sold on the cause of communism, than you will ever have in Poland.

I received a letter the other day from a man who left the force, the anti-Communist underground of Poland. He says he is leaving the force to join his family in Warsaw. In that letter he said to me:

We are not giving up the fight against communism, but I am tired of starving in the force; so I am going to eat and live until the opportunity arises when we can get help from the outside and when the world wakes up that communism is dangerous and the world will set itself up to destroy communism. When that time comes we will again march into the forests and we will first fight communism.

I wish I had time to show you how many Communists have been killed in Poland by these men who are fighting in the forests. That is the reason I asked for 15 additional minutes to give you the names of these men who fight communism, the torture they go through, the concentration camps they are sent to and the punishment they receive. They are fighting communism now and approximately 10 Communist agents a day are being slaughtered by the Polish underground.

Mr. SADOWSKI. The gentleman then, I take it, is definitely against the Colmer amendment?

Mr. O'KONSKI. I am against the Colmer amendment.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the time of the gentleman be extended 10 minutes.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended 5 minutes.

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I never did want to impose myself upon the patience of anyone who does not care to listen to me. If I had the time I could tell you and the gentleman who objects a darn sight more about what is going on in Europe than the State Department can.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired. Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I

move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman from Mississippi, the author of the proposed amendment, in his statement that the United States has at last been forced to take a stand against communism, but from that point on I cannot agree with him. It is my idea, it is my conviction, that this amendment will further the cause of communism, rather than retard that iniquitous movement.

Mr. Chairman, what nations is this amendment aimed at? Only two nations—Poland and Hungary. There is litle that I can add to what has been said about the glorious history of Poland. Why should Poland be denied this relief? Why should her people be left to starve? For six centuries Poland has been in a political nut-cracker and, at one time or another, has been dominated by France, Germany or Russia; but she has always struggled for her freedom. Poland's sons fought for liberty in this country and in other sections of the world even when they could not win liberty for themselves. Remember this, Poland will yet be free again.

How about the starving people of this other little nation—Hungary? It is true that Hungary was first overrun by Hitler and is now dominated by Stalin, but the Hungarian people are a good liberty-loving people.

What steps did they take to retain their liberty and the democratic form of government while some of the other nations of Europe were bowing to Stalin? Hungary is the only nation in Europe that has voted for a democracy like ours while dominated by Russian troops. They did that when Russian troops were watching their election. They voted for the Small Land Owners Party, which is about the same as the Democratic Party or the Republican Party in this country, if you please; and they have constantly refused, under great pressure from Russia, to deviate from the democratic ideal.

Now, we refuse by this amendment to give bread and meat to the people of Hungary and to the people of Poland when we know that we are going to feed our erstwhile enemies, the people of Germany and Italy. What a travesty on justice. Why do we have to feed the Germans? For European and world stability, they say. If that is true we certainly have to feed the starving Hungarians and the Poles from the standpoint of world stability, if not for humanitarian reasons.

I would like to say to the gentleman from Mississippi and to the gentleman from Georgia that it has not been so very long since their States were dominated by an outside power, but the spirit of those people never died and they came out from under it. Why? Because they had faith in themselves. If you will show a little faith in Poland and Hungary, the only nation affected by this amendment, I believe the day will come when your action will be vindicated.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. My amendment will take care of that situation, will it not?

Mr. RICHARDS. That is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman knows that the Poles are dominated by a criminal dictatorship that they despise. Now, why has not the Committee on Foreign Affairs brought in a resolution to break off relations and stop recognizing an alien regime that is lording it over the Polish people?

Mr. RICHARDS. I admit that the Poles are dominated by Russia as they have been dominated down through history on different occasions by Germany, by Russia, and by France.

Mr. RANKIN. Then why should we recognize that kind of a regime?

Mr. RICHARDS. That is water over the dam, but I should add that the question of recognition of a foreign power is not decided by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House.

Mr. RANKIN. That water is still behind the dam.

Mr. RICHARDS. I am not here talking about diplomacy and why nations are recognized by other nations. I am talking about the plight of a great people; that is what I am talking about. I believe that if we are going to feed people anywhere we should feed them in Poland and Hungary.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Colmer amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the arguments as they have come on the floor of this House yesterday and today with respect to the question of the countries which are Communist-dominated, and I assume that there are Members here who feel that we are going in one direction in one place and that if we provide this relief to Poland and Hungary we will be going in another direction in another place.

Furthermore, the argument has been advanced that we must be coldly realistic, and I assume that means that we must not think of this as a matter of humanitarianism and charity but as a question of major strategy. That is the light in which I should like to discuss it.

If we vote this relief to Poland and Hungary, we are not going in the opposite direction from the direction we are traveling in Greece and Turkey. We are going in the same direction. We are going in the same direction because we know that when people are starving and destitute they are more likely to accept the Communist philosophy than if they are not.

There is a safeguard in this bill which I am afraid has not been mentioned enough, and that is on page 5, section 5 (b), which provides:

Relief assistance to the people of any country, under this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated whenever such termination is directed by concurrent resolution to the two Houses of the Congress.

There is no reason why, if we find that this relief is in fact going to help the Communist governments of these countries, we cannot withdraw it. But we should not be defeatist about this and say that we are incapable of providing this relief to those who need it, to those who are starving. Therefore, it seems to me that the amendment to take the Communist-dominated countries out of the relief bill is based on a fundamental misconception and is dongerous not only for our national security but for the maintenance of world peace.

If this amendment is adopted, no relief would go to Poland and Hungary. Since no Austrian treaty has been negotiated and since part of Austria is now under Soviet domination, I assume that that part of Austria would also be

excluded.

There is also a large part of China which under this amendment would receive no relief.

With respect to Poland, the adoption of this amendment would, as the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'Konski] has indicated, constitute a sort of double betrayal. We betrayed Poland at Yalta, and we shall be compounding this crime if we now deprive her of relief.

There are several safeguards in the bill, as I have tried to indicate, which would entitle the President of the United States to terminate relief if he found that it was not going to the needy but was in fact being used for political purposes by

the Communists.

I am as desirous as anyone to adopt a uniform and determined policy with respect to our foreign affairs, and I am unalterably opposed to the Communist philosophy. It has always been my settled conviction that we cannot and must not attempt to go in two directions at the same time. We must not support communism while we are attempting to oppose it. I believe, however, that we will be spreading our own gospel of freedom by bringing relief to the needy in Poland and Hungary, and this is especially true in view of the provisions in the bill which require full publicity as to the source of the relief.

Let us not, I plead with you, by hasty and ill-considered action throw millions of freedom-loving and hungry Poles into the uncharitable arms of the Communists. Let us instead give them hope, help them to revive, and indicate to them that we are prepared and determined to salvage from this troubled world the blood-soaked principles for which we fought a successful war.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this amendment and

the substitute amendment close in 20 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON].

The question was taken; and the Chairman being in doubt, the Committee divided, and there were—ayes 122, noes

So the motion was agreed to.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, may I inquire how the time is to be divided? I would like some opportunity to address myself to the substitute amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair must divide the time equally among those seeking recognition.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] for 11/2 minutes

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, in view of the great number of people who suddenly desire to speak on this question, I ask unanimous consent that the time be extended to 40 minutes instead of 20 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER].

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MUNDT, of South Dakota, to the Colmer substitute: Strike out period at end of Colmer substitute amendment and add the following provision: "Unless the governments of the countries covered by this amendment agree to the following regulations which are hereby declared to be applicable to every country receiving aid under this act.

"The State Department shall establish and maintain out of the funds herein authorized for appropriation, a relief distribution mission for each of the countries receiving aid under this act. This relief distribution mission shall be comprised solely of American citizens who shall have been approved as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These missions shall have direct supervision and control of relief supplies in each country and when it is deemed desirable by the American authorities administering the provisions of this act these re-lief missions shall be empowered to retain possession of these supplies up to the city or local community where our relief supplies are actually made available to the ultimate con-

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I hope the committee will give me very close attention because this is an attempt to do something for the people of Hungary and the people of Poland. It is an effort to make sure this relief bill really provides relief for needy people rather than for greedy politicians.

We are faced here with a dilemma today as to whether or not the people of Hungary and Poland will be denied relief by adoption of the Colmer amendment. thus doing it by congressional action, which I think is wrong, or whether to deny the people of Hungary and Poland relief by giving relief to the Governments of those countries which are communistically dominated so that it will still not go to the needy of those countries. My amendment provides a device and procedure whereby the Congress can make this relief available to the people of Hungary and Poland as well as other war-devastated countries, and keeps it under the control of the American Relief Commission so that it is not distributed by Communists but by Americans who have been cleared by the FBI so we know it is delivered without regard to party politics or creed.

I hope you will adopt this amendment to the Colmer substitute. It was offered in the committee and was defeated by one vote. I think it is an amendment which strengthens and tightens up the whole relief distribution set-up in all countries, because it means that America gets credit for the relief we are making available. It means we are engaging, if you please, in helping the people of Poland and Hungary and other countries behind the iron curtain to learn about the generosity of America through actually participating in its dividends.

The big weakness of UNRRA remains in the relief bill now before you unless we adopt this amendment. That weak-ness was this: We failed to follow the relief any further than the central governments of the countries. This bill has the same deficiency. You know and I know if you give this relief to the central government of Warsaw or the central government of Budapest it will be distributed for political purposes—to aid and fatten and strengthen the Communists.

My amendment says that when it is deemed necessary by the American authorities which will very likely be in those countries described in the Colmer proposal, which my amendment modifies and amplifies, we are empowered to follow that relief clear down to the local community. This means it will be distributed by Americans, operating as such, recognized as such, and it will be made available to the people rather than to the political agencies of those countries. If you actually want to help the hungry people of Poland and Hungary, as I do; if you want to make this relief available without regard to politics or creed, as I do; if you want to get a dollar's worth of relief for a dollar expended, as I do, my amendment plugs up the big sinkhole that Congress left in UNRRA, which was to give the money to the central govern-ment, along with a set of instructions, and exact promises which the Communists did not keep, and then let them handle the relief distribution which bighearted Americans financed. My proposal empowers us to follow the relief program all the way through.

the gentleman yield?

Mr. MINDO

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Does the gentleman's amendment provide who shall appoint this commission?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes. It shall be appointed by the authority administering this act, which, I suppose, will be the relief administrator, approved by the United States Senate, as we have an amendment from the Republican side of the Foreign Affairs Committee to create such a relief administrator.

Mr. CRAWFORD. It would also provide for the American people, who furnish the dollars, a genuine accounting, under American citizenship and leadershin?

Mr. MUNDT. That is absolutely right, and it will not permit the governments of Budapest or Warsaw to claim that we are denying relief to their people. We are making it available to them on our terms, and we are pointing out that these terms will be the same as we are setting up for every other country eligible for this relief. My amendment puts an end to appearement in relief just as the State Department and the White House are at long last recognizing that the time has come to put an end to appeasement in international negotiations and international policies with Communist countries.

Mr. Chairman, Poland and Hungary can obtain relief under the Colmer amendment as modified and redefined by the language of my amendment. But my amendment assures that this relief will go to the God-fearing, freedom-loving, independent people of Poland and Hungary and not just those who support the Communist regimes in those countries. It makes such guaranty effective and definite, since it empowers the United States to send relief missions right up to the terminal points of relief distribution. No longer can the central Communist governments of those countries short-circuit American relief and direct it to Communists only. My amendment will stop that type of perversion of American generosity for all time to come. My amendment makes this relief bill one which will feed the defenders of freedom who are hungry with the same generosity that it feeds the apostles of communism.

It will feed hungry people, Mr. Chairman, rather than the political creeds of hatred. And it will authorize American relief missions comprised of sturdy American citizens screened by our Federal Bureau of Investigation to make the on-the-spot distribution of relief required in certain circumstances to be positive that those who receive American relief know that it is American relief and not Communist aid from Russia. It will also make certain that American relief is used to maintain life in needy areas without regard for creed, color, or nationality rather than being used as UNRRA so frequently was to maintain in power a political clique of godless Communists who have imposed themselves upon the long-suffering people of such countries as Poland and Hungary. urge support for my amendment to the Colmer amendment and then for the Colmer amendment as rewritten by the Mundt amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Lesinski] for 3 minutes.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I just want to call attention to the fact that away back in 1943 when an appropriation was being made for OWI and OSS, I stood on this floor to deny them that appropriation. I then attempted to prove to the House that OWI was dominated by Communists and they were selling Russia to Europe and to the small countries, instead of selling Uncle Sam who was producing this money. That is why we have all this trouble today. Who sold out those countries? It was our Govern-

That is why if you deny relief to these little countries today that 10 or 15 years from today Russia will not be a country of 180,000,000 people, but a country of 350,000,000. Then if war comes where are we? I say we should give relief but give it in a proper way under our terms where we distribute it to the people and can tell them that it is coming from Uncle Sam, that we love them.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LESINSKI. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. I hope, then, I may have the gentleman's support of my amendment, because it does exactly what the gentleman has so eloquently enunciated.

Mr. LESINSKI. If we are going to distribute food there is only one way to do it, that is it should be handled by our Army, or military officials, in cooperation with our own welfare organizations in the field, and we have plenty of them, the Jewish Welfare, the YMCA, the Salvation Army, the Catholic Relief organization. They can put people over there and distribute it in a better manner.

Mr. MUNDT. This provides for distribution by American personnel.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LESINSKI. I yield. Mr. COLMER. The gentleman understands, of course, that under the bill that is not done, but the money is turned over to the government in control.

Mr. LESINSKI. We want to turn no money over to any government; we want to feed the people ourselves. Uncle Sam will do the job right.

Mr. COLMER. But the point I am making is that the bill does not do that.

Mr. LESINSKI. Under the bill, however, you are going to deny food to any country under Communist domination. How then are you going to make this distribution of food? It just cannot be done.

Mr. COLMER. It cannot be done under the provisions of the bill, I may say to the gentleman.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LESINSKI. I yield.

Mr. FULTON. Does the gentleman know that when Mr. Hoover appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee he commented on this very matter? He was asked this:

Mr. Fulton. Mr. Hoover, this act proposes to put funds and food into the countries through the foreign governments as channels by making contracts with them.

I do not want to sustain the "ins" in any

government that there may be in any of these countries. I think probably putting the supplies through the channels outlined might operate to do that very thing.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan may proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time has been fixed by the committee on this debate.

Mr. FULTON. Then I offer the gentleman my time, having time myself.

The CHAIRMAN. That cannot be done in the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I seek recegnition.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Georgia is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, the shadow of Communist Russia falls across the threshold of every home, every pulpit, every schoolroom, and the pathway of every child in this world today; and for the creation of this monster who has all mankind shaking in its boots, we cannot escape at least part responsibility. The hunger and suffering you propose to relieve are hunger and suffering which in part at least, has been brought about by Russia.

Russia is one of the two great world powers. Russia contributes nothing to relieve the distress that she has caused and there is no indication that she will do so.

We here in this bill continue the policy of appeasement which is responsible for a great many of our woes. The bill undermines the President in his determination to stop Russia through the extension of aid to Greece and Turkey and lowers public opinion in our ability to be realistic, consistent, or forthright about anything.

If the feeding and the clothing of all the world is a responsibility that rests upon us, without regard to friend or foe or for the effect upon our own people, then the bill is faultless; but if the solvency and the soundness of our Government, and if the security of our people. are our first consideration, then the bill is in part bad. The substitute offered by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER], as amended by the Mundt amendment, I am confident it would be well for this body to adopt because, as he observed, any relief extended must be administered in a sense by the government involved.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Georgia has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Fulton].

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, further answering the previous gentleman on the matter we were discussing, Mr. Hoover was asked whether this would be the practical method of doing it when he was before the Committee on Foreign Affairs sitting in the Old House Office Building caucus room. We discussed this very question. In fact, I asked Mr. Hoover the question to find out whether it would be possible to accomplish this distribution in a way that we would not be putting the money and the food through channels that already existed in the governments of these countries. This question was asked:

Do you suggest any other methods of distribution to those countries, through our own people, possibly, or the Red Cross, or some other agency?

Mr. Hoover answered as follows:

One must bear in mind that all of these countries have a certain amount of food supply. They are all rationing their population. Whatever the imports are, they must be assimilated into their rationing systems. It is impossible to separate the imports from the domestic supplies.

Therefore, the primary dependence still must be placed n their rationing system and the only thing that we can do by way of control is to determine what would be a sufficiency to them, and then expect the country to see that they carry out distribution honestly. It is to check such action that I suggest there should be no contractural period. If they failed to carry out the very proper conditions which we laid out, then the supplies could be stopped.

Mr. Hoover with his adequate experience on the relief of starving peoples advocates to make use of the rationing systems of the various countries.

Mr. LESINSKI. Will the various welfare organizations help to carry out this work?

Mr. FULTON. We are going to do that. We are sending over people under the State Department who are going to watch closely to see that the program in each country is carried on in a proper way and have a fair system as between public and private agencies.

Mr. LESINSKI. There are some people who have food; there are others who have none.

Mr. FULTON. We are going to send people there to watch and see that starving people actually receive it.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman,

will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentle-

man from Michigan.
Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Hoover recommends that we not make a long-term contract. He suggests we send this food to them, and leave the supervision in the hands of our own people so we can discontinue it if they violate the working arrangement.

Mr. FULTON. That is exactly right. We are going to watch it closely. We are not going to get tied up by contracts that will tie our hands.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. May I say that my amendment provides that that continues to be provided for because it does not change that contractual arrangement at all. It simply gives the advance guard of Americans the opportunity to see that the people who need it get relief rather than the people who go along with the particular creed of a particular political government over there.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to my good friend the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. DONDERO. The gentlema

gentleman knows I was in Europe 2 years ago. I share the same apprehension as the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Lesinski]. If it is channeled through the Government, this food supply will come under the same domination as our UNRRA supply, and it did not reach the people for which it was intended.

Mr. FULTON. I was afraid of that, too. May I say that Mr. Hoover stated that the method proposed by this bill is the way to do it, and that it cannot be done in a practical way otherwise. I think the furnishing of this food is the best argument that democracy can go forward. It is our best advertising and salesmanship for democracy. This bill provides food, it is not armament we are giving them.

WE FOUGHT NAZISM AND THE JAPS

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I am indeed amazed by the statement that was made by my friend and colleague the gentleman from Georgia a few minutes ago, when he stated that Russia was responsible for the want and misery that exist in the devastated countries of Europe.

Mr. COX. I said in part responsible. Mr. SABATH. I am glad to hear the gentleman modify his statement. However, it seems that he has forgotten that it was Germany, the Nazis, that brought about this war; that we fought nazism and the Japs, not Russia. It was Russia that actually liberated the Poles, the Czechoslovakians, and the peoples of other eastern European countries. I regret that not only he but several other gentlemen continuously exaggerate the fear of communism and charge these people who are striving for freedom and liberty, who are opposed to oppression and exploitation, and who are seeking to better their living conditions, with being Communists. It is natural and proper that people of the smaller nations who were liberated by the Russian armies should show their appreciation by a friendly attitude.

THE PEOPLE ARE FREEDOM-LOVING DEMOCRATS

Now, what I want to bring home is this: I agree with the gentleman from Wisconsin, and with the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS] when he says that the people of Hungary are not Communists. That is true of the other small countries. The people themselves are freedom-loving democrats, very similar to ourselves in temperament, in industry, and in devotion to our own principles of freedom and equality. I know these people, and I know they are not Communists.

You will recall, Mr. Chairman, that I sat for a total of 28 years on the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization and the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I am the only member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the First World War now sitting in this House. I think I can say with weight that I know something about Europe.

The Poles and the Czechoslovakians have a tradition of democracy and of representative government which goes back hundreds of years, long before German greed and might wiped out their independence. They kept alive their sacred flame of freedom, and at the first They kept alive their opportunity successfully rebelled against the Austro-Hungarian yoke and thus helped hasten the victorious end of the First World War. It is true that in both

countries drastic measures have had to be taken to bridge over the emergency of postwar recovery and reconstruction; but these countries actually have coalition governments, in most of which the Communists are a small minority, just as among the people only a very small minority are Communists.

In Czechoslovakia particularly, President Eduard Benes has succeeded in maintaining a democratic and representative government despite all obstacles, just as he maintained the integrity of the constitutional Government of Czechoslovakia in exile after the Munich betrayal and through the horror of the

war years.

Naturally, these countries are not going to start a war against Russia, as some of the gentlemen here seem to think this country should do; but that does not mean they are dominated by Russia.

WHO WAS THE ENEMY?

It seems to me that certain gentlemen in this country are more solicitous of the welfare and future of the enemy which tried to destroy civilization at the cost of 20,000,000 casualties and the expenditure of billions upon billions of dollars, who wrought destruction and suffering and misery to nearly the whole of Europe, than for those who fought side by side with us, and who themselves suffered in their own lands destruction of property and of human life and of liberty.

Even while the war was on, there were Americans who assailed and criticized the people of Russia and Yugoslavia, and many went so far as to wish that Hitler and the Nazis could defeat Russia.

Almost to the same degree as now these people attacked Russia and what they termed "the Russian satellites," all for the purpose of creating a false fear that America and our form of government are endangered by communism.

There are fair-minded people in America who are not prejudiced by the flood of twisted propaganda from radio commentators, columnists, and writers, all subservient to the reactionaries, the vested interests, the cartels, and even the hidden Nazi-Fascist forces of the United States.

SHOULD DEMONSTRATE OUR SYMPATHY

I think we should demonstrate to these . people who suffered from Nazi devastation, looting, stealing, and destruction that we sympathize with them; that we are desirous of showing our friendsip again by offering them much-needed aid.

There are no finer people anywhere than those you are trying to exclude from the benefits of this legislation. Time after time the offspring and the descendants of those same people, here in our own country, have demonstrated, in war and in peace, that they are devoted to democratic institutions. They have given their lives in the fullest measure of proof for their country and ours; and the devotion to freedom and democracy of the people there in Europe is no less

No one is more opposed than I am to nurturing the spread of communismbut this bill is to provide aid to the starving and needy people of the devastated countries.

The way to win friends for our kind of democracy is to make communism unattractive by showing the greater benefits of democratic liberties and high living standards.

RELIEF INTENDED FOR VICTIMS OF NAZI
AGGRESSION

Remember that the people this bill is intended to help are the ruthless victims of Nazi oppression.

Since 1933—for 14 long years—they have been engaged in a constant struggle to maintain their independence and to establish free governments of their own.

Hitler drove the people of southeastern Europe toward the arms of Russia by a declared war of extermination which, had it not been for Allied victory, would have cost 30.000.000 lives.

I venture to say that 95 percent of the people in these devastated areas are not Communist. They are patriotic nationals of their own countries. They are trying to find a way to restore stable government and stable economy after 14 years of horror and looting and killing, against foreign aggression, and encirclement.

We have not heard a word on this floor in regard to the dangers from fascism in this country or in Europe.

The fact is that there is greater danger from Nazi-Fascist dictatorship than there is from Communist dictatorship, both here and abroad.

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST ABUSE ARE PROVIDED

Although what we provide in this bill is only 57 percent of the total amount of money needed to prevent misery and starvation in these war-torn countries, we will have full and complete control of the distribution of the supplies bought with the money.

Inspection and reports are provided.

I feel that the bill is so carefully drawn that misuse is practically impossible.

I am equally certain that every precaution will be taken by the administrators to see that no country and no people entitled to aid will receive assistance.

Remember that it has not been Russia who has threatened the independence of the Slavic people, not only during the Hitler period but for centuries back, but the Germans with their dreams of the "drang nach osten"—the drive to the east.

Pan-Germanism has threatened to engulf all Europe time after time. The Germans have always intended, and I suspect they still intend if they get the chance, to enslave all the Balkans and the Ukraine and Poland for a victorious march to the southern seas through eastern Europe.

It was the Russians who liberated the Slavic countries from the Nazi tyranny. They would be less than human if they did not feel grateful to Russia.

The United States has helped South American countries.

I hope that they are grateful for that help.

But that does not mean that we dominate the countries of South America or dictate their policies. MARSHALL REPORT ENCOURAGING

The report to the Nation made by the Secretary of State, Gen. George C. Marshall, is encouraging and reassuring, in spite of the seeming lack of conclusiveness of the conferences, and it should be gratifying to the American people who have no desire to be plunged into a Third World War.

Both General Marshall and Premier Stalin feel that there is ample opportunity for understanding and cooperation between our country and Russia. That opinion also has been expressed by former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles. I feel sure that if the opinion for former Secretary of State Cordell Hull could be obtained he would agree.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. Javits].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the Colmer amendment and in opposition to the Mundt substitute. I see no particular good or harm to be gained out of the Smith amend-

ment first proposed.

Let us not forget that this is the first full-dress foreign-policy debate in this The world is watching this debate. Partles and members will be weighed by people in every district in our country, and by the people of the world, as to whether they are isolationists or men who understand what is happening in the new world, by how they vote here when the yeas and nays are called on the vote that has already gone through on the \$200,000,000 proposal, and the vote that is to come on the whole bill. Let us try to lift the scales from the eyes of people who will not see. Those who are doing what they are in trying to do to kill this bill, are playing directly into the hands of Russia. We had it demonstrated last night. General Marshall said that Premier Stalin told him that what he wants is delay-that there is no hurry about settling Europe's problems. He wants Europe, which is hungry and destitute, to get no help from America, to get no state of security and order. The U.S. S. R. for example is absolutely opposed to any action to take care of the refugees and DP's; they say, send them back to the countries they came from, even to those countries where they are sure to be persecuted for their political opinions. Why? Because no settlement—despair, discord, misery-all those things play into the hands of a communism which promise relief to such unfortunates. Communism is a religion for the desperate. If you want it, defeat this bill.

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. CHELF. In other words, you cannot teach a man democracy on an empty stomach.

Mr. JAVITS. Exactly, and you cannot teach dead men not to be Communists.

[Mr. HINSHAW addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentlemen from South Carolina [Mr. BRYSON].

(Mr. BRYSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Chairman, I am willing and anxious, as in the past, to render every possible assistance I can to the troubled, confused, misled, and misplaced peoples of the earth. The law of self-preservation, however, prompts me to oppose communism with all my strength. I hope that the House will adopt the amendment which excludes communistic-dominated countries from participating in any funds we may appropriate. From the days when the Greeks, who had been unsuccessfully besieging a city for 9 years, finally captured and destroyed that city by secretly introducing within its walls their own soldiers concealed in a harmless-looking wooden horse, mankind has always been more or less aware that secret enemies within the gates are far more dangerous than open enemies without. Today and for a long time the United States has been harboring and even protecting a Trojan horse in the form of communism. Now at long last, and in the present critical condition of the world, we are becoming aware of the hostile, powerful, dangerous presence in our midst of a secret group of persons calling themselves Americans but giving paramount allegiance to a foreign power.

Communism is not dangerous as a mere political theory, or as a mere economic theory. It must stand or fall by its own effectiveness or failure in operation. We do not bar thinking in this country. People have a right to ideas, even to ideas of change. We cannot legislate against ideas, and we do not wish to do so. All we ask is that ideas be submitted to the bar of reason and public opinion. Nor is communism dangerous because its adherents constitute a political party. We believe in political parties in this country. They are essential to the mechanism of democratic government, and this is true not only of the two major political parties but of the numerous smaller political parties—the parties built around one idea, which from time to time have appeared, and not infrequently have contributed to the development of the Nation.

However, the communism with which we are faced today is not a theory or a political party, but a conspiracy. It is a highly organized, closely integrated, strongly disciplined organization, ceaselessly plotting to overthrow the Government of the United States, as part of a world-wide revolution. Under whatever camouflage of idealistic verbiage its positions are urged, it has one immediate purpose from which it never deviates, which is to support the designs of Soviet Russia.

It is surprising indeed that American citizens, enjoying the prosperity and freedom of this country, a degree of prosperity and freedom never before enjoyed by the masses of plain people in any country in the whole history of the world, can be brought to plot against the security of the country which gave

them these benefits. Read the report of the Canadian Royal Commission which investigated the Soviet spy ring in Canada, and see how it is done. Scientists violated their own oaths in order to betray the secrets of atomic energy to agents of Moscow. Add to that group an array of the frustrated, the discontented, the misfits, and the victims of injustices as still remain in our democracy, and then let these all be manipulated by the shrewd, unprincipled, highly trained leadership of masters of intrigue, themselves financed and directed by an international organization, and there you have a picture of communism as we have to deal with it within the borders of this country.

The communistic conspiracy has a highly developed technique, elaborated by international experts, who have spent decades in studying how to create mass discontent and disorder, and how to use the confusion thus created to further their own purposes. The methods are well known, and have been considerably publicized, yet they are not always easy to recognize on the spot when they are in operation.

The first objective is to infiltrate into the armed forces, create bad morale and propagandize soldiers and sailors so that they will aid or at least not hinder an actual taking over of the country by physical force. It was in this way that the original Communist success was gained in the Russian revolution of 1918. We have been very fortunate in this respect in this country. Before the war, efforts to win our servicemen did not get much response, and official quarters were on their guard. During the war there was not much danger because we were fighting on the same side as Russia. The situation is different now.

The next great area in which Communists plan first to infiltrate and then to dominate, is organized labor. Organized labor, where captured, provides them with a source of funds, a propaganda outlet, a means for stirring discontent, and if necessary, a weapon of sabotage. "Controlled unions," as a recent writer points out, "contribute heavily to the various party fronts and causes. They in turn serve as fronts for diverse propaganda schemes. They can picket consulates and Government offices with practiced skill. When conditions warrant, strikes can be provoked so as to create the atmosphere of unrest in which communism thrives. finally, if communistic policy so dictates, they can actually sabotage essential production. Thus the 1945 shipping strike to bring back the soldiers—American, not Russian-was an example of political sabotage, intended to weaken the United States on the international front. The method ordinarily used to gain control of a labor union is to send a few organizers to work in a plant, then join the union, then gain minor offices in the union, then start currents of discontent against the helpless officers of the union, then get themselves or certain handpicked tools, elected to the higher offices, then expel or discredit any local opposition which may exist, and eventually control the funds and adopt policies. When, as sometimes happens, their

men by similar tactics have reached top positions in the international union, they can both rule and perpetuate their own power.

Communists never neglect the intellectual front. By such measures as were revealed in Canada, they penetrate academic circles, as well as dramatic, musical, artistic, and literary groups. They publish vast amounts of literature, skillfully adapted to different classes of readers. Some of it is frankly Communist. More is disguised to seem non-Communist.

Liberal-minded persons in all circles, and especially in government, are a particular target. Being open-minded, and proud of being so, they are ready to listen to new ideas, and not always shrewd enough to find out they are being used. Being sympathetic to the underprivileged, they sometimes prove credulous to communistic claims of idealism. Entirely innocent and logal Americans are liable to find their names used to guarantee the respectability of organizations whose real, though covert, purpose is revolution. Every effort is made by Communists to get these sympathizers, if not their own members, into key positions in government, labor, education, military life. By and large their success has, fortunately for us, not been commensurate with their efforts.

I am not here discussing the theoretical basis of communism. As I said before, its future as an economic and political theory will be judged by mankind on its merits. I do wish to point out, however, that it is spiritually at the furthest removed from all that has made for the best life of America. Communism is sheer materialism. Beginning from its founder, Karl Marx, it excludes spiritual considerations, except, of course, where it finds it can use them temporarily for purposes of strategy. Its interpretation of history is purely in terms of economic determinism. It has no theory of human rights as against the powers of the state: witness the millions of slave laborers now in concentration camps in Russia. It renounces religion as the "opiate of the people," and for years promoted the Godless League. For years it tried unsuccessfully to rid Russia of religion altogether. Now it tolerates what it could not destroy, but atheism is still part of its basic theory, and it regards the Christian church as its worst enemy.

Communism acknowledges no moral laws where the interests of the state, as conceived by its leaders and dictators, may be involved. Lies are an instrument. of policy. Communist leaders are always changing their names, hiding under aliases, and traveling about the world on forged passports. A denial by a Communist that he is a Communist means nothing. The party lists are kept smaller than they need to be so that it will not even be suspected that many of the most active agents are Communists. In any case party lists are not made public and sources of income are secret. There is little doubt that over a long period the American Communist Party was directly financed from Russia, just as its policies have always been imported from the same country.

Evidence on the latter point is crystal clear. The leaders of American communism are not elected by the members. They are chosen by and may be deposed by Moscow, as in the recent deposition of Earl Browder. The "party line" in America is not the consensus of common thinking by American Communists, it is the line laid down abroad. The party cannot even hold a convention except by the consent of executive committee of the Communist International. When a convention is held, representatives of the International have the right to participate in meetings both of the central party and local organizations, and oppose the American leaders if the "line" of the latter "diverges from the instructions of the executive committee of the Communist International."

The Communist International was theoretically terminated by Stalin during the war, as a gesture to his western allies. There is no reason to doubt that it functions as always, directed by Moscow, its decisions reaching American Communists via Paris.

The number of American Communists is so small, with less than 100,000 enrolled, and its program so at variance with American ideas, institutions, and needs, that the whole movement might easily be regarded as negligible so far as our domestic affairs are concerned. Indeed it has for exactly these reasons been disregarded by most Americans. But in these days of international tension with Russia we cannot disregard this fifth column in our midst. By every possible means these people are working day and night for Russia and against the United States.

It is part of Communist theory that a third world war is inevitable. No less a person than Stalin himself wrote in his chief theoretical work, "It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist interminably side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or another must conquer." While Stalin has recently been reported to have expressed himself in a more pacific vein, to foreign newspaper men, the sentiment I have just quoted was the serious expression of an earlier date used to indoctrinate his followers in the true faith of communism, representing certainly his earlier and almost equally certain his real philosophy. It is and has always been a commonplace of Communist theory.

A recent writer—James Burnham, in Life magazine, March 31, 1947—asserts, and everything we know confirms the truth of his assertion, that Communist policy regards the present period as a period of preparation for the third world war, and considers that it has in this period two specific tasks to perform: The first is to consolidate an effective domination of Europe and Asia. The second is to infiltrate and weaken all countries which cannot be brought under Communist control.

All you and I have to do is to lift our eyes and see these two efforts being made before us. In Europe, Russia prolongs the misery of the people with the deliberate intention of forcing them into communism. We see the tentacles of Russian power reaching out in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Finland, the Balkan countries, Germany, and France—some of these countries have already succumbed. We see the moves being made in Turkey, Iran, China, Korea. That is the story—or part of the story—abroad.

Here at home the other part is being played—the infiltration and weakening of the United States, so that it will not be a hindrance to Red fascism abroad and will in time be ready to drop, as other countries have already dropped, into the lap of communism.

It may be that in this era we will have to face acute conflict. The words from Stalin which I quoted a moment ago may well be put alongside those of another dictator whose power grew out of another revolution, and whose attempted conquests of Europe were stopped only at the cost of enormous bloodshed. This was Napoleon Bonaparte. After his wars were over, and he was in exile at St. Helena, he thus described the situation:

If we fought all over the continent, it was because two societies stood face to face: that which dates from 1789 and the old regime; they could not live together, and the younger devoured the other. (Quoted in Nickerson: Can We Limit War? p. 192.)

Again two societies stand face to face, and the younger is again trying to devour the other. Let us be aware what we face. Let us avert this disaster, if possible, by bold and courageous policies abroad, and by wise protection of our own land at home from those who seek its overthrow from within.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Jupp].

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I do not think I need to take second place to any man in the House in consistent opposition to the Communist philosophy and the actions of the Soviet Government both in the Far East and in Europe. It is precisely because I want, in the words of my good friend the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Colmer], to consider the problem solely from the standpoint of the coldest realism that I beg of you not to pass his amendment. Everybody knows that at least 20 Poles are against communism for everyone who is for it and by passing the Colmer amendment right here we withhold relief from up to 20 of our friends to avoid the possibility of some food perchance getting to one of our enemies.

Who is going to overthrow communism in eastern Europe—Americans? No; it must be the Poles and Hungarians and the Austrians and the other peoples who live there. How in God's name will they be able or encouraged to do it if we start out by telling them we are not even going to try to get any help to them.

If you read all of the resolution, gentlemen, you will find many and stringent safeguards are already provided to prevent misuse of relief supplies to build up the government in power rather than minister to the needlest. It is too bad that all of the debate has had to be on the amendments to the first section of the joint resolution before we have reached the provisions having to do with

the safeguards and limitations. If we could have handled the Colmer substitute amendment later after we had examined the whole bill and perhaps even written in more stringent safeguards, then I do not think so many would have felt this amendment is necessary or wise. To me, it is tragic for the hungry in Communist-dominated Poland and Hungary and short-sighted for ourselves for us to serve notice on them here and now that we are not even going to make an effort to get assistance to them, stopping it if and when it proves impossible to get fair distribution. If I were a Communist organizer in Poland or Hungary I cannot think of anything that I would like more than to be able to say to the people, "Your western friends are walking out on you." Many people would inevitably feel they have little choice, as the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW | well said, but to join up with the Communists and get a ration card in order to eat.

I am for the Mundt amendment. I want us to try our utmost to get our relief to those people who need it. It would make the Colmer substitute defensible. Relief would be withheld from Communist-dominated countries only if the rulers refused to let us administer it. But if we cannot pass the Mundt amendment, let us reject the Colmer substitute too. Let us not serve notice on the victims of Russia that we condemn them to starvation. Let Russia refuse to allow them food if she wants to, but let America not do it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Sadowski].

(Mr. SADOWSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks)

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Mississippi says that he has been in Europe, but he has not been in Poland. I think it would be good if about 30 or 40 of the Members of Congress went to Poland to see that country. Members of Congress have been all over Europe seeing the conditions there but they have not been in Poland. The gentleman from Mississippi, therefore, does not speak as an authority on Poland because he has not been there. No doubt, he probably flew over it on his way to Moscow, but he did not set foot on Polish soil. If he had, he would probably agree with what General Eisenhower told me at the reception of our former Speaker, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Ray-BURN]. General Eisenhower said, there is no country and no people who have been so thoroughly ruined and despoiled as the Polish Nation and the Polish people. The Polish orphan population in the times before the war was 30,000. That was the normal orphan population. Today, it is over a million. There are over a million orphans. Now, get this picture. The orphans have increased from 30,000 to a million. Who is taking care of them? There are Catholic orphanages and institutions and private institutions of all kinds. The friends organization is there, as well as state organizations trying to help. Who is going to deny to these children the chance to get something to eat?

I have here an article which appeared in the New York Times of this morning. The headline says, "Church peril seen by Polish primate." Cardinal Hlond asks firm stand against heathendom.

I want all of you to read that article in this morning's New York Times. Here is Cardinal Hlond, a great representative of the Catholic church, speaking out openly in Warsaw, Poland—not here, not in Rome, but in Warsaw—telling the people to fight communism and to stand up and fight heathendom.

How are you going to help Cardinal Hlond? How are you going to help the Catholic church in Poland? By adopting the Colmer amendment and by denying a piece of bread to them and by making the people go to Russia and to Stalin for a piece of bread? Is that how you will uphold the hand of Cardinal Hlond and these others who are fighting communism in that country today? No. That is not the right way to fight this battle.

Here is an article that appeared in the Pittsburgh press this morning, and it quotes Henry J. Osinski, who was one of the five men we sent down to supervise UNRRA distribution in Poland. By the way, that UNRRA distribution in Poland was a job well done.

I hope you will all read these two articles in the Congressional Record.

[From the New York Times]

CHURCH PERIL SEEN BY POLISH PRIMATE— PASTORAL LETTER BY CARDINAL HLOND ASKS FIRM STAND AGAINST "HEATHENDOM"

(By Sydney Gruson)

WARSAW, April 28.—Auguste Cardinal Hlond called on the people of Poland this week-end to oppose the "modern heathendom" that is trying to "replace the worship of the Creator with the cult of the creature and worldliness."

In a pastorial letter, read from all church pulpits on the 950th anniversary of St. Wojciech's death, the Catholic primate of Poland declared: "We must not avoid a showdown against heathendom."

This was his first public statement since his pastoral letter before the election, in which he urged the people to vote against the government bloc.

FIRM OPPOSITION INDICATED

The cardinal's careful choice of language in the new letter did not hide implications that the church would continue to oppose communism in Poland even though Communists have won control of the Government.

"There can be no truce between Christendom and impious irreligiousness," Cardinal Hlond declared, "It is the desire of providence that Poland repulse absolutely the attempt of atheists, tempting with the pretenses and nothing but pretenses of a philosophy of the future and with the beautiful idea of progress."

The cardinal described the church's position in Poland as "internally strong" and "externally unclear but calm."

Kazimierz Prszynski, Polish Government spokesman, is in Rome negotiating with the Vatican for a new concordat. Cardinal Hlond expressed the belief that "Polish political thought will find a proper, perhaps even an original, manner for settling the relations between the church and the state."

MENACING CHAOS SEEN

"Modern heathendom takes different shapes and the nation's reactions to its operation are not uniform," the cardinal said. "It has brought about in many countries a menacing chaos.

"It has met no success in Poland, but it persistently repeats its endeavors to take the spiritual leadership of the Nation. Ungodliness would like to take root not only in the factory suburbs but also in the great rural

"The proclaimers of atheism cannot forgive the church for warning the faithful of

the dangers of faithlessness."

He said the excesses in Polish life "make the reconstruction of normal conditions impossible." He noted that "Poland is not the worst in such matters," and concluded with a demand that "the nation must have its Catholic conscience returned to it."

In another approach between the Government and the church recently, the church episcopate submitted a 15-point memorial to Premier Joseph Cyrankiewicz, asking that freedom of press, speech, and conscience be made principles of the new constitution, now being written. Human liberties and human dignity should be fully guaranteed, the memorial said.

[From the Pittsburgh Press]

HALF OF CHILDREN SUFFER TE YET ALL POLAND RETAINS HOPE-VISITOR REPORTS NATION IS GRATEFUL TO UNITED STATES

Poland today is a country where half the children have tuberculosis, and 100 percent of the people have hope.

A picture of the war-torn country-and its gratitude for American help—was painted today by Henry J. Osinski, executive secretary of American Relief for Poland.

Mr. Osinski has returned from 15 months behind Poland's own iron curtain, where he directed American relief supplies.

LOOK TO UNITED STATES

He will speak tonight to the Allegheny County branch of the Polish relief group at 7:30 p. m. in Soldiers and Sailors Memorial.

The slender, Buffalo-born Mr. Osinski is silent on political affairs, mostly because he intends to return in June.

But he is strong in the conviction that the average Polish citizen looks up to the United States as the greatest country in

"When we would take our trucks into small Polish towns," he said, "people would run up and kiss the painted American flags on the sides.

"People who hadn't seen an American in 6 years wuold tell me, 'We knew you would come.' "

Crowds would gather around the caravan and give endless cheers for Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and possibly a few dimly remembered movie stars.

HIS AUTO CARRIED BY PARADERS

On several occasions the cheering crowds picked up Mr. Osinski's light sedan bodily and paraded it through the streets.
"It almost ruined it," he admits.

He said that his committee, which now dispenses more than a half-million meals a day was given complete freedom to tour in Poland.

Its food and clothing were given out only under strict rules—the strictest being that each person receiving help must know it was given by the people of the United States.

NO RACE OR CREED RESTRICTIONS

No government agency was allowed to distribute anything, and goods were given to those who necded them without regard to race or creed, Mr. Osinski said.

The help already given has been great, Mr. Osinski said, but it will have to keep up for at least another year.

Crops were damaged by floods, and the country is still far from recovered. An estimate 300,000 are still living in caves and German-built bunkers in Warsaw alone.

Most pathetic to Mr. Osinski are the children. Checks have shown that about half are suffering tuberculosis and another 35 per-

cent are in danger of tuberculosis from malnutrition.

Their greatest immediate need is food, especially milks and fats. Mr. Osinski said any donation would help.

"It is the greatest advertisement for democracy money can buy," he concluded.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

(Mr. HINSHAW and Mr. SABATH were granted permission to revise and extend their remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Oregon [Mr. ANGELL] is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Chairman, it has been brought to my attention by a number of veterans who have their homes in trailers parked at the Washington Tourist Park that they are to be evicted. I also understand that these veterans have been living at this location for at least 2 years and many of them were compelled to invest their life savings in these trailer homes so that they could be located in this area where they could attend schools, job training, and where they could be employed while going to school at nights. Many of the wives are also employed in order to help their veteran husbands through school. These trailers have been kept neat and clean. The veterans have been and are good, respectable citizens. They have been paying the Washington Tourist Park in the vicinity of \$2,000 per month rent for the few facilities they receive. Everything possible has been done to make their trailer camp a good, quiet, clean, respectable community. Thev have not in any way interfered with the transient trade of the Washington Tourist Park, but they have taken pride in the area in which they live and have tried to keep it up in a way in which the transient trade does not do, as is a wellknown fact to the park authorities.

When the veterans heard that they were to be evicted they immediately started out to check the surrounding area for suitable places to park their trailers. They looked in vain because there is not a trailer park within radius of 25 miles that could accommodate 100 trailers. The Temple Trailer Park was the only one that compared favorably with the Washington Tourist Park as to cleanliness and accommodations but it is filled and will have no vacancies for several months. The other camps were filthy and unsuitable even though they had no accommodations. The zoning of the surrounding area is such that trailers cannot park anywhere but in an authorized camp.

When the veterans started to move into the Washington Tourist Park it was with the idea that they would be allowed to stay there until such time as the war housing emergency was over and they could find suitable dwellings for themselves and families. The war emergency is not over yet and the housing shortage is still acute. Therefore I can see no reason why the Department of the Interior should not allow the veterans to remain in their present location under the same status as they have been allowed to stay there for the past 2 years until the emergency is over and the housing situation is such that these vet-

erans can be assimilated into low-cost, livable homes. I would like to recommend, however, that the present location be improved by installing running water and drainage on all of the trailer lots instead of only a few. I have inspected this area many times and having stopped at trailer parks across the continent, I find this one very well equipped for permanent trailer parking with the exception of the above improvement.

Mr. Chairman, this is an emergency in which even the temporary housing situation for the veteran must be taken care of and I hope you will join with us in protecting the rights of these veterans so they may keep their trailers, their only homes, in the Washington Tourist Park until the housing emergency ends. The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman

from Ohio [Mr. Bender] is recognized for 3 minutes.

(Mr. BENDER asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

BENDER. Mr. Chairman, Mr. boarded a plane in Cleveland at 6 o'clock this morning, and the only reading matter I could find on the plane was the New York Times, and I had to read it for 2 hours. There is a lot of good reading in it, including foreign news. Thirteen foreign articles appeared in the New York Times this morning-dispatches from various parts of the world. I can readily understand why there is so much confusion on the floor of the House and why there is so much muddled thinking, not only in this country but throughout the world, when you get the substance of what those statesmen and politicians in other countries are talking about. As a matter of fact, I heard my good friend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Sabath] tell about democracy at work in Czechoslovakia. I read an article concerning Czechoslocakia's confiscating all private industry and making it a part of the state. Well, if that is democracy, then I do not know what democracy is.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENDER. I yield to my distinguished friend.

Mr. O'KONSKI. With regard to democracy in Czechoslovakia, they recently hanged the Catholic monsignor for preaching his faith.

Mr. BENDER. While the gentleman is on his feet, will he conclude his earlier speech and say how he feels about this bill?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Well, it is hard to say what I wanted to say in a half an hour, in 1 minute, but it is my opinion that we have been following a doubledealing, stupid foreign policy for the past 5 years, and this bill is merely a continuation of that same stupid, doubledealing foreign policy. By that I simply mean, if we are going to adopt a policy of fighting communism, I contend that as long as our State Department recognizes a government imposed upon the people of Poland by force and by aggression, so long is that State Department not consistent in its policy of fighting communism. There is only one way to

fight communism, and that is to quit recognizing any government imposed by force that preaches the doctrine of communism. You are not going to stop communism by sending bread. I have more than a thousand communications in my office from people in those downtrodden countries, and not one of them asked for bread. They ask for freedom. They ask to be unyoked from this beast of communism that has been thrust upon them. Until we have cleaned house in our State Department, or we have a State Department that follows one consistent policy. you will never get rid of communism. They talk about stopping communism in Poland. One part of the State Department was asking the Polish Government to have a free government, but another part of our State Department, 10 days before that, unloaded \$24,000,000 of Polish assets onto the Polish Communist Government so that they would have \$24,000,000 to spread communism among the Polish people, telling them that the American Government wants the Communist Government to win.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bender] has

expired.

Mr. BENDER. The gentleman has made a much better speech than I could. I am glad he completed his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] is recognized for 3 minutes.

(Mr. RANKIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, if they had a regime in Poland representing the Polish people I would be for lending them every possible aid, but everybody knows that the people of Poland are under the heels of a commissar, a Communist regime that is grinding them into the dust.

If you will turn back and read an article that came out the other day about the 14,000,000 slaves in Communist Russia, you will find this statement:

Here, for example, is a part of the testimony of one Polish prisoner who had formerly been a judge. Here is what the judge said: "Half naked, barefooted, half alive, we arrived in the icy and deserted tundra where there was but a stick with a board nailed to it bearing the words 'Camp Point No. 228.' We ate rye flour mixed with water—uncooked. At night we slept in dugouts, lying close to each other for warmth on wet branches spread out on the mud."

Then he goes on to tell of the horrible treatment these slaves receive. He said:

Many died each night in the camp, and orderlies would tear the clothes off the bodies and then drag them to the morgue, a primitive barn made of sticks and branches where piles of corpses lay.

I am for the Colmer admendment for the simple reason that in my opinion this money will go into the hands of those Communist dictators just as the money and the supplies did that went to Russia. They have distributed them and lied to the people about where they came from. Communist Russia never gave America any credit at all for the things we sent to Russia.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield.

Mr. FULTON. Does the gentleman know that 50 percent of the children of Poland have tuberculosis?

Mr. RANKIN. And they will die of starvation if we depend on the Communist regime to feed them.

Mr. SADOWSKI. They will certainly starve to death if they have to depend upon you and Mr. Colmer.

Mr. RANKIN. No; we have been more charitable than the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Sadowski] by a heck of of a sight.

I am opposed to any Communist regime or any Communist-dominated regime anywhere in the world.

Let the Committee on Foreign Affairs of this House go into these matters and let the State Department or the administration break with this Communist dictator, this criminal that now has his heels on the neck of the people of Poland and then we can deal with the people of Poland temselves.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

The genleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD] is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I think the evidence that has been presented here today will show you that we now have a bill before us which authorizes the Government of the United States to make contracts with Russia for relief, and with Russian-dominated countries for relief. Within a few days we shall have before this House a proposal to send some three or four hundred million dollars of relief and armaments to Turkey and Greece in order to equip them to fight Russia.

I agree with the gentleman from Wisconsin when he said that is double dealing, double talk. Unless amendments similar to the Colmer amendment are put in this bill, unless we can have United States supervision of these relief matters, food stations, clothing, whatever it may be that is sent, and unless the relief is withheld from Communist Russia and Communist-dominated countries I for one shall vote against the bill and take my chances with the good people of my district.

I do not propose to involve my taxpayers and my bond buyers in financing any such double dealing now or at a later date.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield.

Mr. OWENS. I wish to ask the gentleman from Michigan the same question I asked the gentleman from New York yesterday: Does the gentleman feel that this measure is necessary for our common defense and for the welfare of the United States?

Mr. CRAWFORD. To finance Russia? No. To finance Russian-dominated countries? No. To put relief in the hands of Russian-dominated governments to drive the people into their camp? No. I shall not vote for any such relief at any time; and because I do not believe such is for the common defense and for the welfare of the United States.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. My amendment would prevent the giving of relief to Russia itself.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Oh, but what about the Russian-dominated countries? If we could ascertain the facts we would find millions of people behind the iron curtain in Russia who are opposed to the Communist Government now controlling and often liquidating the Russian people. My heart goes out to them, but I will not fight my enemy and feed him at the same time. I will fight him, but I will not feed him at the same time.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. May I say that the gentleman speaks the sentiments I have so far as this bill is concerned.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I thank the gentle-

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CRAWFORD. I yield to the

gentleman from Michigan.
Mr. SADOWSKI. Will the gentleman vote for relief for Germany?

Mr. CRAWFORD. Certainly, because we are dominating Germany. We are dominating and occupying Germany and of course I would vote to feed the Germans over which we exercise such control.

Mr. SADOWSKI. The gentleman is for relief for Germany but he will not vote for relief for the Polish people.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Poland is under the Russian heel. No one knows that better than the gentleman. Why should I put money and food in the hands of the Russian group in Poland to drive the Polish people to go along with Russia and against us?

Mr. SADOWSKI. That is not the gentleman's reason.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Oh, yes. The gentleman should not try to sell me his bill of goods.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

(Messrs. SADLAK, MacKINNON, KEATING, CHADWICK, and JAVITS asked and were given permission to extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

[Mr. SADLAK addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear he eafter in the Appendix.]

AID TO POLAND

Mr. MacKINNON. Mr. Chairman, will we give aid to the hungry peoples of Poland? That is the question now before the Congress. I say that the Polish people are more entitled to assistance from this Nation than the peoples of any other foreign nation. It was the Polish people who first fought the Nazis-and they fought the Communists at the same time. In thus carrying the torch for freedom and democracy against the dictatorial hordes of Europe and Asia they served the freedom-loving peoples of all the world. They did so at the expense of despoiling their own land. In the aftermath that followed no nation was despoiled as Poland was despoiled and

no peoples were persecuted as the Poles were persecuted. Why? Because they had the courage to fight for the same ideals of freedom that the United States has advocated for over 170 years. I plead with you to adopt no amendment that would interfere with our attempt to feed the starving remnants of a Poland whose courageous fight against dictatorship in the face of insuperable odds equaled that of the bravest nations in history.

DO NOT AID COMMUNISM

There are those who say this will aid communism—but there are adequate provisions in this bill to protect us from aiding communism. We propose to help feed those starving in Poland and we propose to tell the Polish people who is feeding them. That will not aid communism—it will fight communism for it will show the Poles that we are their friends.

POLISH PEOPLE ARE NOT COMMUNISTS

The Polish people are not Communists, they are Christians of the most devout type. They abhor communism, they detest it. We should help them as a nation get back on their feet. We should help them become a strong nation. Then as a nation they will throw off the Communist fetters that presently have some control over their government. We can today help them fight communism by voting in support of this bill to feed their hungry deserving people.

With the humanity for which we as a people are famous I am sure you will not fail to respond to the needs of our courageous allies in Poland by voting in their support. Your vote for this bill will be cast on the side of God.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, a hungry stomach knows no politics. seems to me it would be a short-sighted policy to adopt the amendment of the gentleman from Mississippi denying absolutely any relief to the people of a so-Communist-dominated country. In the first place, there is the difficulty of defining this term, but more important and fundamental than that is the humanitarian and, indeed, as I see it, intensely practical proposition that in Poland and Hungary, the two countries here chiefly concerned, the destitute and starving people whom this great Nation seeks to help, are just as hungry, just as cold, and just as sick, and just as much in need of food, clothing, and medical supplies as those in other countries whose politics do not follow the Communist line.

Ambassador Lane, recently returned from Poland, and other authorities, tell us that not over 10 percent of the people in that devastated country want a Communist government. Ninety percent must bow to the will of this small clique because force so dictates.

In Hungary in the recent elections, only 5 percent voted for Communist candidates, 95 percent registering their courageous protest against the regime.

If we deny to these vast majorities in these two countries any relief when we are extending it to their stricken brothers in neighboring countries, it will be a demonstration to them, not of the warmth of our generosity, but of a cold and purely political approach to the problem of human suffering.

It is not necessary for me to restate my position on communism. It is well known to this body and to the people in my district, but I do say to the House that the way to fight communism is not only frontally, but also, and perhaps more important, by demonstrating to those who have embraced or are about to embrace this ideology, that there is a better idea, there is a nobler philosophy, known as democracy, which has its roots in Christianity.

It is argued that if relief is denied in these so-called Communist-dominated countries they will rise up in revolution against those in power and overthrow them. My answer to that is that it is far more likely to win adherents to the cause and principles in which we believe for these people to see the essential difference between those who would deprive them and those who would succor them. It would be, in my judgment, a tragic mistake for us to allow ourselves, because of our justifiably embittered feeling about communism, to be swept off our feet to take action which not only is violative of humanitarian principles, but is also against our own enlightened self-interest.

I am aware of the duty which we owe to those who must foot the bill for this relief. Much as my heart might dictate charity, I would feel hesitant to vote for the measure before us, were I not entirely convinced that it is essential to the pattern of our country's defense and the role of world leadership which, whether we wish it or not, is now ours. I favor every type of safeguard to insure that this food and clothing be not used, as it was so frequently in the UNRRA days, for political purposes. We must not turn it over to any of these countries to parcel out to their friends for votes.

There are many safeguards already in this bill directing relief to be stopped when it becomes apparent that such abuses exist, permitting our representatives to go into these countries and see what is happening, and allowing the press and the radio to report. I favor the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota which will say, in effect, that in any case where it is considered necessary, an American mission may go in to supervise in detail the distribution of these supplies. I think that is only reasonable and we should insist upon it to be sure that our objective to alleviate hunger, nakedness, sickness, and human suffering is achieved and that the taxpayers' dollars are not wasted. I believe the vast majority of the American people, when these protective provisions are written into this law, will wish to share their plenty with these desperately needy in the war devastated areas.

I favor naming the countries where this relief is to be extended, with an emergency provision for a small amount to be expended if some pestilence or sudden catastrophe should arise elsewhere. I agree with those who say we should not write a blank check. I understand an amendment is to be offered to permit a portion of this relief fund to be turned over to the Children's Fund which was recommended by ex-President Hoover in his testimony. One who has been seen, as I have, tragically thin little children in three of these countries concerned, in the raw days of December, their little hands purple with the cold, collecting faggots or picking over an ash heap to find some half-burned clinkers from which they could extract a few flickering grains of heat, could not fail to support this permissive amendment.

It is also my understanding, that in some of these countries it is intended to sell a part of these supplies. In other words, they will not entirely be distributed to the destitute, but some of them may be sold to those who can afford to buy them. Anyone who can pay, should do so. It is, of course, a fact that in some of these countries there is such a shortage of actual goods that even those with money to pay for them simply cannot get them. If any of these supplies are sold, we should require that funds derived from such sales be held in a separate account which can only be used for relief and rehabilitation under the approval and scrutiny of United States representatives.

There is probably one place where we must draw the line on relief. The people of this country should not be required to put up money to supply food and clothing to the people of the country which is paying out reparations under treaty. My understanding is that this situation applies only to Hungary and that an amendment will be offered to meet that situation. The treaty with Hungary has not yet been ratified by the Senate. Such an amendment will not deny relief to Hungary, as I should not wish to do, provided the Senate does not ratify the treaty. On the other hand, I am informed that Hungary is scheduled to pay \$23,000,000 a year to Russia in reparations. The people of this country will not, I believe support a decision which means that the food and supplies which we pour into a country are to be taken out at the other end by Russia. The way to meet that situation is by denial of ratification to an arrangement which imposes such a burden on a nation struggling to survive.

Under the safeguards which have been and will be written into this proposed bill by way of amendment, I shall support the measure. My heart, my conscience, indeed, as I see it, the welfare of my country would not permit me to do otherwise.

Mr. CHADWICK. Mr. Chairman, I desire to associate myself with the views of my colleagues the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'Konski] and the gentleman from Connecticut. It seems to me that it would be fatal strategy, at this juncture of our affairs, to confess defeat of our democratic ideas in Poland and Hungary, and abandon those grand peoples to the tender mercies of the Communist regimes imposed by Russia upon them. I believe that our concept of human freedom burns in their hearts;

we must not fail them or appear to abandon them in this dark hour of their affairs.

And at the same time I want to mention here again Czechoslovakia, as I did earlier in the day, as a country excluded from our interest and support only because, by their own enterprise and devotion, they have made greater progress in the restoration of normal conditions than some of their neighbors have been able to do. I regard Czechoslovakia as the most hopeful of the central European countries now under the shadow of Soviet

[Mr. JAVITS addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Earon].

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, this debate develops the almost insoluble problem, moral as well as economic and political, that confronts us and the world. I am afraid that we will not be able to solve it here today. I wish I were as sure as some of my brethren seem to be here today of their position. However, I am going to support the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt], which, I think, will obviate, in some degree, at least, the almost insoluble difficulty of distribution which confronts us.

Our whole instinct and desire in this legislation is to relieve suffering, avert death and starvation and disease of people who are innocent. How to do that and at the same time avoid subsidizing the Soviet Government, which is the incarnation of everything, in my judgment, that is evil, is a problem that I do not believe we are going to solve here today. If by adopting the Mundt amendment we will make it possible for wise and strong representatives of the American desire and purpose to go into the individual communities and deal at first hand with the people who are suffering and in need, making their actions conform with our standards, then I am for the Mundt amendment, and I think it will go a long way toward solving the problems confronting us.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk reread the Mundt amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will read it.

There was no objection.

The Clerk reread the Mundt amendment to the substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr MUNDT] to the Colmer substitute.

The amendment was agreed to.
The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the Colmer substitute as amended by the Mundt amendment.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MUNDT. So that we can clear up the situation, may I inquire of the Chair if it is not true that if we should now vote down the Colmer amendment it would also vacate the amendment which we just approved so overwhelm-

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct. Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will

Mr. OWENS. Is it not also true that if we vote for the Colmer amendment we have automatically put out the Smith amendment? That was the original amendment. The Colmer amendment is a substitute. If we now vote for the substitute we do not have the Smith amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. In that event we will still have to vote on the original Smith amendment as amended by the substitute.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if it would not be helpful to get unanimous consent to have the Clerk read the Colmer amendment as it will read now with the Mundt amendment

attached thereto? I so move.
Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, the Mundt amendment has just been read. I will not object to the Colmer amendment being reread, but I do not see any use in having any others rereported.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman objecting?

Mr. RAYBURN. I object. Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BENDER. Should we not have the Smith amendment read now?

The CHAIRMAN. We are not ready for that. It would not be in order at this

Mr. COLMER. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. COLMER. In order to clarify the matter, is it not true that the present parliamentary situation is that the Mundt amendment to the so-called Colmer substitute has been adopted?

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. COLMER. And that if the Colmer amendment is now adopted, that would leave out the Smith amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. We would have to vote on the Smith amendment as amended by the substitute.

Mr. MUNDT. I cannot believe that our former Speaker wants to decline the opportunity for the House to act intelligently on this matter. We are in a parliamentary tangle, and I wish, on reconsideration, he would permit the substitute as amended to be read to the -House so that we can vote intelligently. I ask that the former Speaker extend that courtesy to the House.

Mr. RAYBURN. I am going to extend that courtesy, but I am going to object to any more speeches being made on one side or the other of this question under the guise of a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection the request of the gentleman from South Dakota that the substitute amendment as amended be read?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Substitute amendment offered by Mr. COLMER for the Smith of Wisconsin amendment: On page 1, after line 8, add a new sentence, as follows:

"Provided, That none of the funds authorized to be appropriated herein shall be expended in or used for such relief assistance in those countries whose governments are dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics unless the governments of the countries covered by this amendment agree to the following regulations which are hereby declared to be applicable to every country

receiving aid under this act.

"The State Department shall establish and maintain out of the funds herein authorized for appropriation a relief-distribution mission for each of the countries receiving aid under this act. This relief-distribution mission shall be comprised solely of American citizens who shall have been approved as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These missions shall have direct supervision and control of relief supplies in each country and when it is deemed desirable by the American authorities ad-ministering the provisions of this act these relief missions shall be empowered to retain possession of these supplies up to the city or local community where our relief supplies axe actually made available to the ultimate consumers.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that my amendment may be read at this time so that the House may have the full picture.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin: On page 1, at the end of section 1, add the following:

"Appropriations authorized by this joint resolution shall be available for relief in Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and China: Provided, That the President, if he shall determine that emergency needs exist in any other country or countries, is authorized to utilize not more than \$15,000,000 for the purpose of providing relief in such other country or countries."

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Is it not a fact that the adoption of the Colmer amendment would automatically defeat my amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. That would be the effect of it.

The question is on the Colmer substitute as amended by the Mundt amendment.

The Committee divided; and there were—ayes 127, noes 104.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I demand tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed as tellers Mr. Eaton and Mr. Colmer.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported there were—ayes 135, noes 110.

So the substitute amendment as amended was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question now occurs on the Smith amendment as amended by the substitute.

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced the amendment was rejected.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I ask for a division.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state the parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. I understand the amendment that was just voted on, as amended by the Mundt amendment, was a substitute for the Smith amendment. Then, why do we vote on the Smith amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. That was the original amendment.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. A further parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman

will state the point of order.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I make a point of order against the request for a division. It came too late. The vote was announced. The result was announced and the decision of the Committee was announced. Therefore, the request for a division comes too late. That is my point of order.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, on that point of order I would like to be heard. There was confusion all over the Chamber. I was seeking recognition to ask for a division. The fact that it was announced prior to that has no bearing upon the point at all.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman was not recognized for that purpose. The whole thing was decided and the vote was given and there was a pause. The Chair did not recognize the gentleman for that purpose.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. May I say further, Mr. Chairman, that the Chair paused for an appreciable period of time, after the decision of the Committee was announced by the Chairman, and no demand for a division was made.

The CHAIRMAN. The purpose of any vote is to ascertain fairly the judgment of the parliamentary body, and we have not passed on to the consideration of any other business. Therefore, the Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. I make the point of order that the House is out of order in voting on the Smith amendment after the Colmer substitute had been agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is overruled.

Mr. RAYBURN. Permit me to say we have followed the rules of the House, even under the greatest stress.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair thanks the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk read that on which we are now voting by division.

The CHAIRMAN. The Smith amendment as amended by the Colmer substitute.

Mr. BLOOM. The Smith amendment was read before.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the Chair state the question that is before the Committee.

The question is on the Smith amendment as amended by the Colmer sub-

The question was taken; and on a division there were—ayes 136, noes 72.

So the Smith amendment as amended by the Colmer substitute was agreed to. Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. FULTON. As I remember it first there was a Smith amendment, then the Colmer amendment substituted, then there was an amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] which was an amendment, not a substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. FULTON. Then we passed the Mundt amendment and then voted on the substitute as amended; so there was then no other amendment to be considered because as soon as the substitute as amended was agreed to there was no original amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Not under the parliamentary procedure of the House. The Smith amendment had not yet been disposed of.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Judo: Page 1, line 8, strike out the period and insert in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "Pro-That from the sums appropriated pursuant to this section the President may make contributions to the International Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations for the special care and feeding of children, and such contributions shall not be subject to the limitations and requirements provided in this joint resolution, but after \$15,000,000 has been so contributed, no further contributions shall be made which would cause the aggregate amount so contributed by the United States, (1) to constitute more than 57 percent of the aggregate amount contributed to said fund by all governments, including the United States; or (2) to exceed \$50,000,000, whichever is the lesser."

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. I may say to the gentleman from Minnesota that if he will change his amendment and provide for sending it through the International Red Cross I will be glad to support his amendment.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I hope the gentleman will listen carefully to the explanation of the amendment. It authorizes support by the United States to the international children's emergency fund which was unanimously adopted by the first General Assembly of the United Nations meeting in New York last December. Its purpose is to provide assistance for three main groups, needy infants, undernourished children, and nursing mothers.

President Hoover in his testimony said that he particularly favored "aid to the United Nations project for the special feeding of subnormal children.'

Now, this fund has already been set up and if the gentleman from Mississippi will listen, I will advise him that the man already appointed to be its Director is Mr. Maurice Pate who served with Mr. Hoover in the American Red Cross after World War I. He served also as President of the Polish Relief Commission from 1939 to 1941. He has been director of the American Red Cross in charge of relief to prisoners during World War II. So we are sure that the fund will be managed by one who has been working under the Red Cross all these years and has the highest qualifications.

A unique feature of this organization is that it does not operate by giving its food to the governments of the various countries in which it works. It maintains title to its relief supplies from the time they are procured here in the United States or elsewhere until they reach the ultimate recipient. The distribution will be handled and controlled by people who have been carefully trained and who have had long experience in the work of the American Red Cross.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.
Mr. RANKIN. Then why not let the

Red Cross handle it?

Mr. JUDD. Because the American Red Cross, first, is not in a position under its charter to carry on relief in areas for which our Government does not have specific responsibility as we do, for example, in Japan and western Germany. Furthermore, there are many real advantages in doing this on a cooperative basis under the United Nations, if we can do so without the abuses and bad results we had under UNRRA, which there is every reason to believe we can. We know what the administration of this children's fund is going to do. It will not be welfare work such as we had during the depression. It will be hard-headed efficient relief such as Hoover gave after World War I, and such as Red Cross experts have always given. It will bring relief to the groups in a population whose need is greatest, most urgent, most immediate.

The Members of the House are divided with respect to this whole joint resolution. Some are in favor of the resolution, but they may be against this amendment because, they say, we should have a separate bill after awhile for \$50,000,000 or some such sum for the children's fund. I hope those Members will carefully reconsider before they vote against this amendment. I am afraid that if they do not vote today to authorize the President to make contributions from this general relief appropriation to the children's fund, a separate bill may not get taken up for weeks or even at all. Let us at least do this much now. If need for more in a separate bill is demonstrated later, this will not prevent action then.

My amendment provides that the President may, if he wishes, contribute to the emergency children's fund up to \$50,000,000 of the sum authorized in this joint resolution. It is provided further

that he can make initial contributions of \$15,000,000 to get the work going right away. We have to get help to those children in the next few critical weeks. He cannot make additional contributions from the total of \$50,000,000 authorized until other nations have come through so that the aggregate amount ultimately given by the United States will not exceed the 57 percent which has been assigned to us as our share and in no case will it exceed a total of \$50,000,000.

Those who are in favor of House Joint Resolution 153 will, I hope, vote for this, and then we will make sure that those who need it most will get help. On the other hand are those who are opposed to the whole joint resolution. You, too, should vote for this amendment, because if the joint resolution does pass, as I hope and am confident it will, you will thus make sure that such money as is given will go to the place where there is reason to believe it will have the greatest chance to do the most good. Surely, whatever else we cut down on we cannot cut down on hungry babies and children and nursing mothers.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman

from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. If you want the hungry children of Europe to get this money, do not send it through the Tower of Babel, but send it through the American Red Cross and the International Red Cross, and it will feed 10 times as many children as you intend to do.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman

from New York.
Mr. BLOOM. I am in great sympathy with the gentleman's amendment, and I think something should be done. But, I would like to have the gentleman clear up this one thought: What is the difference between the \$15,000,000 that the gentleman speaks of and the sum of \$50,000,000 that he speaks of? I would like to have him explain that to the Committee so we will understand where the difference is.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired. Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three

additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. JUDD. Let me say to the gentleman from New York, that if we were just to provide, as did the resolution I originally offered in committee, that not more than 57 percent of the aggregate amount raised for this international children's fund under the United Nations should be given by the United States, we could not move until the others had moved. I believe the President of the United States should be able to make an initial contribution of up to \$15,000,000 to this fund to help get it going. Then, any additional contribu-tions by us would be dependent upon whether others make a similar contribu-

Mr. BLOOM. When the gentleman speaks of 57 percent does he mean 57

percent of the \$610,000,000?

Mr. JUDD. No. I mean whatever special fund is raised for the children. We will give up to 57 percent, but not to exceed a total of \$50,000,000.

Mr. BLOOM. But we only obligate

ourselves for \$15,000,000 first.

Mr. JUDD. Yes. We authorize \$50,-000,000 if others contribute their share. But even before others contribute their share we authorize the President to contribute \$15,000,000 to this fund to help get it started quickly.

Mr. BLOOM. I think the gentleman has a very good amendment there and

I am for it 100 percent.

Mr. JUDD. I thank the gentleman for his approval.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman

from Georgia.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. I would like to ask the gentleman if the money which is taken from this fund that has been provided here would not be taken out of the distribution by this Commission which has just been provided for by another amendment and placed in the hands of an international organization?

Mr. JUDD. Yes; it would be. money authorized in this amendment would be given to the International Emergency Fund of the Children's United Nations, which is already set up. If I had time I would like to read from their resolution. It is very carefully and explicitly drawn. The executive board of the fund has representatives for a great many countries. It has laid down its policies for administration of relief and they are just as strict, in fact, some are more strict than are the limitations with respect to race, creed, political belief, and that sort of thing, in the joint resolution we are considering.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to my colleague from Minnesota.
Mr. O'HARA. Does the gentleman

have in mind limiting the \$15,000,000 to orphan children?

Mr. JUDD. No; the assistance goes to all needy children.

Mr. O'HARA. What about the children of Communist parents? How are you going to separate them?

Mr. JUDD. They will not be separated, the administrators are in charge of the relief until it goes to the ultimate consumer so that the child of Communist parents will get neither more nor less than his need entitles him to. The main work of the fund will be to give one feeding a day to these children, so there will be at least once a day that they will get something nutritious to eat. It is hoped to get up to 600 calories in that one meal. I certainly would not withhold Minnesota powdered milk from a half-starved child just because the parents are Communists, or perhaps profess to be in order to live.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has again expired.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, there is a general impression in this country that the Soviet Union has in the United States a great many agents spreading the Communist ideology among our people. I think that impression is well-founded.

I should like to ask this question: Where does the Soviet get its money to pay its agents for doing this work? In 1933 the President of the United States officially recognized Communist Russia. The guid pro guo for that courtesy allegedly was discontinuance by Russia of Communist promotional activities in the United States. Only the naive believed the agents of the Comintern would be withdrawn from the United States. At about the time recognition was given Russia, the Congress of the United States passed the Gold Reserve Act and raised the price of gold from \$20 to \$35 an ounce and authorized the Treasury to purchase gold at the increased price from any country that offered to sell it to us in unlimited amounts. The United States bought more than \$700,-000,000 of gold from Japan and paid for that gold with scrap iron, oil, airplane parts, and so forth, which Japan later threw back at us in the form of bullets and bombs.

The Treasury also bought gold in large amounts from Russia. With the credit provided by that gold the agents of Stalin were amply provided with the funds to carry on their activities in this country. Bear in mind that this is the source of the means by which Stalin has operated in the United States of America.

I wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury a few days ago and asked him whether the Treasury still favors purchasing gold from Russia. His answer was in the affirmative, which means that the administration favors continuing the policy of providing the funds for Stalin to carry on his communistic activities in this Nation. It means precisely that and nothing less.

What, I ask, is our foreign policy? Where do we stand? It is being proposed on the one hand that we deprive Russia of the facilities for Communist expansion in Europe, Asia, and other parts of the world, while on the other hand we continue through gold purchases from her to supply her agents with a vast amount of funds to carry on her communistic activities in our country.

I am not one of those who believe communism can be stopped by war or foreign grants of money. I am only pointing out the utter inconsistency of the present policy of pouring money into Europe and elsewhere to stop communism while at the same time supplying the means for its propagation here at home. Let me add, however, that if communism should overwhelm us, which God forbid, it will not be because it was foisted upon us from the outside but developed endogenously.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, at the request of the leadership, which is anxious that we speed this relief bill onward, whatever relief it provides, I ask

unanimous consent that debate on this amendment close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Fulton]

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Dr. Judd a question publicly. Dr. Judd, as you know, this particular program of relief of \$350,000,000 is generally a program of relief for approximately six countries. This is separate from the children's fund program for relief which it was contemplated would come up later. This general relief program is for \$350,000,000, and the proposed program for the children has been an additional \$50,000,000. I want to ask you whether in your opinion you feel your, amendment, by putting the children's relief under this fund, will cut the total amount that will be available for children in those countries in the overall picture?

Mr. JUDD. No. My honest judgment is that this is likely to increase the amount they will get because I am genuinely afraid, I will say to the gentleman, that if we do not take care of this now in this resolution, an additional resolution coming along later when we are in a legislative jam near the end of the session will not get enacted at all. I am afraid if we do not act here the children's fund may not get_anything, or at least not in time to save many, many lives.

Mr. FULTON. Therefore, we are debating on this question on the basis that it will not hurt a later approach to the children's fund.

Mr. JUDD. If the need for more develops later and it is demonstrated, Congress can and I think will provide more money. But I want to make sure now that as much as possible of the money that is provided for in this joint resolution will go where the need is greatest.

Mr. FULTON. I thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. I agree with what the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd] just said with reference to the amount for the children. I think-it is imperative to do what is necessary now and not wait until later. I think this will help the whole proposition, and that is why I am following the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Junn].

Mr. FULTON. I am glad to have the gentlemans comments. I simply wanted to bring out this point so it would not come up later as an objection.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield.

Mr. MONRONEY. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd] seems to be a very, very good amendment. I wonder if by authorizing \$50,000,000 for the children's program we are not automatically cutting down on other relief and cutting it down to \$150,000,000 rather than authorizing \$200,000,000 as the bill now stands.

Mr. FULTON. That is a part of my question, whether it cuts the total amount of relief down.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. Is it not a fact that if we leave the children's fund out of this and decide to put through special legislation later for the children's fund, we can do that, but if we do not do something now, the President cannot do anything about any of it. The one important thing to do is to get this relief program going as soon as possible and not delay any of the different parts of it. If we want to take a second guess later with other legislation, we can do so.

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield. Mr. BARDEN. Do I understand the language of this amendment to mean that in spite of any other restrictions in the bill this money shall be used as indicated in the amendment?

Mr. FULTON. No; it will come under the restrictions previously adopted by amendments here and which have been put in the bill by the committee.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I believe the gentleman from Pennsylvania is not correct in the answer that he has just made. This money will be administered by the International Emergency Children's Fund. Its director has already laid down restrictions and limitations which are similar and in some respects even more strict, but are not identical with those we have adopted here. It cannot be handled under two sets of restrictions. For example, the conditions as to how credits are to be extended, and so forth limited are not applicable and should not be applied to contributions to the children's fund.

Mr. FULTON. I think the gentleman has made a real point. This children's fund then, is not under the particular restrictions of this bill. The funds are being taken out of the general relief program and a separate program is being made of it.

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a further ques-

Mr. FULTON. I yield. Mr. BARDEN. I think the House would like this matter cleared up. Do I understand that this fund is to be used in Communist-dominated countries?

Mr. JUDD. Yes; it can be used in Communist-dominated countries the same as the rest of the \$200,000,000 which has already been voted can be used in Communist-dominated countries subject to restrictions such as I have already referred to.

Mr. BARDEN. What was the reason the gentleman objected to putting the same restriction upon the use of these funds that we placed upon the rest of the \$200,000,000?

Mr. JUDD. Because under the rules and regulations adopted by the management of the children's fund these essential restrictions have already been established. It has been in the process of organization since last December. This is to authorize our contributions to

it to help it get actual field operations going. It, itself, adopted similar restric-

tions long before we came along.
Mr. FULTON. If this is not under the same restrictions as the rest of the bill and is a separate program, I believe it is cutting down the total amount of relief, and it may react against the children's fund later, therefore I think the amendment should be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Ful-TONI has expired.

All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Jupp].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Fulton) there were—ayes 145, noes 10.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows.

Amendment proposed by Mrs. St. George: Strike out of section 1, lines 3 and 4 the following: "to the President not to exceed", and add after the end of section 1 the following:

"The President, by and with the consent of the Senate, shall appoint a Director, to be known as the Director of Foreign Relief, said Director to be paid a sum not to exceed \$15,000 per annum. The Director shall, in turn, appoint citizens of the United States, without any criminal record, and having no affiliation or membership in the Communist Party, to oversee relief in all countries needing such relief. These citizens to be paid the regular amounts according to their civil service rating plus expenses while on duty abroad, and volunteers may be appointed at the discretion of the Director, and, if military or naval personnel, they shall continue to receive their regular pay and allowances as though on active service. All civilian persons appointed by the Director of Foreign relief shall be investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which shall certify to the Director of Foreign Relief their citizenship, criminal record, if any, and political background, and affiliations. Files shall be kept by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on all these persons and such files are to be available at all times to Members of Congress and all Federal officials acting in an official capacity."

Strike out section 2. (a) and substitute therefore the following:

"Under the direction of the Director of Foreign Relief, such relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits subject to the control of the Director, in such quantities and on such terms as the Director of Foreign Relief may determine; except that no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made after June 30, 1948."

Line 17, page 3 strike out "President" and ubstitute therefore "Director of Foreign substitute Relief."

Line 23, page 4 strike out "President" and substitute therefore "Director of Foreign

Line 3, page 5 strike out "President" and substitute therefore "Director of Foreign Relief."

Strike out "SEC. 6. The authority of the President under sections 2, 3, and 4, to the extent the President directs, be exercised by the Secretary of State."

Strike out "SEC. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under authority of this joint resolution," and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 6. The Director of Foreign Relief shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under authority of this joint resolution."

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman, in offering this amendment I want it to be clearly understood that it is in no way a reflection or criticism on the work of the committee. I was very happy to hear at the beginning of this debate one distinguished member of the committee make the statement on the floor of the House that he would like amendments, in fact, that the committee felt that the bill needed amending. This seems to me quite apparent as we have seen a good many amendments offered by members of the committee.

It seems to me that if we turn back the pages of history a little we can see that this country of ours did the most outstanding piece of relief and welfare work not so very long ago when Herbert Hoover took over and administered Belgian relief after World War I.

It is my thought that if we can pattern the administration of this relief as closely as possible on what was done at that time we would come a little nearer perfection. I regret that owing to the change in the times volunteer service is no longer considered very important. It has seemed more necessary that this should be put under Government, and that the Director should be paid.

I think we all object to the blank-check idea—I know that my people at home object to it; and that is another reason why I have tried to get away from that and have a Director appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate.

It also seems to me in view of the discussions on the floor of this House that it is very essential that this money be administered in these countries, and wherever it is administered, by reputable American citizens. That is why that requirement is also incorporated in this amendment. We have seen what can happen when our money and nothing else is sent abroad. We know of the fiasco in Yugoslavia and other countries. We must be careful, but we want to feed the starving.

An important point I want to make is that money alone is not charity.

Unless we are willing to send people over there to do this job, to see that our dollars go where they can do good, our intentions will not be accomplished. We can do harm with money if it is not properly administered.

The purpose of my amendment is simply the proper administration of the fund that we, the Representatives, are taking from the taxpayers. I would far prefer to see the American Red Cross and kindred organizations go out and ask the people of the United States: "Do you want to give \$200,000,000?" And I think they would give \$300,000,000. I do not think we have the right to take their money to give to any charity. I never was taught to give away other people's money. It is one thing to lend money, but it is quite another thing to say: "I will take your \$5 and give it to a relief that I think needs it."

This is a welfare bill, nothing more nor less, and as long as it is going to be administered by the Government, let it be administered so that it really will do good and not result in feeding the armies of Tito or some other dictator in Europe.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, it is with reluctance that I rise to oppose the amendment proposed by the gentlewoman from New York, because many of the things she has stated about her amendment are thoroughly sound, and the remarks she made in its support are remarks that many of us, I am sure, agree with and all should weigh carefully. As a matter of fact, I have an amendment to propose to section 6 which will provide an administrator to be confirmed by the Senate under the President. If the committee will study the structure of the gentlewoman's amendment, they will find that throughout this bill she has substituted "administrator" for the President, so that we would have an administrator negotiating with foreign countries as to agreements and as to the carrying on of other negotiations which are necessary under this bill. I believe that we should have an administrator, and, as I say, I have a bricf amendment which I shall propose to section 6 patterned after the administrator amendment adopted in the Greek-Turkish bill in the other body. This particular amendment provides, however, for military personnel and for the complete substitution of an administrator for the President in the conduct of our foreign affairs in connection with relief, which I believe goes a little too far. On the other hand, everything that the gentlewoman has said could be stated in favor of an administrator to be placed under the direction of the President, to be provided in section 6 of the bill.

I hope the pending amendment will be defeated and the same administrative result achieved without changing the conduct of our foreign relations by an amendment a little later in the bill.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman

from Minnesota.

Mr. JUDD. Is not the main purpose of the amendment which the gentleman will present, in case the amendment of the lady from New York is voted down. as I hope it will be, the recognition that the State Department is a policy-forming and not an administrative body? It was not set up to do administrative work; it has not had much experience in that field. As a result, there has been excessive confusion in most State Department programs with which I have had contact. All of us know how difficult it usually is to find the man in the State Department who has the real authority and power in a given program. Each official refers you to another. We want to have a one-man head-one man responsible. We do not want this to be improperly administered. We want to have one man, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, to be responsible, as Mr. Hoover was responsible after World War I, so that we can be sure it will be administered to the greatest advantage.

Mr. VORYS. That is true, but we do not want to supersede the President of the United States, so the entire splendid argument made by the gentlewoman would apply to an amendment which will be offered a little bit later. I suggest that this amendment be voted down, and that you will remember her splendid remarks when provision for an administrator is proposed at a more appropriate period a little later in the day. The CHAIRMAN. The question is on

the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. St. GEORGE1.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman. I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Smith of Wisconsin: At the end of section 1, add the fol-

"Appropriations authorized by this joint resolution shall be available for relief in Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and in China."

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I offer this amendment in the belief that the majority of the Members of this House want it. The countries should be named. I believe that it would be a tragic mistake for us at this time to send word to these countries which are supposedly dominated by Communists that we intend to do nothing in their behalf. I do not believe that this in any way affects the so-called Colmer substitute, and it ought to be in this bill. We are faced with a situation that calls for relief. We want to give relief to these countries who are so desperately in need. Now we have the opportunity to do it ..

I urge that the Committee at this time adopt this amendment.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. Would the gentleman be willing to restore to his amendment an amount, say, \$15,000,000, that could be used outside of the named countries? For instance, General Marshall has mentioned Trieste, where an emergency situation may arise. Would the gentleman be willing to restore that language to his amendment?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman suggest an amount?

Mr. VORYS. I would say \$15,000,000. Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that my amendment be corrected so as to include the sum of \$15,000,000 for the purposes named.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman's amendment would then read, after the word "China":

Provided. That the President, if he shall determine that emergency needs exist in any other country or countries, is authorized to utilize not more than \$15,000,000 for the purpose of providing relief in such other country or countries.

Is that not correct?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. RAYBURN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, may we have the amendment reported now as it would read if unanimous consent were granted for the gentleman to modify his amendment, this not to be taken out of the gentleman's time?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection. the Clerk will report the amendment

as modified.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Smith of Wisconsin: At the end of section 1 add the fol-

"Appropriations authorized by this joint resolution shall be available for relief in Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and China: Provided, That the President, if he shall determine that emergency needs exist in any other country or countries, is authorized to utilize not more than \$15,000,000 for the purpose of providing relief in such other country or countries."

Mr. RAYBURN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, and I shall not object, I think the amendment together with the amendment to the amendment makes this bill incomparably better than

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 7 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BARDEN]

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment, but I have asked for this recognition not so much to oppose the amendment as to see if we cannot clarify the situation a little bit. I think we have seen enough confusion here in the House this afternoon, and now we are tossing around countries and millions of dollars as children do toys. I do not know how many countries are in need. I doubt if many Members of this House know the condition of the government in Austria. I doubt if we know the conditions in Trieste and the other countries that we now seem to name.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARDEN. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HERTER. The countries that are named are those specifically named in the committee report, the State Department saying that relief will be limited to those

Mr. BARDEN. Can the gentleman give me some idea of the type of government now existing in Austria?

Mr. HERTER. It is under military control.

Mr. BARDEN. Under whose military control?

Mr. HERTER. Russian, French, British, and our own, and there is a government that has been recognized, not by us officially, that is operating with a president and a chancelor.

Mr. BARDEN. What situation are we going to be in when we add this to the other amendments adopted?

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? I think I can answer the gentleman's question about the \$15,000,000.

Mr. BARDEN. I would yield to anybody who could clear it up.

Mr. MUNDT. As I understand the question, it is, why is the \$15,000,000 made available to the countries not named in the bill. Is that correct?

Mr. BARDEN. That is one of the questions, yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I will be happy to try to answer that. It is because the bill originally is intended to cover the relief needs in war-devastated countries. There are other countries which were devastated by war besides those named herein. Trieste is a case in point, Czechoslovakia is a case in point, and Yugo-slavia is another case in point. There are others. \$15,000,000 of this amount is therefore made available in the amendment to the Smith amendment for some unforseen emergency which might develop in those countries not named by Mr. SMITH, subject, however to the Colmer amendment as amended by the Mundt amendment. This means American missions to distribute the relief where ever that is necessary to obtain the desired results.

Mr. BARDEN. Then the gentleman is sending this money to Czechoslovakia?

Mr. MUNDT. No.

Mr. BARDEN. Does the gentleman propose that part of it shall go there?

Mr. MUNDT. We propose to make this \$15,000,000 available should some unforseen emergency, pestilence or something of that kind, develop, where we would be called upon to furnish relief to a country not named by Mr. SMITH's proposed amendment.

Mr. BARDEN. I thought we took care of this situation fairly well with the gentleman's amendment and the Colmer amendment, and clarified this situation as to where we wanted the money to

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct.

Mr. BARDEN. Now, we come back and the gentleman presents the same argument that he presented on his amendment in support of this amendment.

Mr. MUNDT. I am speaking for the Smith amendment. I am pointing out why the \$15,000,000 is added. I am supporting that part of the amendment, but I am not supporting the Smith amendment. However, if it is adopted, as seems likely, I think the provision leaving \$15,000,000 free for emergency use elsewhere is essential. With that provision in it I see no great disadvantage in the Smith amendment, but I am not supporting it.

Mr. BARDEN. You are supporting \$15,000,000 worth of his amendment, but you are not supporting his amendment?

Mr. MUNDT. The gentleman is exactly correct.

Mr. BARDEN. I find there is another gentleman who is just as badly mixed up about this as I am.

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARDEN. I yield.

Mr. BREHM. Can the gentleman ascertain why the bill was brought to the floor of the House in such a hodge-podge manner and why it was not written in committee where it should have been written instead of attempting to write it on the floor of the House?

Mr. BARDEN. I am sorry I cannot answer the gentleman's question. I am very much disturbed about the same thing. If we keep shaking this bill from one side to the other, I am not so sure but that we will not tear up its very foundations. I am sure every Member of this body will recall that we overwhelmingly defeated this proposition within the last hour.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BARDEN. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. Under the Colmer amendment and the Mundt amendment. we can go into Communist-dominated countries, provided certain regulations are carried out. However, it has not been suggested that we go into any countries that might be so described except two. This amendment makes it clear that we are not under any circumstances going into Yugoslavia, Byelorussia, Romania, and Bulgaria except that \$15,000,000 is left to the discretion of the President in the case of all the war-devastated countries in case some emergency situation should arise. But that will not be enough out of the whole amount to make very much difference. This makes it clear that Congress says we are not going into Russia itself, which is a war-devastated country, and which might conceivably receive relief even under the Colmer and Mundt amendment.

Mr. BARDEN. Is the gentleman in a position to say at this point that the countries named in this amendment are the only devastated countries in Europe which are in need and which are not communistically dominated? I am opposed to financing communism directly or indirectly.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. BARDEN. I asked the gentleman if you are in a position to say at this time that the countries named in the amendment which is now pending are the only countries in Europe that are war devastated and in need and which are not dominated by Communists.

Mr. VORYS. Why, no. Mr. BARDEN. Then, why go along with the amendment?

Mr. VORYS. The gentleman knows that Yugoslavia is a Communist satellite country. There are a whole string of other countries. But the point is in the matter of relief the United Nations and the State Department have said that no countries except the ones named in this amendment are going to be included. I quote from the hearings:

The following European countries appear to have need of outside assistance: Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, and Poland. It is anticipated also that China may have emergency needs.

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield me a few seconds of my time?

Mr. VORYS. The gentleman was taking the time that was reserved for the committee.

Mr. BARDEN. This time was granted me by unanimous consent of this body.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has again expired.

Mr. BARDEN. The gentleman was late in his suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Owens: On page 1. line 3. strike out the word "that" and insert "that inasmuch as an emergency exists in certain countries of Europe and Asia which might affect the general welfare of our Nation."

Mr. OWENS. Then I go on and state: There is hereby authorized to be appropriated-

And so forth.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. OWENS. Yes; I am glad to yield to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on . this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. OWENS. I do not think it will take that long.

Mr. Chairman, permit me to again read the amendment which I have submitted. Right at the beginning, that is the first paragraph, my motion is to strike out the word "That" and insert the words "That inasmuch as an emergency exists in certain countries of Europe and Asia which might affect the welfare of our Nation"—then proceed with the balance of the paragraph. This amendment goes to the constitutionality of the measure, and permit me to state briefly the reason why I am submitting the same. Last week, and again yesterday, I heard a great deal of debate which brings very forcibly to the fore the statement. that we have heard many times previously "that where we need light we have been getting more heat." But insofar as I am concerned it has left me very cold. I read through the entire

record of the proceedings and also the report of both the majority and the minority members. While a great deal was said as to the need of certain of these nations of Europe and Asia for financial aid from us, particularly with regard to medical supplies, food, and the other articles which are mentioned in the bill, no constitutional reason was given for our gift of \$350,000,000, which I understand is to be the first of a series of similar grants which former President Hoover estimated would reach \$1,500,-000,000 during the coming 2-year period. Our Supreme Court has repeatedly held that a gift to a foreign nation whether in cash, credit, or tangible property must necessarily involve also the congressional power to appropriate the public money of the United States raised by taxation and apply it for such purposes.

Article I, section 8, clause 1 of the Constitution invests Congress with the power to "levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense of the general welfare of the United States." It is now well settled that under this provision Congress may appropriate and spend money raised by taxes for the national welfare, and that congressional discretion in selecting the means therefore is extremely broad. I appreciate fully the great need of the peoples of these nations of Europe and Asia. I appreciate also that something should be done to help them, particularly a nation like Poland, for whom we actually entered the last war, because of the vicious attack made upon that nation. However, we should be willing to state clearly and succinctly without hesitation that our purpose is to provide for the common defense and the general welfare. If we cannot pass the bill on that basis, then it cannot be passed at all. Then. if we were to grant that gift of money to the foreign nations for that purpose, it is in my opinion, our duty to take the money from the fund which would be appropriated for the armed services. am sure that you feel as I do that it is time for us to lay aside the methods which have brought us into two previous wars whereby we slapped and side-kicked from the sidelines without taking honest appropriate action. If we feel that we are in danger from the Soviet Union, let us take a firm stand with that nation. Tell them frankly and courageously what we feel should be done in the matter. If we of Congress do this the people of the Nation are going to respect our action.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Owens] has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I will take but a few seconds in speaking in opposition to this amendment for it does nothing but amend the preamble. It does not change the content or the purport of the bill. It simply puts a price tag on this relief and tells the countries of the world that we are glad to help because we think it is going to pay off for us. I do not believe that would be appropriate. Certainly we have other obligations besides this one of selfishness in this matter. I urge that the amendment be rejected.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. KEATING. Is it not a fact that the report of the committee to this House is an official part of this record and that if that indicates a constitutional basis for the granting of this relief it is sufficient without any preamble to the resolution?

Mr. MUNDT. I think the preamble to the resolution at least does nothing to change the purport or content of the bill. I never have had too much confidence in the controlling influence of a committee report, but I am convinced that this bill will stand any constitutional scrutiny as written at the present time

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield. Mr. OWENS. Will the gentleman tell me where in the bill there is a statement of purpose?

Mr. MUNDT. Yes; at the very beginning it reads:

This bill is to provide for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by

That is the primary purpose of this

Mr. OWENS. Will the gentleman admit that the Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly held that that is not sufficient in itself unless there is compliance with this section of the Constitution which I have read?

Mr. MUNDT. I am afraid I cannot recall all of the decisions of the Supreme Court here on the spur of the moment so as to answer your question, but certainly any Supreme Court that upheld our participation in UNRRA will uphold our participation in this all-American relief program.

I decline to yield further, Mr. Chairman, because we are trying to finish this bill today.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois?

The amendment was rejected. The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and on such terms as the President may determine; except that no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made after June 30, 1948.

(b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds appropriated pursuant thereto may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance, including expenses of or incident to the procurement, storage, transportation, and ship-ment of supplies transferred under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits established under subsection (a).

(c) Sums from the appropriations made pursuant to this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the purposes of this joint resolution to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government and such sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in accordance with the laws governing obligations and expenditures of the department, agency, or independent establishment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and title 31, sec. 529).

(d) When any department, agency, or in-

dependent establishment of the Government receives request from the government of any country for which credits have been established under subsection (a) and receives, from credits so established, advancements or reimbursements for the cost and necessary expenses, it may furnish, or procure and furnish (if advancements are made), supplies within the category of relief assistance as defined in section 1 and may use sums so received for the purposes set forth in sub-When any such section (b) of this section. reimbursement is made it shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, either to the appropriation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation, or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which is current at the time of such reimbursement.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Vorys: Page 3, line 13, at the end of section 2 insert the following:

"(e) Not more than 10 percent of the appropriations authorized by this resolution shall be expended for the procurement of relief supplies in countries other than the United States. The relief supplies provided under the terms of this joint resolution shall be procured and furnished by the appropriate United States procurement agencies unless the President shall determine otherwise."

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment contains two suggestions made by Mr. Hoover which I understand are acceptable to the Department of State and are drafted in the language provided by Mr. Tyler Wood of the State Department who was with us during our committee discussions.

The purpose is to not have us spend our money outside of the country for supplies with the hope that other countries will come in and contribute supplies; if they find they can get money from the United States they might not be disposed so to contribute.

The other provision is that the procurement in this country shall be under the appropriate United States procurement agency so as not to have foreign countries, recipients of relief money, bidding for supplies in the American market. These are what might be called good housekeeping administrative amendments, and I believe that there is no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, an hour or so ago the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Bender] and more recently the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Barden] said that our thinking on this entire measure is muddled. I agree with them. Clear thinking requires facts and most of the facts behind this measure were marked secret and have never been communicated to us. We are not only writing blank checks, we are writing blank checks in the dark

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Jonkman: Page 2, line 5, after the words "be made after", strike out "June 30, 1948" and insert "December 31, 1947."

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, as I said in support of the first amendment reducing the \$350,000,000 to \$200,000,000, this amendment is complementary to it. If they had related to the same section I would have offered them simultaneously, but being in different sections I could not do that. However, all of the arguments which I made on behalf of the other amendment apply to this amendment.

There is a wealth of information, facts and evidence telling us that there will be no need for relief after 1947, that there will be no need for relief in these countries in 1948 except some of the members of the State Department say, "With the possible exception of Austria." Not the probable exception of Austria, but the possible exception of Austria. They may need some limited relief after that time.

Now, that is only a possibility. If that should occur there is enough in the bill for them to get some stuff into Austria to take care of the situation or, on the other hand, Congress will be in session again at that time.

Why should we insist upon ending this on December 31, 1947? As I said before, when we passed the last authorization for UNRRA in the sum of \$1,350,000,000, I offered an amendment at that time that the President should serve notice on UNRRA that we are withdrawing from UNRRA at the end of that time and there was a provision in the basic law that we should withdraw. Why? There must come an end to this relief. At some time we have to begin to whittle down. The amendment was defeated at that time, although the leadership said it was a very good amendment, that I should bring it up independently. I did not do that.

Mr. Chairman, we are giving the State Department, the administration, everything they ask for if we limit this to December 31, 1947. There is not a single word in the hearings against doing that and there is not a single word in the hearings that says that we should extend it beyond that date.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. JUDD. Does not the gentleman feel that in case we accept his amendment, and along about November it looks as if the money is not going to be needed, or some excuse is found for spending it anyway, that it would better to have it strung over the whole year rather than until December?

Mr. JONKMAN. No, indeed not. The Committee was informed that the \$350,-000,000 was to last through the first crop year, and that is all they would need. We were given the same assurance, and this thing will drag on and on continuously otherwise. If there was any evidence whatsoever, if there was a scintilla of evidence of necessity to continue this through the fiscal year, there might be

some argument, but there is none whatsoever, and at the same time there should not be any question in our minds whatsoever to adopt this amendment. Now is the time to do it.

Let me repeat: We are giving them everything they ask for. It is said here, for instance, that we are not strengthening the hands of our Secretary of State, General Marshall, if we cut it down. We are not cutting it down. It might even be that the date June 30, 1948, is merely a mistake, because the fiscal year ends at that time. There is no reason for it.

I ask that the amendment be adopted. Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, the House has already limited the amount to be expended to \$200,000,000. It now proposes to run exactly counter to its efforts at economy if it passes this amendment, for this reason:

The bill reads, on page 2, lines 4 and 5: No such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made after June 30, 1948.

By the amendment it is sought to change that date and to provide that no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made after December 31, 1947. What will happen will be that all the credits will be established prior to December 31, 1947. The \$200,000,000 will be used up anyhow and the administration will be in here on the 3d of January 1948 with a new bill asking for more money, whereas if you defeat this amendment, at least you show your intention that the amount you are appropriating, reduced as it is, shall cover the period to June 30, 1948.

I respectfully submit that the amendment must be defeated if you are to be consistent.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. Is it not true that those who are economy minded ordinarily attempt to stretch appropriations and authorizations as far as possible rather than to limit the expenditure to a shorter time? That is the proposition involved here. I hope that we encourage the spreading of the appropriations and authorizations as far as possible rather than encouraging the speeding up of the spending of the money.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman].

The amendment was rejected.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any country unless the gov-

ernment of such country has given assurance satisfactory to the President that (a) the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the people of such country without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief; (b) representatives (the Government of the United States and of the press and radio of the United States will be permitted to observe freely and to report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progess of the United States relief program carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution; (d) if food, medical supplies, fertilizer, or seed is transferred or otherwise made available to such country purs lant to this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will be exported or removed from such country while need therefor for relief purposes continues; (e) such country has taken or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, it will furnish promptly information concerning the production, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such country; and (g) representatives of the Government of the United States will be permitted to supervise the distribution among the people of such country of the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Vorys: At the end of section 3 strike out the period and insert a semicolon and the following: "(h) That when relief supplies procured with the funds authorized by this joint resolution are sold by any receiving government for local currency, the amounts of such local currency shall be deposited by that government in a special account and shall be used only for relief and rehabilitation purposes with the approval of the duly authorized representative of the United States."

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, this amendment, I believe, is self-explanatory. It is, of course, obvious that most of these relief supplies-grain, and so forth—are going to be distributed in the countries through their regular distribution systems. This amendment provides that the money which constitutes the proceeds of the sale of these supplies shall be impounded in a special fund in the local currency and used only for relief and rehabilitation purposes under the approval of the representatives of the United States. Similar arrangements were provided under UNRRA. We found that a similar proposition was going to be incorporated in the contracts to be made with the countries. This language in my amendment was drafted by a representative of the State Department. I do not believe there is now any objection to this provision.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RICHARDS. Is it not the intention of the gentleman that these funds that are recaptured in a country shall be used only for relief and rehabilitation in that particular country? Would not

the gentleman accept that amendment?

Mr. VORYS. I feel that it would be better to leave the language as drafted because if the country involved and the United States representative agreed, conceivably, that some relief or rehabilitation should take place in another country and it could be financed by local currency, I do not think we should put in here something that would block that use of the money, although that is, of course, not required one way or the other. I do not think we ought to tie the hands of the administration by requiring that this money be expended for relief or rehabilitation in any particular spot.

Mr. RICHARDS. Is it not a fact that under the gentleman's amendment if funds were recaptured in Poland they could be used by this administration in Hungary? Then you have the question of foreign exchange and different currencies and all those problems.

Mr. VORYS. You would have the question of foreign exchange immediately, but if you can conceive of a situation where, let us say, in Italy as the result of the sale of American relief supplies the Government had an amount of lire on hand and could purchase something that could be used in another country needing relief, it seems to me we ought not to put in here anything that would prevent that sort of use of that currency. But the provision for impounding the local currency is such that I do not conceive that there would be many instances of that kind.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. JUDD. Is not one of the purposes of this amendment to avoid any possibility of the thing that happened in Yugoslavia, where UNRRA sent in supplies and they were sold by Tito's government and he used the proceeds to pay more soldiers? We want the money that comes from the sale of these relief supplies to be used for relief purposes in their own country, if needed. There conceivably could be a case, for example, in Poland, which the gentleman mentioned, and which normally has agricultural products to export, where they would have a boom crop and surpluses. Under this amendment they would use the Polish currency from the sale of relief supplies to buy their local agricultural surpluses to be delivered at the border of Hungary, for example, to help relieve starvation there, if it should exist. Maybe such an instance would not develop. But if it should, then this is a good safeguard to prevent misuse of the funds a government secures from the sale of relief supplies in that country.

Mr. VORYS. Certainly no such provision would be carried out unless the President and the administrator wanted to do it. I do not see why we need to tie the hands of the President in this regard.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, will not the gentleman agree to an amendment to his amendment to insert on the sixth line of his amendment after the words "relief and rehabilitation purposes" the words "within that country"? I think that will meet the situation. In other words, it allows everything that the gentleman proposes here, except it does not allow these recaptured funds to be carried from one country and used in some other country.

Mr. VORYS. I am in a position here of protecting the discretion of the President and the relief administrator. The gentleman wants to tie the hands of the President in advance, if the situation should arise where the United States representative under his direction would wish to ask that relief and rehabilitation be provided for some other country. I do not think it is necessary because I do not think many such situations would arise. But I do not believe we should bar that possibility.

bar that possibility.

Mr. RICHARDS. I shall not insist.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Ohio may have three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. DINGELL. I believe the gentleman from Minnesota referred to the fact that in the event there were surpluses in Poland the money allotted for the Polish program could probably be used for the purpose of buying surpluses to use elsewhere. Did I understand that correctly?

Mr. JUDD. The gentleman did not understand correctly.

Mr. DINGELL. Certainly that is a desirable thing. Would that not go further to aid Poland in her reconstruction for the future?

Mr. VORYS. No; the gentleman is in error in this way. If supplies were furnished to Poland which were sold and which resulted in income in Polish money, then there would be a possibility if there were surpluses in Poland that money which is in Polish exchange could be used to buy Polish supplies and conceivably used elsewhere. But it seems to me that is making our dollar do double work, and it is a good idea.

Mr. DINGELL. I am in agreement with that. I do not believe we ought to subscribe to any amendment at this late moment.

Mr. VORYS. I agree with the gentleman. I ask for a vote on the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has again expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys].

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

I have followed this debate with much interest and with deep concern. I have been pleased to vote in favor of amendments specifying the countries to receive aid, such as Poland, and certain other countries, as well as to set up definite procedures to prevent American aid from being misused by Communist-controlled puppet governments. The debate thus far on the floor of the House has indicated, in my opinion, a desire on the part of the American people to help their less

fortunate friends abroad and at the same time this debate has indicated a deepseated conviction that the administration of relief funds in the past has been badly handled. This bill as written and as amended on the floor of the House does what it is supposed to do. It provides aid to the needy.

I rise at this point not to carry on that particular line of argument but rather to ask the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON] chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, a question which many of my constituents have asked me-Does House Joint Resolution 153, providing for relief assistance to the people of the countries devastated by war, further weaken the United Nations?

Mr. EATON. My answer to that is "No '

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Will the gentleman please explain his answer in more detail.

Mr. EATON. My explanation is simply this: The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is an international organization and it ends shortly. The need developed after the ending of this. The matter was considered by the United Nations and our own representatives made this proposal, that from now on, in finishing the work that was left by UNRRA, we do it on a unilateral basis, and that was agreed to by the United Nations Authority. Consequently, it is not by-passing but is acting in accord with the understanding of the United Nations.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I would like to ask the chairman of the committee this question: In other words, the unilateral position, which the chairman has mentioned. throws the entire burden on the people of the United States, does it not?

Mr. EATON. No.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Then, who else is participating in this relief program which is a perpetuation of UNRRA?

Mr. EATON. The amount proposed for relief was \$610,000,000. The United States agreed to take 57 percent of that. We have backed away from that. Meanwhile, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have offered to come in and it is hoped that many others will

Mr. CRAWFORD. What other countries are making a contribution to the \$350,000,000 carried in this bill? What other countries are making contributions?

Mr. EATON. Here is what the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted on December 12, 1946: A resolution urging the following performance of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation 'Administration: Residual relief needs in such countries be made during the ensuing year, through the development of the respective programs of all members of the United Nations.

Mr. CRAWFORD. In other words, the \$350,000,000 program here presented is the portion assigned to the United States?

Mr. EATON. Not assigned, but suggested.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Well, assumed by the United States.

Mr. EATON. Yes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. What portion is England assuming and what portion is Canada assuming and what portion is

Australia and New Zealand assuming? Mr. EATON. My latest advice is that the definite assumption of those nations has not yet been made, but they have given assurance that they will stand up and do their part in accordance with the suggestion.

Mr. CRAWFORD. But as far as the record shows at this moment, then, the United States, through this \$350,000,000 or \$200,000,000 carries on the finishing up work of UNRRA?

Mr. EATON. But we have taken no definite position that unless the other nations come across and agree exactly as we have that we will guit.

Mr. CRAWFORD. That is exactly the point. We carry on whether they drop out or not.

Mr. EATON. Well, the obligation that

we assumed we consider is our obligation, and in assuming that we discharge our obligation and do not mix up with the obligation of the others.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. I yield. Mr. JONKMAN. The only thing we can go on is the record, and here is the last word on it from Dean Acheson:

Question. What assurances or expectations do we have of assistance to the countries to be benefited from other countries than our

own as contemplated by the program?

Answer. The British have announced a program of \$40,000,000 in aid to Austria.

I have already shown that is a straight loan; a sterling loan.

The Norwegian Parliament has voted the equivalent of \$3,000,000. Denmark is making available the equivalent of \$4,000,000. New Zealand has stated its intention to make available some meat and other commodities. On the basis of consultations which have been conducted with other countries we believe that additional contributions will be forthcoming if favorable action is taken by the United States, since some countries are waiting to see what action we take.

Mr. EATON. And I may say the New Zealand meat will be largely horse meat.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SEELY-Brown] has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for one additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Is it not a fact that the question just asked and the answer given, that other nations will not contribute is an argument for more and not less money, as far as we are concerned?

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. The gentleman can reach his own conclusion on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Connecticut has again

(Mr. SEELY-BROWN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

By unanimous consent, the pro forma amendments were withdrawn.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 4. When supplies are transferred or otherwise made available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution, the President shall cause representatives of the Government of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution of such supplies among the people of such country, and (2) to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of the assurances given to the President pursuant to section 3.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, in view of the fact we do not know what the amendment is or how much we should debate it, I object to the request.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Lodge:

Page 4, line 25, strike out the word "and." Page 5, line 2, strike out the period, insert a comma and the following: "and (3) make certain that reparations payable by any such country to any other country by treaty have been postponed during the period of such

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Chairman, this amendment, in effect, provides that treaty reparations shall be postponed during the period of this relief.

The purposes of this amendment are: (a) To provide relief for Hungary in spite of armistice reparations imposed by Soviet Russia;

(b) To prevent the payment of reparations.by Hungary;

(c) If this is not done, to postpone the payment of these reparations until Hungary has recovered from the ravages of war; and
(d) To protect the American taxpayer

from making payments toward reparations while he is paying for relief.

In his testimony before the Foreign Affairs Committee of his body, the former President of the United States, the Honorable Herbert Hoover, remarked:

The nations receiving reparations from relief countries should be asked at once to defer reparations until these relief costs are The justice of this proposal lies in the fact that this relief obviously serves to preserve the manpower productivity of that country and therefore its ability to reparations (p. 56 of the hearings on H. J. Res. 153.)

I do not happen to believe that it is wise to require payment of the relief costs. It does not seem to me sound or feasible to require needy countries to borrow for relief such commodities as food, although it would appear quite proper to make rehabilitation and reconstruction items the subject of loans since these can be used in obtaining foreign exchange. But I do feel that the payment of reparations by such countries should be deferred while they are receiving relief.

The reason why this amendment refers specifically to reparations provided by treaty is because Hungary is, under the armistice provisions with Soviet Russia, currently paying \$23,000,000 a year in reparations, which reparations would have the effect of increasing the relief needs of Hungary. In reply to a line of questions of mine, Mr. Clayton, the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, stated in his testimony:

I want the record to be clear on this point: I am not informed that in the case of Hungary, reparations payments of \$23,000,000 a year are of a character which would affect its relief needs. We have taken that into account in making these estimates (p. 38 of the hearings on H. J. Res. 153.)

It seems to me unfair to deprive Hungary of relief because reparations have been forced upon her by Soviet Russia under the terms of the armistice. Shortly after the end of the war the Hungarians manifested their desire for a democratic form of government by a vote of 95 to 5. They should not now be penalized for their anticommunism.

But with respect to the future and particularly in view of the President's address to the joint session of Congress on March 12, it seems to me essential that the American taxpayer should not be burdened both with relief for countries devastated by war and with payments which would eventually constitute reparations to totalitarian countries. Indeed, our distinguished Secretary of State, General Marshall, has made this very clear in connection with the Russian desire to obtain German reparations payments from current production. General Marshall has indicated his unwillingness to transfer a substantial part of the burden of German reparations to the backs of the American taxpayers.

Mr. Chairman, if we are to adopt the policy enunciated by the President, let us hew to that policy. No country can afford to follow two conflicting policies at one and the same time. We cannot successfully hunt with the hounds while we are running with the hares.

The problem of bringing relief through Communist-dominated puppet governments is at best a difficult one. Our experience with UNRRA left much to be desired. There will probably be grave difficulties in connection with this United States program. And yet I feel that we must not condemn to death by starvation those people who have been stalwart and stanch in their opposition to Communist pressure. We must endeavor to bring this relief to the needy and not to bolstering the black markets which abound under these Communist oligarchies.

But although this relief must go forward, it is entirely fitting that we should require that during the life of this legislation no reparations be paid since such reparations will increase the relief needs of countries to which we propose to bring relief assistance.

If this amendment is adopted, it will, in my opinion, have a most salutary and resounding effect. It will reassure the taxpayers of this country as to the expenditure of their money for relief in devastated countries. It will demonstrate our conviction that we played our full part in the recent war and that it is

neither necessary nor appropriate that we now make additional payments by way of reparations. Finally, it will indicate to all the world that although we are bent on relieving suffering and starvation we are also determined not to assist the antifreedom forces which, in spite of the war's end, are still very much on the march.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the bill be dispensed with and that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments end at 5:30.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, does the Chairman have any idea how many more amendments there are?

Mr. EATON. I am advised there are two more amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. There are three on the Clerk's desk.

Mr. EATON. Does that include the pending amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. Including the pending amendment

ing amendment.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I understand if we finish at half-past 5 there will be at least three roll calls. There are some who have to be at the White House this evening.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, of course, I do not know how many roll calls there will be, and I do not know whether anyone can make any determination about that, but certainly whether or not there are roll calls or how much longer it might take would involve a determination by the leadership as to whether we should continue tonight or not. But the limitation of time would simply bring us to the voting point on the bill.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HALLECK. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. EATON. Does our distinguished leader have any objection to this going over until tomorrow to be voted on?

Mr. HALLECK. I do not know what the prospect will be in respect to voting, so I would not want to undertake to say about that. But, certainly, there should be no objection, if this is a fair limitation of time for the remaining amendments and the consideration of the bill, to conclude this evening.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, further reserving the right to object, it seems to me there should be 10 minutes on each amendment.

Mr. EATON. There will be that amount of time.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Sec. 5. (a) The President shall promptly terminate the provision of relief assistance

to the people of any country whenever he determines (1) that, by reason of changed conditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2) any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out, (3) that an excessive amount of any supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the maintenance of armed forces in such country, or (4) that supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed from such country.

(b) Relief assistance to the people of any country, under this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated whenever such termination is directed by concurrent resolution of the two Houses of the Congress.

Sec. 6. The authority of the President under sections 2, 3, and 4 may, to the extent the President directs, be exercised by the Secretary of State.

SEC. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under authority of this joint resolution.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment because I think it should be clear to the House exactly what this amendment means. A similar amendment came up before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and was voted down because the purport of the amendment—and I ask this in a form of a question of my friend, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Longe], with whom I am generally on the same sidethe purport of this amendment is to endeavor to cause the Senate to reject the Hungarian Treaty which is now before it because if the Senate approved the treaty relief would not move to Hungary. Therefore, if the House votes for this amendment, what it is doing is saving that if the Senate ratifies the treaty no relief shall move to Hungary. I ask the gentleman that question.

Mr. LODGE. I will say to the gentleman that as the situation looks now my amendment would appear to include only Hungary, but, of course, Austria may be called upon to pay reparations, in which case it would include Austria. The case of Italy is different since reparations under the Italian treaty will be postponed 2 years, so that Italy is not affected.

I will say this, that at the time my amendment was voted down in committee, General Marshall had not yet returned from Moscow. We now know that he is opposed to the American people paying out a lot of money in reparations, and it is my hope that these treaties will be defeated in order not to visit these reparations on the American taxpayers and also on these people.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. Did not General Marshall announce at Moscow the American principle that we are not willing in the case of Germany to pour in relief at one end while our former Allies take out reparations at the other, and does not that

apply with equal force to the other peace treaties?

Mr. JAVITS. I think the House now has it very clearly that no relief will move to Hungary if the treaty before the Senate carrying Hungarian reparations is ratified, and that therefore the House would be saying that it wants a new Hungarian treaty if it adopts this amendment.

Mr. LODGE. Relief will go forward to Hungary. The gentleman prophesies that the Hungarian treaty will be ratified. I am inclined to think that the other body will not do so. In any event, I want relief to go to Hungary and I also do not want the Hungarians and, incidentally, the Americans, to have to pay reparations to Soviet Russia. That is the purpose of my amendment. It is to provide relief for the Hungarians and not to deprive them of it. It is to protect the Hungarians from onerous and unjust treaty reparations. It is to protect the American taxpayers from the burden of reparations while they are burdened with relief.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman

from New York.

Mr. KEATING. May I ask the gentleman from Connecticut this question: Is it not a fact that the only ground upon. which relief will not go to Hungary under the gentleman's amendment will be if the Senate ratifies the existing treaty?

Mr. LODGE. That is correct. I feel that a country which needs relief as badly as Hungary should not be called upon to pay reparations. My purpose is to protect the Hungarians from the loss of relief, from having to pay reparations, and at the same time to protect the American taxpayer.
Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Chairman, will

the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman

from New Jersey.

Mr. MATHEWS. May I ask either of these gentlemen who are members of the committee how Great Britain can pay \$40,000,000 of this when she borrowed \$3,750,000,000 from us and is now retiring from Greece because she cannot bear the financial burden there?

Mr. JAVITS. I respectfully submit that the question is not germane to this discussion, the \$40,000,000 is a sterling loan of Great Britain to Austria.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Lodge].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Javits) there were—ayes 90, noes 37.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Vorys: On page 5, strike out lines 23 to 25, inclusive, and insert in ileu thereof the following:

"SEC. 6. Relief assistance under this joint resolution shail be administered, to the extent the President directs, by a Relief Administrator who shail be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and con-

sent of the Senate and shall perform such functions relating to the administration of this act as the President shall prescribe. The Administrator shall receive such salary and have such staff as the President shall determine."

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, the hour is late. In commenting upon the amendment offered earlier by the gentlewoman from New York, I think I described this amendment. This leaves the Administrator under the President, and does not attempt to substitute the Administrator for the President, but provides, as is provided in the Greek-Turkish relief bill in the form it passed the Senate, for a relief administrator to be appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate and to conduct the relief administration under the direction of the President.

Mr. Chairman, there has been some talk to the effect that a Senate confirmation might involve some delay. The United States Senate has already confirmed 12,500 executive appointments this year up to April 15. I am sure that a good appointment will be promptly confirmed.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield.

Mr. BARRETT. Will the Administrator, under section 4, in the supervision of the distribution of these supplies that are purchased with the money that is authorized here, see that the people of these devastated countries who are without food and money to buy the food can get some of this relief?

Mr. VORYS. That is provided in the specimen agreements which were submitted to the committee. The rationing system must not only provide for sale but for free rations for those who need it.

Mr. BARRETT. Who gets the preference-the man with the money or the fellow without the money to buy the food?

Mr. VORYS. As I stated, there is a minimum ration to be distributed, whether there is money available to pay for it or not. That is provided in the specimen agreements.

(Mr. JARMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

This amendment simply substitutes for General Marshall another appointee by the President to be confirmed by the Senate. Not only is this a matter of foreign policy, but I wish to point out that we have General Marshall, a Cabinet officer, who has already been confirmed and who attends to these matters of foreign policy. I am convinced that today, particularly, would be a very unfortunate time to eliminate him by this bill and substitute anybody else for General Marshall just when he has returned from his mission to Moscow and made his report, as all of you know, last night. It seems to me that it would be quite unfortunate, as I say, to substitute anybody for him at this particular time.

Furthermore, this matter has been delayed entirely too long. I am afraid it is an unfortunate fact that because of that delay, some of which I thought was unnecessary although I may be wrong,

many people are going to starve. Certainly when we already have an officer of our Government who has been confirmed by the Senate and is ready to act and who I think is acting excellently in foreign affairs, I cannot conceive of the idea of further delaying the matter to cause a confirmation by the Senate to be necessary, despite what my genial friend, the gentleman from Ohio, says about the 3,000 executive appointees having been confirmed. I call attention to the fact that we also had a Lilienthal confirmation debate.

One other thing, it is passing strange that although my friends on the other slde have been talking about bureaus all these years and are still talking about them, you now want to create a new bureau to perform a function for which we already have someone who is quite competent.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield gladly. Mr. VORYS. The gentleman knows that General Marshall is not going to administer this. According to a letter that we had from Acting Secretary Acheson, a man by the name of Mr. Dick Allen, formerly with the Red Cross, is the man who is proposed. If that man is as good as we are told he is, I have no doubt of his confirmation by the Senate. If there is something wrong with him, that is something else, but General Marshall is not going to administer this. have already been told who is going to do it.

Mr. JARMAN. Of course, it would be administered in Europe. Undoubtedly that man would be appointed, I judge, from what the gentleman says, but why run any risk of further delaying this matter? Particularly as I say at this time, why slap General Marshall in the face?

Mr. TABER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield.

Mr. TABER. I wonder if the gentlewants to have anything in the nature of relief revert to the kind of administration we have got on this relief program out of the State Department under UNRRA? I think that is about as bad as anything that ever happened.

Mr. JARMAN. Under UNRRA we had a director, just as the gentleman wants now, as I understand it.

Mr. TABER. Not confirmed by the Senate.

Mr. RAYBURN. The same man who appointed him would have to appoint somebody else.

Mr. JARMAN. Yes; the same man would appoint him.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yleld?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield.

Mr. RICHARDS. Is lt not more necessary than ever today to synchronize our relief efforts with our foreign policy?

Mr. JARMAN. There is no question about that.

Mr. RICHARDS. The man who is to be in supreme charge of our foreign pollcy should be in supreme charge of relief.

Mr. JARMAN. The gentleman is absolutely correct.

Mr. VORYS. My amendment leaves the man who is in charge of our foreign policy still with full responsibility over this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN] has expired.

All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. RICHARDS) there were-ayes 120, noes 67.

So the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which is at the desk.

The Clerk read, as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Johnson of California: That House Joint Resolution 153 be amended by adding a new section thereto be known as section 6 (a), which shall follow section 6 and precede section 7 of the resolution, as follows to wit:

"SEC. 6 (a). The officers or agencies authorized or designated to carry out the provisions of this resolution shall, wherever possible, administer said resolution in accordance with the following principles: That wherever possible dehydrated or dried foodstuffs shall be used, providing they meet the relief situation at the place where they are to be shipped, and meet the nutrition requirments of the people who are to eat the food. If consistent with these requirements foodstuffs of such types and kinds shall be used as may be helpful to our domestic economy."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California is recognized for 5 min-

(Mr. JOHNSON of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, the only purpose of offering this amendment was to raise the problem of the administration of this act. I am thoroughly in accord with the resolution and intend to vote for it, because in 1945 I made a trip with a subcommittee to Europe and learned by personal observation in what a chaotic condition the people of Europe live. I think I thoroughly understand the need for this sort of action but I think we should try in the administration of this act to mesh the welfare of the American economy with relief to the devastated areas and to the hungry people of Europe. I therefore mention the fact that where we can we should use dehydrated foods and we should use foods of which there are sur-

For instance, just to illustrate the point I am trying to explain, today there are on the market 4,000,000 pounds of dehydrated onions which the Army and Navy have turned back to the contractors who sold the onions to the services. The ratio of dehydrated onions to fresh onions is 10 to 1. That is, that each pound of dried onions was made from 10 pounds of fresh onions.. There are therefore 40,000,000 pounds of this food now on the market and if we do not find some outlet for it, outside of our own country, the whole onion market this year and next will collapse and our economy as far as those raising or handling onions will be very badly damaged.

Then there are some dried fruits that are also in surplus. Here the ratio is about 1 pound of dried fruit represents 4 pounds of fresh fruit.

In the dehydrating of fruits and vegetables, none of the vitamins or nutrition of the fresh product is lost. All that is required is to soak the fruit or vegetable in water, and it is ready for cooking. In the shipment of this type of food it can be seen that only one-tenth or one-fourth of the space or weight is required to give the same number of vitamins or the same amount of nutrition, as if the fresh product were sent. The resultant saving in hauling charges, ships, labor, and so forth, is tremendous, but the starving people get just as much food.

My only purpose in presenting this amendment is to try to get a little common sense into the administration of this act, because we have had so many curious results and disappointments from the administration of these various relief programs. If there are surplus foods having the proper nutritional value and of the right kind for the area and people involved we should use them and thus

help our economy.

The question I want to ask the chairman is this-and I have heretofore presented this amendment to the chairman: Is it the gentleman's understanding from the hearings that were held that the matter of administering this relief will be in accordance with the principles of the amendment I have offered, namely, that we will use foods that have the proper nutritional value, that are of the right kind for the people involved, and, if possible, use foods which are in sur-

Mr. EATON. I may say in reply to the gentleman from California that that is the assumption upon which the committee has acted, that we have the best food available, procured in such way as would be for the advancement of our own economy.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Thank you, Mr. Chairman; your answer is appreciated and a good yardstick for administrators of this act.

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I yield. Mr. SADOWSKI. Are these onions California onions?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Some are from California and some are from many other States. It is not a California matter, it is a humane matter, but of course we want these poor people to have the best, so, naturally, they should get some California fruits and vegetables.

Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my amendment. The chairman's answer satisfies

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the amendment is withdrawn.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. There being no further amendments, under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose, and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Schwabe of Oklahoma, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration House Joint Resolution 153, pro-

viding for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, pursuant to House Resolution 187, he reported the resolution back to the House with sundry amendments adopted in the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered. Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I demand a separate vote on the Jonkman amendment and also a separate vote on the Colmer-Mundt amendment.

The SPEAKER. Is a separate vote demanded on any other amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gross. The amendments were agreed to.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the votes on the amendments and the bill go over until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. REED of New York asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an article.

Mr. HINSHAW asked and was given permission to include in the remarks he made in the Committee of the Whole today certain editorials.

POFTAL-TO-PORTAL ACT OF 1947

Mr. GWYNNE of Iowa submitted the following conference report and state-ment on the bill (H. R. 2157) to define and limit the jurisdiction of the courts, to regulate actions arising under certain laws of the United States, and for other purposes:

CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2157) to define and limit the jurisdiction of the courts, to regulate actions arising under certain laws of the United States, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows: as follows:

That the House receive from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate to the text of the bill and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:.

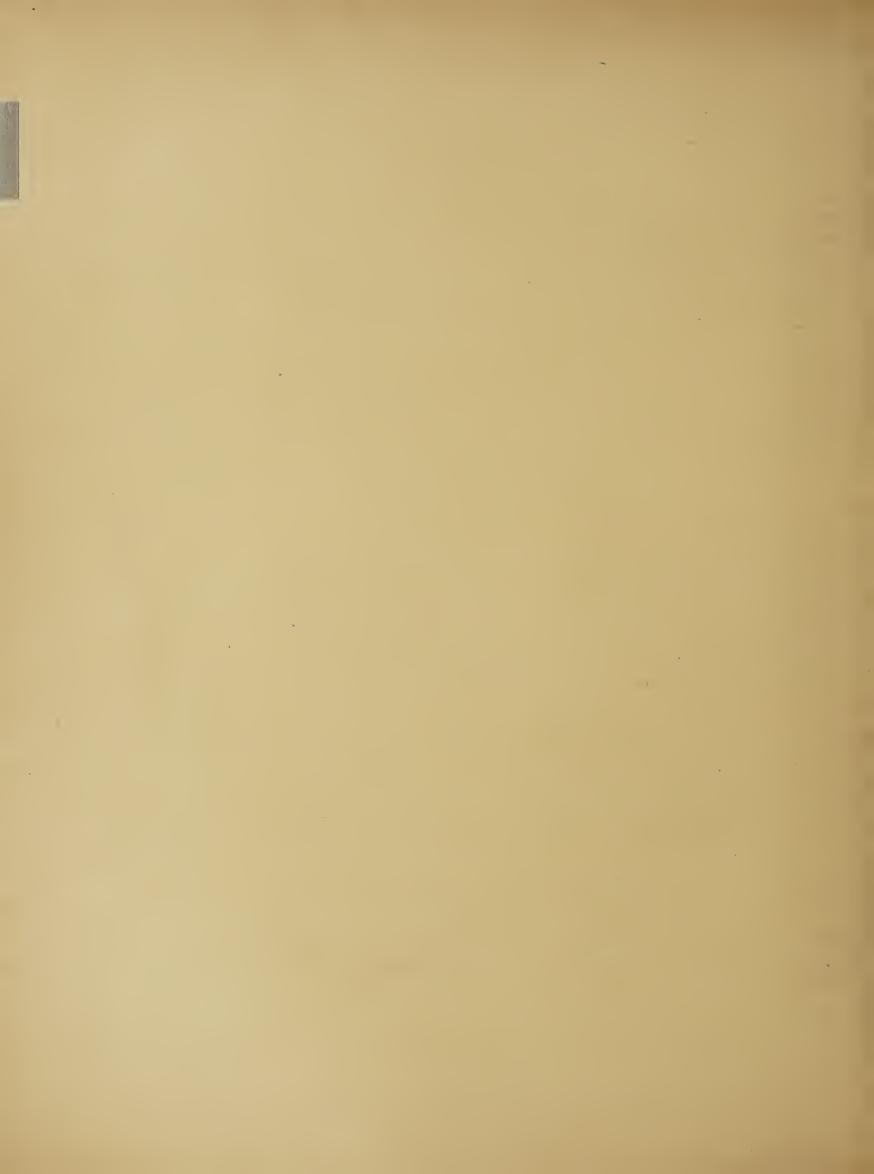
'PART I

"Findings and policy

"Section 1. (a) The Congress hereby finds that the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, has been interpreted judicially in disregard of long-established customs, practices, and contracts between employers and employees, thereby creating wholly unexpected liabilities, immense in amount and retroactive in operation, upon employers with the results that, if said Act as so interpreted or claims arising under such interpretations were permitted to stand, (1) the payment of such liabilities would bring about financial ruin of many employers and seriously impair the capital resources of many others, thereby resulting in the reduction of industrial operations, halting of expansion and development, curtailing employment, and the earning power of employees; (2) the credit of many employers would be seriously impaired; (3) there would be created both an extended and continuous uncertainty on the part of industry, both employer and employee, as to

1:30

4



DIGEST OF

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE Division of Legislative Reports (For Department staff only)

Issued For actions of

May 1, 1947 April 30, 1947 80th-1st, No. 81

CONTENTS

Appropriations2	Foreign affairs1,17,19	Prices control
Education4,18	Housing3,14	Property, surplus
Electrification 5	" Labor	Reports11
Farm program	Lands, reclamation5,9,16	Taxation16
Fertilizers12	Minerals 7	Textilesll
Food inspection	Personnel6,8	Veterans benefits4,6,1

HIGHLIGHTS: House passed bill for relief in war-devastated areas. House agreed to conference report on 1st deficiency appropriation bill, which includes various USDA items; agreed to compromise tree-insect item. House debated bill to remove certain housing-materials controls. House committee reported bill to provide for institutional on-farm training.

HOUSE

- 1. FOREIGN RELIEF. Passed, 333-66, with amendments H. J. Res. 153, to provide for relief of war-devastated areas (pp. 4420-2). Agreed, 225-165, to an amendment by Rep. Jonkman, Mich., to reduce the appropriation authorization from \$350,000,000 to \$200,000,000. Agreed, 324-75, to an amendment by Reps. Colmer, Miss., and Mundt, S. Dak., to require relief going to Soviet-dominated countries to be strictly supervised. Under the bill, relief would be limited to food, medical supplies, materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed.
- 2. FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL. Agreed to the conference report on this bill, H. R. 2849 (pp. 4460-2). The conferees included \$282,500 for control of tree-insect epidemics, instead of \$250,000 as proposed by the House and \$315,000 as proposed by the Senate, and eliminated language proposed by the House to restrict the area in which the appropriation could be spent. For other items of interest to this Department, see Digest 74. The Senate has not yet received the conference report on this bill.
- 3. HOUSING. Began debate on H. R. 3203, to remove certain controls over housing materials and to continue rent control (pp. 4423-60).
- 4. VETERANS' TRAINING. The Veterans' Affairs Committee reported with amendments H. R. 2181, to include "institutional on-farm training" in the education and training program for veterans (H. Rept. 327)(p. 4471).
- 5. RECLAMATION; ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Horan, Wash., spoke against cuts in the Interior Department appropriations for reclamation and power development (pp. 4466-70).
- 6. PERSONNEL; VETERANS! BENEFITS. H.R. 966, as reported (see Digest 78), amends
 Sec. 14 of the Veterans' Breference Act by providing that it shall be mandatory

for administrative officers in the executive departments and agencies of the Government to take such corrective action as the Commission finally recommends after an appeal is taken by a preference eligible from a decision of the Depart ment or agency to discharge, suspend for more than 30 days, furlough without pay, or reduce in rank or compensation any such preference eligible.

MINERALS. H.R. 2455, as reported (see Digest 78), the proposed "National Miner-7. als Development and Conservation Act of 1947", creates a National Minerals Resources Division in the Interior Department, to plan and recommend an over-all minerals program to integrate activities and functions of various Government agencies concerned with mineral policies; transfers to the new Division the functions of the Office of Price Plan for Copper, Lead, and Zinc; makes development and conservation payments mandatory (to producers who wish to apply) under specific conditions for copper, lead, and zinc, and at the discretion of the Director for other newly mined ores, acceptance of benefits being optional with the producer: sets a top limit at which conservation payments may be made, with exceptions, as determined by the Director, in cases where the necessity for stimulation of exploration or for production of a particular metal or mineral becomes urgent for the national defense; provides for reimbursement at current market prices for metals, minerals, and ores which are placed in the national stockpiles; and authorizes RFC to spend up to \$80,000,000 in any one year for conservation payments, limiting such disbursement to five years.

SEMATE

- OMNIBUS RETIREMENT BILL. S. 637, as reported (see Digest 78), provides for mandatory retirement at age 70 for employees with 10 or more years' service; eliminates the tontine charge; reduces to 3% interest on money paid into the retirement fund; provides optional retirement at 55 years of age for employees with more than 10 years' service at a 6% reduction per year for each year under 60; removes the 35-year limit in computation with no limit on service that may be credited; provides special retirement option for employees involuntarily released, through no fault of their own, after 25 or more years of service at a 3% reduction in pension for each year under 60; provides an option for employees retired voluntarily after more than 25 years of service at a 6% reduction in pension for each year under 60; provides an option for employees involuntarily separated after 5 years of service - employed could leave contribution in fund and receive a full pension at 62, or withdraw his contribution and receive a reduced pension at 62 based on 1% of his annual salary for each year of service, provides an option for employees who voluntarily separate after more than 10 years service - employee could leave contributions in fund and receive full pension at 65 or withdraw his contributions and receive reduced pension at 65 based on 1% of annual salary for each year of service, authorizes mandatory rebate of moneys paid into the retirement fund to employees involuntarily separated after less than five years and to employees voluntarily separated after less than 10 years of service; increases pensions \$300 per year or 25%, whichever is less, for those already retired; and provides for survivorship benefits both for those already retired and those who retire in the fature.
- 9. RECLAMATION. Sen. Taft, Ohio, spoke in favor of reclamation projects and stated that the Interior Appropriation bill passed by the House makes possible the largest reclamation project we have had in any year, and that particular projects of an urgent nature will be given further consideration. (pp. 4379-80). Sens. Bridges (N.H.), Robertson (Wyo.), O'Mahoney (Wyo.), and others discussed the reclamation program and its relation to the program for reducing Government expenditures (pp. 4380-7).

^{10.} LABOR. Continued debate on S. 1126, the labor-management bill (pp. 4379, 4387 92

Raymond J. Harris, of Pennsylvania, Robert S. Henderson, of New Jersey. Peter Hooper, Jr., of Massachusetts. Warren A. Kelsey, of Massachusetts. Bruce M. Lancaster, of Mississippi. Miss Constance McCready, of Maryland. John B. McGrath, of Rhode Island. James D. Newton, of New York. Kenedon P. Steins, of Pennsyivania.

JUDGE, UNITED STATES CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE EIGHTH CIRCUIT

Hon. John Caskie Coiiet, of Missouri, to be judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeais for the Eighth Circuit, vice Hon. Kimbrough Stone, retiring May 15, 1947.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following-named candidates for appointments and promotions in the Regular Corps of the Public Health Service:

To be assistant dentai surgeons (equivalent to the Army rank of first ileutenant),

effective date of oath of office:
Charles P. White
Richard P. French
Joseph W. Fridl
To be senior assistant dental surgeons (equvalent to the Army rank of captan), effective date of oath of office:

Thomas J. Riiey, Jr. Maurice Costello Peter J. Coccaro

Senior surgeon to be medical director (equivalent to the Army rank of coionel): Henry A. Rasmussen.

Surgeons to be senior surgeons (equivalent to the Army rank of lieutenant colonel): Samuei J. Hall

Richard B. Holt Edgar W. Norris

Surgeon to be temporary senior surgeon (equivalent to the Army rank of ileutenant coionel):

Marion B. Noves

Senior assistant surgeon to be temporary surgeon (equivalent to the Army rank of major):

LeRoy R. Alien

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

The following-named employees of the Coast and Geodetic Survey to the positions indicated:

To be hydrographic and geodetic engineer with rank of commander in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, from the date indicated:

Eari O. Heaton, May 1, 1947.

To be hydrographic and geodetic engineer with rank of lieutenant commander in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, from the date indicated:

Lawrence W. Swanson, May 1, 1947.

To be junior hydrographic and geodetic engineer with rank of lieutenant (junior grade) in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, from the date indicated:

Lewis V. Evans 3d, April 29, 1947.

IN THE NAVY

The foilowing-named officers for appointment in the United States Navy in the Corps, grades, and ranks hereinafter stated.

The following-named officers to the ranks indicated in the line of the Navy:

(*Indicates officers to be designated for EDO and SDO subsequent to acceptance of appointment)

LIEUTENANTS (JUNIOR GRADE)

*Mather, Donald 1. Theriault, Harold J. *Muller, Harry *Young, Horace

Barnes, Jerald D. Beatle, Ralph H. *Beck, Preston E. Acton, Wiliam D. Ambrosio, William Andrich, Vincent J. Askew, George V. Becker, Terrill F. Aydelott, William "L"Beckett, Philip E. Ayers, George "L", Jr.Benson, William D. Balley, Raiston Berglund, Burton E. Bailey, Raiston Berry, David P. L. Banks, Charies A.

Beyer, Delbert A. Blair, James A. Blair, James A. *Krouse, Gaie E. Botten, Ralph D. *Kurtz, George P. Brown, Glenn H., Jr. Lake, Jarrett T., Jr. Canto, Joseph V. Carder, Frank B. Carroll, Charles J., Jr. Lewis, Frederick E. Clark, Carroll D. Collins, John J.
Collins, Wayne D. Corbett, James F. Corey, Richard A. Cover, John H. Coyle, Arthur J. Coyne, Philip G. Cunningham, Patrick Maxwell, Jack A. D'Albora, Duijo Davenport, Ferman P., *McClaniel, Charles B. Jr. David, Floyd J. Davila, Daniel I. De Baets, Donald J. Deffenbaugh, Robert M. Delaney, Henry L. Dickey, John L. Dionne, Robert J. Doian, Eugene F. Dorman, Alvin E. Dorroh, Ray P. *Droz. John F. Eaholtz, Galen M. Edrington, Frank R. Eckman, Charies J. Egli, Clayton J. Eldridge, Richard A. Essert, Antone Evans, Donald W Evans, Thomas G., Jr. *Everett, Clayton F.

Fenby, Charles C. Finke, Gordon R. Finiey, Howard B., Jr. *Fisher, Robert E. Forehand, Wendell C. Fritsch, Edward C., Jr. Garver, Richard E. Girard, Jean L. Godfrey, Eari F Gohr, Robert B. Goodman, Louis R. *Graham, Archibaid
"G", Jr
*Groom, Ralph A.
Gullett, John H.

Hail, John C. Hanley, Richard J. Harper, Horace D. Hartman, Richard V. Hatheway, Valentine
J., Jr.
Spaulding, John I.
Stanley, George M.
Hedbawny, Edward J.Steadley, William A.
*Henderson, James W. Stecker, Kenneth W. Holbrook, Jack G. Hook, John C. Hough, Wiliam L. *Howard, Cornelius S., Jr. *Howard, Herbert B. Howard, Sam R. Hulka, Edward H.

*Hunsicker, Charles, Jr. *Hutchinson, Haroid Huval, Wiliard R. *Jacobs, Benjamin P. Jermann, Donald R. Johnson, Charles E. Johnson, Ciarence R. Jones, Theodore Kauffman, Harry R. Kent, Robert B. Klernan, Francis J. Kile, Newton A., Jr. Kiilingbeck, William

Knudson, Angus J. Koons, Jack L.

*Kralik, Wiiilam F. Laughlin, George W. Leslie, David A. Lindgren, George B. Lococo, Salvadore Loranger, Donald Lynch, James Malan, Max E. *Margolf, Edga L. Marks, Earl J., Jr. Martin, William H., Jr. McAdams, Robert B. McConnel, Joseph E. McVay, Kenneth M. Melton, John B., Jr. Menconi, Harry E., Jr. Merritt, John A., 3d Miles, Bernard L. Miles, Neagie W. Mills, Allan W. Mix, Robert W. Moore, Willard H. Moriarty, Norbert L. Morris, Evan D. Morris, John R Mottarella, Victor G. Murphy, William F. *Nardone, Henry J. *Neill, Eugene R. Neth, Robert L. Nicolais, Anthony L. O'Conneli, Thomas A. Orton, Robert D. Parr, Charles W. Perdue, Uley F. *Plattner, Francis B. Price, Kenneth W. Rapacz, Edwardus
Ratuff, John "H"
Reed, Richard C.
Rich, Charles A.
Rich, Harold G.
Rooke, William A.
Rose, Charles J.
Schneider, Robert F.
J. Schnopp, Robert W. Schock, Robert E. Shea, John Small, Rufus C. Smith, Billie E. Smith, Charies W. Smith, Gordon C. Smith, John Stephens, Jerrei D. Stevenson, Norman M. Stockstiii, Peter T. Storey, Richard E. Stowitts, Emory V. P., Jr. Swanson, Hialmer E. Tefft, Wiiliam V., 2d Thomas, John

Thomson, Robert G., Jr. *Thorpe, Milton W. Trout, Roscoe L. Truesdale, Francis E. Van Hoomissen, Vincent F. P. Voorheese, Jack R. Walsh, Francis R., Jr. Warriner, Victor G. *Watson, John M. Weich, Paul R. Wheeler, V.'iliiam L. Whittemore, John B.

*Thompson, James B.,

Wilson, Wiiilam D. Wysocki, Waiter J. *Zimmerman, Chester A. Zeigler, Richard E.

The following-named officers to the grades and ranks indicated in the Medical Corps of

ASSISTANT SURGEONS WITH THE RANK OF LIEUTENANT (JUNIOR GRADE)

Bond, Victor P. McCann, Eugene C. McCarthy, Robert J. Meyer, Frederick W., Cieary, James F., Jr. Conley, John L. Gundelfinger, Benja- Jr. Sayage, Charles Hagelstein, Arthur A. Scheffen, Albert E.

The following-named officers to the grades and ranks indicated in the Supply Corps of the Navy:

ASSISTANT PAYMASTERS WITH THE RANK OF ENSIGN

Arrigo, Anthony J. Bevan, Loren R. Monahan, Edward F. Nunn, Enoch W. Bigham, Robert G., Jr. Ooyman, John G., 3d Cohen, John F. Pierce, James M. Deliinger, Charley P. Dorion, William E. Downey, James G. Pluto, Raymond J. Reeves, James F., Jr. Rocque, Paul F. Duffie, Hubert W. Ross, Joel E. Tice, "J" P. Farrell, George, 3d Tippin, Jesse R. Tripp, Charles J. Fitzpatrick, Julius W. Hauck, Richard H. Walker, Hinton C. Wasko, Andrew J. Hix, Charles F. Hiza, John Wilson, Robert W. Zelinski, William E. Johnson, Kari A. Keenan, Joseph I. Koiinsky, Jaromir J. Bentley, William R. Corley, James O. Kurek, Edward L. Larsen, Russell W. Martin, Donald V. McDonaid, Raymond Toll, David R. Wallis, Eslie D. O., Jr. McMuiien, Marvin E.

The following-named officers to the grades and ranks indicated in the Civil Engineer Corps of the Navy:

ASSISTANT CIVIL ENGINEER WITH THE RANK OF . LIEUTENANT (JUNIOR GRADE)

Marra, Peter S.

ASSISTANT CIVIL ENGINEERS WITH THE RANK OF ENSIGN

Allen, Max H. Mallory, Charles W. Andrews, James D.

The following-named officers to the grades and ranks indicated in the Dental Corps of the Navy:

ASSISTANT DENTAL SURGEONS WITH THE RANK OF LIEUTENANT (JUNIOR GRADE)

Biackwood, Robert M. Siemer, Harold N. Steinauer, Jerome J. Stoopack, Jerome C. Gleisten, Howard P. Harwood, Richard C. Van Damm, Vincent W. Wemple, Clifton "L" Hudec, Ernest P. Mitchell, Edward C. Rumming, Ray C. Secrest, Robert H. Williams, Robert M.

The following-named officers to the rank of commissioned warrant officers in the Navy in the grades indicated:

CHIEF BOATSWAINS

Banks, Ned V. Eddy, Haroid B. Elder, David A. Hambley, Louis C. Hima, Dennis Jones, Lesiie

McMillan, Donald J. Proback, Nicholas Robinson, Robert Schuhmacher, John E. Smith, Forrest E. Trapp, Robert I.

CHIEF MACHINISTS

McGahee, Esli M. Banks, Milton W. Howeli, Gerald U. Ritter, Preston R.

CHIEF PHARMACISTS

Kibsgaard, Henry Novak, Louis

The following-named officer to the rank indicated in the iine of the Navy, to correct spelling of name as previously nominated and confirmed:

ENSIGN

Hannah, Glyde B.

House of Representatives

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1947

Harrlson

Herter

Hoeven

Holmes

Hope

Horan

Jenlson

Kean

Kearney

Kearns

Kllburn

Knutson

Kunkel Landls

Latham

LeFevre

Lemke

Lewls

Love

LeCompte

Lucas McConnell

McCowen McDonough

McDowell

McGarvev

McGregor

McMahon

Mason

Mever

McMillen, Ill.

Maloney Martin, Iowa

Keefe

Jenkins, Ohlo

Jensen Johnson, Ill.

Johnson, Ind. Johnson, Ind. Jones, Ohlo Jones, Wash. Jonkman

Kersten, Wis.

Hill

The House met at 10 o'clock a. m. Rev. Donald Scott McAlpine, former

pastor of Mariners Harbor Baptist Church, Staten Island, N. Y., offered the

following prayer:

O Thou infinite and perfect Spirit in whom all things have their source, support, and end. Thou who hast given eternal life to those who believe in Thy son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, we pray that all who humbly seek Thee this day may know that Thou dost hear them. Thou God of gracious wisdom, who hast given us even the right to choose the wrong, help us to shorten the days of our lessons and soon to shape our minds into unison with Thy divine purpose. Thus may we hasten the time when Thy will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven, and the nations of this world become the kingdom of our God and His Christ, to whom be glory and honor, majesty and power, both now and evermore. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO PEOPLE OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

The SPEAKER. The unfinished business is the further consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

The Clerk will report the first amendment upon which a separate vote is de-

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, line 4, after "not to exceed" rike out "\$350,000,000" and Insert and '\$200,000,000.''

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment.

The question was taken; and the Speaker being in doubt, the House divided and there were—ayes 51, noes 37.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present. The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 225, nays 165, not voting 41. as follows:

[Roll No. 44]

YEAS-225

Abernethy Arnold Allen, Calif. Allen, La. Auchlncloss Almond Barden Andersen, H. Carl Barrett Bates, Mass. Anderson, Calif. Beall Andresen Bender August H. Bennett, Mich. Augell Bennett, Mo.

Bishop

Boggs, Del. Bolton Bradley, Callf. Bradley, Mich. Bramblett Brehm Brophy Brown, Ohlo Buck

Blackney

Buffett Burke Burleson Busbey Byrnes, Wis. Case, S. Dak. Chenoweth Chlperfield Church Clevenger Clippinger Coffin Cole, Kans. Cole, Mo. Cravens Crawford Crow Cunningham Curtis Dague Davis, Ga Dawson, Utah D'Ewart Dolllver Dondero Dorn Doughton Elllott Ellls Elsaesser Elston Engel, Mich Engle, Calif. Fenton Fisher Fletcher Foote Gamble Gathlngs Gavln Gearhart Glllette Gillie Goodwin Graham Grant. Ind. Griffiths Gwinn, N. Y. Gwynne, Iowa Hagen

Hall, Leonard W. Halleck Hand Harness, Ind.

Albert Andrews, Ala.

Bates, Ky.

Beckworth

Battle

Blatnlk

Bonner

Boykln

Bryson

Canfield

Cannon

Case, N. J.

Chadwick

Chapman

Bloom Boggs, La.

Brown, Ga.

Buchanan

Byrne, N. Y.

Bell

Hall

Michener Miller, Md. Miller, Nebr. Mundt Murray, Tenn. Murray, Wis. Nodar Norblad O'Hara O'Konskl Pace ell, Phillips, Calif. Edwin ArthurPhillips, Tenn. Ploeser Plumley Ramey Rankin Reed, Ill. NAYS-165 Chelf Clark Andrews, N. Y. Bakewell Cole, N. Y. Cooley Cooper Corbett Coudert Courtney Crosser Davis, Tenn. Deane Delaney

Dlngell

Donohue

Eaton Eberharter

Douglas

Drewry

Evlns

Fallon

Fernandez Flannagan Fogarty Forand Fulton Gary Gordon Gore Gorskl Granger Grant, Ala. Gregory Harless, Ariz. Havenner Hays Hedrick Heffernan Hendricks Heselton Hobbs Holifield

Reed, N. Y. Rees Reeves Rich Rizley Robertson Robsion Rockwell Rogers, Mass. Rohrbough Ross Russell St. George Sanborn Sarbacher Schwabe, Okla. Scoblick Scott, Hardle

Hugh D., Jr. Scrlvner Seely-Brown Shafer Short Simpson, Ill. Simpson, III. Simpson, Pa. Smith, Kans. Smith, Ohlo Smith, Wis. Springer Stanley Stefan Stevenson Stockman Stratton Sundstrom Talle Taylor Teague Thomas, N. J. Thomas, Tex. Tlbbott Towe Twyman Vall Van Zandt Vursell Welch Wheeler Whitten Whittlington Wlgglesworth Willlams Wilson, Ind. Winstead

Wolverton

Woodruff

Youngblood

Wood

Worley

Huber Jackson, Callf. Jackson, Wash. Jarman Jenkins, Pa. Johnson, Callf. Mathews Johnson, Okla. Merrow Johnson, Tex. Miller, Ca Jones, Ala. Jones, N. C. Judd. Karsten, Mo. Keatlng Kelley Kennedy Keogh Kerr Kilday Klrwan Kleln Lane Lanham Lea Leslnskl Lodge Lusk

Lyle

Lynch

McCormack McMillan, S. C.

MacKinnon

Madden Manasco Mansfield. Marcantonlo Mlller, Conn. Monroney Morgan Morris Muhlenberg Murdock Nixon O'Brien O'Toole Owens Patman Patterson Peden Peterson Pfelfer Phllbln Plckett Poage Poulson Powell Preston Price, Fla.

Price, Ill. Rabln Ralns Rayburn Rayfiel Rlchards Rlehlman Riley Rogers, Fla. Rooney Sabath Sadlak Sadowskl Sasscer Sheppard Sikes Smathers Smlth, Maine Smlth, Va. Snyder Somers Spence Stlgler Thomason Tollefson Wadsworth Walter Wilson, Tex. Zlmmerman

NOT VOTING-41 Allen, Ill. Ellsworth Folger Fuller Bland Macy Mansfield, Tex. Gallagher Gerlach Meade, Ky. Meade, Md. Bulwlnkle Carroll Carson Celler Gifford Mitchell Harrls Morrison Hart Hartley Clements Morton Norrell Norton Colmer Cotton Hébert Schwabe, Mo. Vlnson D'Alesandro Hoffman Howell Dawson, Ill. Domengeaux Jennings Kefauver Durham

So the amendment was agreed to. The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Schwabe of Missouri for, with Mr. D'Alesandro against.

Mr. Howell for, with Mrs. Norton against. Mr. Norrell for, with Mr. Vinson against. Mr. Cotton for, with Mr. King against.

Mr. Hartley for, with Mr. Hart against. Mr. Meade of Kentucky for, with Mr. Meade of Maryland against.

General pairs until further notice:

Mr. Mitchell with Mr. Harrls.

Mr. Macy with Mr. Folger. Mr. Carson with Mr. Durham.

Mr. Ellsworth with Mr. Colmer.

Mr. Fuller with Mr. Kefauver. Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Morrison.

Mr. Jennings with Mr. Domengeaux.

Mr. Wolcott changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

Mr. REDDEN changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the next amendment on which a separate vote has been demanded.

Hugh D., Jr. Scrivner

Seely-Brown Shafer

Simpson, Ill. Simpson, Pa. Smathers

Smathers Smith, Kans. Smith, Maine Smith, Ohio Smith, Wis.

Short

Snyder

Springer

Stevenson

Stratton

Taber

Taylor

Teague

Tibbott Tollefson

Towe Twyman

Vorys Vursell

Walter Weichel Welch

West Wheeler

Morris

O'Toole

Pfeifer

Powell

Rabin

Rains

Peterson

Price, Ill. Priest

Rayburn Rayfiel

Richards

Sadowski

Smith. Va.

Thomason

Norton Schwabe, Mo.

Rooney

Sabath

Somers

Spence

Stigler

Van Zandt

Wadsworth

Vail

Talle

Sundstrom

Thomas, N. J. Thomas, Tex.

Stanley

Stefan

Sikes

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 1, after line 8, add a new sentence as follows:
"Provided, That none of the funds author-

ized to be appropriated herein shall be expended in or used for such relief assistance in those countries whose governments are dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics unless the governments of the countries covered by this amendment agree to the following regulations which are hereby declared to be applicable to every country

receiving aid under this act.

"The State Department shall establish and maintain out of the funds herein authorized for appropriation a relief-distribution mission for each of the countries receiving aid under this act. This relief-distribution mission shall be comprised solely of American citizens who shall have been approved as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These missions Bureau of Investigation. shall have direct supervision and control of relief supplies in each country and when it is deemed desirable by the American authorities administering the provisions of this act these relief missions shall be empowered to retain possession of these supplies up to the city or local community where our relief supplies are actually made available to the ultimate consumers."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 324, nays 75, not voting 32, as follows:

[Roll No. 45] YEAS-324

Abernethy Case, N. J. Case, S. Dak. Foote Albert Fulton Allen, Calif. Allen, La. Chadwick Chapman Gamble Gathings Almond Chelf Gavin Gearhart Chenoweth Andersen. Gillette Gillie H. Carl Chiperfield Anderson, Calif. Church Andresen, August H. Goff Clason Goodwin Clevenger Andrews, Ala. Andrews, N. Y. Angell Clippinger Graham Coffin Cole, Kans. / Cole, Mo. Cole, N. Y. Granger Grant, Ala. Grant, Ind. Arends Arnold Gregory Griffiths Auchincloss Bakewell Colmer Gross Gwinn, N. Y. Cooley Banta Cooper Gwynne, Iowa. Barden Corbett Hagen Hale Coudert Bates, Ky. Cox Bates, Mass. Cravens Hall, Edwin Arthur Beall Crawford Hall, Leonard W. Crow Bender Cunningham Halleck Hand Bennett, Mich. Curtis Dague Davis, Ga. Davis, Tenn. Dawson, Utah Bennett, Mo. Bishop Harless, Ariz. Harness, Ind. Blackney Blatnik Boggs, Del. Boggs, La. Deane Devitt Harris Harrison D'Ewart Dirksen Hays Hébert Bolton Bonner Dolliver Hendricks Bradley, Calif. Bradley, Mich. Bramblett Herter Dondero Heselton Donohue Hess Dorn Doughton Hill Hoeven Brooks Drewry Hoffman Holifield Brophy Brown, Ga. Brown, Ohio Elliott Ellis Elsaesser Holmes Bryson Buck Hope Horan Hull Elston Engel, Mich. Buffett Jackson, Calif. Jackson, Wash. Engle, Calif. Burke Burleson Evins Fallon Jenison Busbey Jenkins, Ohio Jenkins, Pa. Butler Fellows Byrnes, Wis. Fenton Fernandez Fisher Jennings Canfield Fletcher Johnson, Calif. Cannon

Johnson, Ill. Johnson, Ind. Johnson, Okla. Jones, N. C. Jones, Ohio Jones, Wash. Jonkman Judd Kean Kearney Kearns Keating Keefe Kerr Kersten, Wis. Kilburn Knutson Landis Lanham Larcade Latham Lea LeCompte LeFevre Lemke Lewis Lodge Love Lucas Lusk McConnell McCowen McDonough McDowell McGarvey McGregor McMahon McMillan, S. C. McMillen, Ill. MacKinnon Maloney Mansfield,

Mont. Martin, Iowa Mason Mathews Meade, Md. Michener Miller, Conn. Miller, Md. Miller, Nebr. Mills Morrison

Muhlenberg

Battle Beckworth

Bloom Buchanan

Clark Combs

Crosser

Delaney

Douglas

Fogarty

Forand

Gordon

Gorski

Gossett

Hedrick

Allen, Ill. Bland

Bulwinkle

Clements Cotton

D'Alesandro

Dawson, Ill.

Buckley

Carson Celler

Havenner

Gary

Gore

Eberharter

Flannagan

Dingell

Courtney

Byrne, N. Y. Carroll

Murdock Murray, Tenn. Murray, Wis. Nixon Nodar Norblad Norrell O'Brien O'Hara O'Konski Owens Pace Passman Patman Patterson Peden Philbin Phillips, Calif. Phillips, Tenn. Pickett Plumley Poage Potts Poulson Preston Price, Fla. Ramev Rankin Redden Reed, Ill. Reed, N. Y. Rees Reeves Riehlman Riley Rivers Rizley Robertson Robsion Rockwell Rogers, Fla. Rogers, Mass. Rohrbough Ross Russell Sadlak St. George Sanborn Sarbacher

Whitten Whittington Wigglesworth Williams Wilson, Ind. Wilson, Tex. Winstead Wolcott Wolverton Wood Sasscer Schwabe, Okla. Woodruff Worley Scoblick Scott, Hardie Youngblood Zimmerman **NAYS--75** Miller, Calif. Monroney Morgan

Heffernan Hobbs Huber Jarman Javits Johnson, Tex. Jones, Ala. Karsten, Mo Kee Kelley Kennedy Keogh Kilday Kirwan Klein Lane Lesinski Lvle Lynch McCormack Madden Mahon Manasco Marcantonio Merrow

Trimble NOT VOTING-Durham Kefauver Ellsworth Folger King Macy Mansfield, Tex. Meade, Ky. Gallagher Gerlach Mitchell Gifford Morton

Domengeaux So the amendment was agreed to. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Hart Hartley

Howell

Hinshaw

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I offer

a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is there any Member on the minority side who wishes to offer a motion to recommit?

Is the gentleman from Wisconsin opposed to the joint resolution?
Mr. O'KONSKI. In its present form,

emphatically yes.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

A motion to recommit offered by Mr. O'Konski:

Mr. O'Konski moves that the bill, House Joint Resolution 134, be sent back to the Foreign Affairs Committee for further study and until such time as Secretary of State Marshall has had opportunity to reorganize the State Department to conform with a truly anticommunistic policy and until such time as President Truman has had opportunity to reorganize the executive branch of our Government to conform to a truly anticommunistic policy.

The previous question was ordered. The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on

the passage of the joint resolution.
Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 333, nays 66, answered "present" 2, not voting 30, as follows:

[Roll No. 46] YEAS-333

Albert Allen, Calif. Allen, La. Almond Canfield Cannon Engle, Calif. Evins Carroll Case, N. J. Case, S. Dak. Fallon Feighan Fellows Andersen, H. Carl Chadwick Fenton Anderson, Calif. Chapman Fernandez Andresen. Chelf Fisher August H. Andrews, Ala. Chenoweth Flannagan Chiperfield Fletcher Andrews, N. Y. Angell Church Fogarty Clark Foote Arends Coffin Cole, Kans. Cole, Mo. Cole, N. Y. Arnold Fulton Auchincloss Gamble Gary Gearhart Gillie Bakewell Barden Barrett Combs Bates, Ky. Bates, Mass. Goff Goodwin Cooper Battle Corbett Gordon Beall Coudert Gore Beckworth Gorski Courtney Eell Cox Gossett Granger Bender Crosser Grant, Ala. Grant, Ind. Blackney Crow Blatnik Cunningham Gregory Griffiths Bloom Curtis Boggs, Del. Dague Davis, Ga.
Davis, Tenn.
Dawson, Utah Boggs, La. Gross Gwynne, Iowa Hagen Hale Bonner Boykin Bradley, Calif. Bramblett Deane Delanev Hall. Devitt D'Ewart Edwin Arthur Hall, Brehm Leonard W. Dingell Halleck Brophy Dirksen Brown, Ga. Brown, Ohio Hardy Harless, Ariz. Dolliver Dondero Bryson Buchanan Donohue Harris Havenner Doughton Buck Buckley Douglas Hays Hébert Drewry Eaton Hedrick Busbev Eberharter Heffernan Elliott Hendricks Byrne, N. Y. Byrnes, Wis. Elsaesser Herter Elston Heselton Engel, Mich. Camp

MacKinnon Hiii Hinshaw Madden Rizley Robertson Hobbs Mahon Robslon Rockweil Manasco Mansfield. Hoilfield Mont.
Marcantonio Holmes Rogers, Fla. Rogers, Mass. Hope Horan Martin, Iowa Rohrbough Huber Jackson, Callf. Mathews Meade, Md. Rooney Russell Jackson, Wash. Jarman Merrow Meyer
Michener
Miller, Caiif.
Miller, Conn.
Milier, Md. Sabath Javlts Sadlak Sadowski Jenison Jenkins, Ohlo Jenkins, Pa. St. George Sanborn Jennings Miller, Nebr. Sasscer Scoblick Jensen Miils Monroney Morgan Scott, Hardie Scott, Johnson, Calif. Johnson, Okla. Johnson, Tex. Hugh D.,Jr. Seely-Brown Jones, Ala. Jones, N. C. Jones, Wash. Jonkman Morrison Muhlenberg Sheppard Sikes Mundt Murdock Murray, Tenn. Murray, Wis. Simpson, Pa. Smathers Judd Smathers Smith, Maine Smith, Va. Smith, Wis. Snyder Karsten, Mo. Kean Nixon Kearney Nodar Keating Kee Norbiad O'Brlen Somers Keefe O'Hara O'Toole Spence Kelley Stefan Owens Pace Kennedy Stevenson Stigler Keogh Stratton Sundstrom Patman Patterson Kerr Kersten, Wls. Taber Talle Kiiburn Peden Peterson Kilday Kirwan Kieln Pfeifer Taylor Philbin Thomas, N. J. Kunkel Phillips, Calif. Ploeser Thomason Tibbott Lane Tollefson Towe Lauliam Plumley Poage Latham Lea LeCompte Potts Trimble Poulson Twyman Powell Van Zandt Lesinskl Preston Price, Fla Price, Ill. Priest Wadsworth Lodge Walter Weichel Love Luisk Rabin Rains Welch Lyie Lynch McConnell Ramey Rayburn Whittington McCormack McCowen Rayfiel Redden Wigglesworth Wilson, Ind. Reed, Ill. Rees Wilson, Tex. Wolcott McDonough McDowell McGarvey Richards McMillan, S. C. Rlehlman Wolverton Worley McMillen, Ill. Riley Zimmerman

NAYS-66

Abernethy Hoffman Sarbacher Eanta Hull Bennett, Mich. Johnson, Ill. Schwabe, Okla. Bennett, Mo. Johnson, Ind. Jones, Ohio Scrivner Shafer Bishop Bradiey, Mlch. Buffett Short Simpson, Ill. Kearns Knutson Burleson Cievenger Larcade Lemke Smith, Kans. Smith, Ohlo Lucas McGregor Clippinger Springer Colmer Stanley McMahon Maioney Cravens Stockman Crawford Teague Dorn Mason Thomas, Tex. Eliis Norrell Vursell Wheeler Whitten Gathlngs O'Konskl Gavln Passman Williams Winstead Gillette Phililps, Tenn. Graham Pickett Wood Rankln Harness, Ind. Reed, N. Y. Woodruff Harrison Reeves Youngblood

ANSWERED "PRESENT"-2 Schwabe, Mo.

NOT VOTING-

Allen, Ill. Bland Durham Howell Kefauver Elisworth Folger Fuller King Macy Bulwinkle Carson Celler Clements Gallagher Mansfield, Tex. Gerlach Meade, Ky. Cotton Gifford Mltchell D'Alesandro Gwinn, N. Y. Morton Hart Hartley Dawson, Ill. Domengcaux Vinson

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Howell for, with Mr. Schwabe of Missouri against.

Mr. Cotton for, with Mr. Landis against.

Additional general pairs:

Mr. Allen of Illinols with Mr. D'Alesandro.

Mr. Carson with Mrs. Norton. Mr. Hartley with Mr. Folger. Mr. Gifford with Mr. King.

Mr. Macy with Mr. Hart.
Mr. Mitchell with Mr. Domengeaux.

Mr. Ellsworth with Mr. Kefauver.

Mr. Fuller with Mr. Vinson. Mr. Gallagher with Mr. Durham.

Mr. Meade of Kentucky with Mr. Bulwinkle.

Mr. LANDIS. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentleman from New Hampshire, Mr. Cotton. If he were voted "nay." I withdraw my vote and vote "present." present he would have voted "yea." I

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have five legislative days in which to extend their remarks on House Joint Resolution 153.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

CORRECTION OF RECORD

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, April 29, on roll call 43 I am recorded as not being present. I was in the Chamber and answered to my name. I ask unanimous consent that the RECORD and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. COUDERT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a statement by Mr. Dulles.

Mr. PHILLIPS of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include several quotations

Mr. SEELY-BROWN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. McDONOUGH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a statement from the United States News.

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I voted against this measure to provide \$200,000,000 in further relief to foreign countries. I did so with reluctance because I know something of their need. I have, over the years, tried to be liberal with the less fortunate peoples of other lands. I have voted for much of some \$15,000,000,000 in assistance we have extended them or are being asked to extend. But, there are conditions under which I must, to satisfy my feeling of obligation to America, draw the line.

The pending measure is a blank check written in the dark. It would give the President authority through a commission he appoints, to spend this money where he desires and the State Department has already told us that if it has its way it plans to spend a lot of it in Poland, Hungary, and other Russian-dominated countries. The administration nated countries. asks us to help these Communist states and in the next breath to vote money for Greece and Turkey to stop communism. These Russian-dominated states are paying reparations to Russia. Any assistance from us puts us in a position of helping to pay those reparations. It is an inconsistent and foolish policy. This money will be used as our other assistance has been used, to entrench the Communists who distribute it abroad and to punish helpless and needy peoples who do not bow down to these Communists we give authority to distribute the relief.

It is admitted by the State Department that no other nation is helping us to assume the burden of feeding the world. It is admitted that the sum now requested is an estimate, "picked out of the air." The tax money necessary to total this vast amount cannot be picked out of the air. It will have to be picked out of the pockets of my constituents in high taxes and high prices. Yes, high prices. As long as our Government is buying vast quantities of food and clothing to give to people who ought to go to work to supply their own instead of waiting for more checks from Uncle Sam, just that long will scarcities be continued in this country and the unreasonably high prices which go with scarcity. hear a lot said by the politicians about business and labor being to blame for high prices. The greatest guilt for high prices belongs to the Government. 1940, before the war, we had \$7,848,000,-000 of currency in circulation. Today we have \$28,303,507,000 in circulation or about four times as much as six short years ago. Is it any wonder that prices have gone up or that money has become cheaper and will buy less? This money is printed to cover unnecessary Government expenditures.

Some effort has been made here to satisfy objections to this bill by amendment. These efforts fall far short of protection of this country's best interests and simply continue the policy of pauperizing other countries and spreading a spendthrift New Deal around the world. I am against it. I want to see taxes reduced, the budget balanced, the national debt reduced, and the American dollar again worth one hundred cents in purchasing power. There will always be a United States of America if we do not give it away. This measure and others like it will undo our hard work which is putting us back on the road to Federal sanity and solvency.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask. unanimous consent that the Committee

may 1



H. J. RES. 153

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 1 (legislative day, April 21), 1947 Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the
- 4 President not to exceed \$200,000,000 for the provision of
- 5 relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war,
- 6 such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food,
- 7 medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for
- 8 clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed: Provided,
- 9 That from the sums appropriated pursuant to this section
- 10 the President may make contributions to the International
- 11 Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations for the

special care and feeding of children, and such contributions 1 2 shall not be subject to the limitations and requirements provided in this joint resolution, but after \$15,000,000 has 3 been so contributed, no further contributions shall be made 4 5 which would cause the aggregate amount so contributed by the United States, (1) to constitute more than 57 per 6 7 centum of the aggregate amount contributed to said fund by all governments, including the United States; or (2) to 8 9 exceed \$50,000,000, whichever is the lesser: Provided 10 further, That none of the funds authorized to be appro-11 priated herein shall be expended in or used for such relief 12 assistance in those countries whose governments are domi-13 nated by the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics unless 14 the governments of the countries covered by this amendment 15 agree to the following regulations which are hereby de-16 clared to be applicable to every country receiving aid under 17 this Act. a compare at wall compared 18 The State Department shall establish and maintain out 19 of the funds herein authorized for appropriation, a relief 20 distribution mission for each of the countries receiving aid 21 under this Act. This relief distribution mission shall be 22 comprised solely of American citizens who shall have been 23 approved as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau 24 of Investigation. These missions shall have direct super-25 vision and control of relief supplies in each country and

- 1 when it is deemed desirable by the American authorities
- 2 administering the provisions of this Act these relief mis-
- 3 sions shall be empowered to retain possession of these sup-
- 4 plies up to the city or local community where our relief
- 5 supplies are actually made available to the ultimate con-
- 6 sumers.
- 7 Appropriations authorized by this joint resolution shall
- 8 be available for relief in Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy,
- 9 Poland, and China: Provided, That the President, if he shall
- determine that emergency needs exist in any other country
- 11 or countries, is authorized to utilize not more than
- \$15,000,000 for the purpose of providing relief in such other
- 13 country or countries.
- 14 Sec. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such
- 15 relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers
- of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits
- 17 subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and
- on such terms as the President may determine; except that
- 19 no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may
- 20 be made after June 30, 1948.
- (b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds appro-
- 22 priated pursuant thereto may be used to pay necessary
- 23 expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance,
- 24 including expenses of or incident to the procurement, stor-
- 25 age, transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred

- 1 under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits
- 2 established under subsection (a).
- 3 (c) Sums from the appropriations made pursuant to
- 4 this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the pur-
- 5 poses of this joint resolution to any department, agency,
- 6 or independent establishment of the Government and such
- 7 sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in
- 8 accordance with the laws governing obligations and expendi-
- 9 tures of the department, agency, or independent establish-
- 10 ment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without
- 11 regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes,
- 12 as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and
- 13 title 31, sec. 529).
- 14 (d) When any department, agency, or independent
- 15 establishment of the Government receives request from the
- 16 government of any country for which credits have been
- established under subsection (a) and receives, from credits
- 18 so established, advancements or reimbursements for the cost
- 19 and necessary expenses, it may furnish, or procure and
- 20 furnish (if advancements are made), supplies within the
- 21 category of relief assistance as defined in section 1 and may
- use sums so received for the purposes set forth in subsection
- (b) of this section. When any such reimbursement is made
- 24 it shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency,
- or independent establishment concerned, either to the appro-

- 1 priation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation,
- 2 or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which
- 3 is current at the time of such reimbursement.
- 4 (e) Not more than 10 per centum of the appropria-
- 5 tions authorized by this resolution shall be expended for the
- 6 procurement of relief supplies in countries other than the
- 7 United States. The relief supplies provided under the terms
- 8 of this joint resolution shall be procured and furnished by
- 9 the appropriate United States procurement agencies unless
- 10 the President shall determine otherwise.
- SEC. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under
- 12 the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any
- 13 country unless the government of such country has given
- 14 assurance satisfactory to the President that (a) the supplies
- 15 transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint
- 16 resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or
- 17 imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the
- 18 people of such country without discrimination as to race,
- 19 creed, or political belief; (b) representatives of the Govern-
- 20 ment of the United States and of the press and radio of the
- 21 United States will be permitted to observe freely and to
- 22 report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such
- 23 supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given
- 24 within such country as to the purpose, source, character,

scope, amounts and progress of the United States relief pro-1 gram carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution; 2 (d) if food, medical supplies, fertilizer, or seed is transferred 3 or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to 4 this joint resolution; no articles of the same character will 5 be exported or removed from such country while need there-6 for for relief purposes continues; (e) such country has taken 7 8 or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own 9 future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, 10 11 it will furnish promptly information concerning the produc-12 tion, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any 13 supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such 14 country; (g) representatives of the Government of the 15 United States will be permitted to supervise the distribu-16 tion among the people of such country of the supplies trans-17 ferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint 18 resolution; and (h) that when relief supplies procured with 19 the funds authorized by this joint resolution are sold by 20 any receiving government for local currency, the amounts 21 of such local currency shall be deposited by that government 22 in a special account and shall be used only for relief and 23 rehabilitation purposes with the approval of the duly author-24 ized representative of the United States.

Sec. 4. When supplies are transferred or otherwise made

- 1 available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution,
- 2 the President shall cause representatives of the Government
- 3 of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution
- 4 of such supplies among the people of such country, (2)
- 5 to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of
- 6 the assurances given to the President pursuant to section 3,
- 7 and (3) make certain that reparations payable by any such
- 8 country to any other country by treaty have been postponed
- 9 during the period of such relief.
- Sec. 5. (a) The President shall promptly terminate the
- 11 provision of relief assistance to the people of any country
- 12 whenever he determines (1) that, by reason of changed con-
- 13 ditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character
- authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2)
- that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not
- being carried out, (3) that an excessive amount of any sup-
- plies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this
- joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or im-
- ported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the
- 20 maintenance of armed forces in such country, or (4) that
- ²¹ supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to
- 22 this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or
- imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed
- 24 from such country.

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(b) Relief assistance to the people of any country, under

- 1 this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the
- 2 President, be terminated whenever such termination is di-
- 3 rected by concurrent resolution of the two Houses of the
- 4 Congress.
- 5 Sec. 6. Relief assistance under this joint resolution shall
- 6 be administered, to the extent the President directs, by a
- 7 Relief Administrator who shall be appointed by the Presi-
- 8 dent, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and
- 9 shall perform such functions relating to the administration of
- 10 this Act as the President shall prescribe. The Administrator
 - 11 shall receive such salary and have such staff as the President
 - 12 shall determine.
 - 13 Sec. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress
 - 14 quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under
 - authority of this joint resolution.

Passed the House of Representatives April 30, 1947.

Attest:

JOHN ANDREWS,

Clerk.



JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

May 1 (legislative day, April 21), 1947
Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Foreign Relations

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and will give close scrutiny to the actions of the departments with respect to their application of the reductions that have been effected in the pending bill. Agencies are expected to abide by the recommendations of the committee in connection with projects contained in lump-sum appropriations. Otherwise, it may at some future time, be obliged to break up those appropriations into specific projects."

Census. "It is the feeling of the committee that the need for this item is somewhat exaggerated and that many of these continuing statistics are not necessary to the economy of the country. Furthermore, it does not appear to the committee that there is sufficient coordination between the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Agriculture, and others, with respect to some of the statistics that are being gathered.

"The committee feels that the authority under which this Bureau [Census] presently operates is, for the most part, not clear-cut, but represents a patchwork of laws passed over many years past. It is respectfully suggested to the committee having jurisdiction in this matter that some review of existing legislation, be made with the view of codification of the statutes for a more clear definition of what the Congress expects and wants in the way of statistics."

2. TRANSPORTATION. Received from the President a supplemental appropriation estimate of \$119,000 for ODT necessitated by extra work due to the boxcar shortage (H.Doc. 232, May 1).

SENATE

- 3. LABOR-FEDERAL SECURITY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1948. Passed as reported this bill, H.R. 2700; and Senate conferees were appointed (pp. 4614-61).
- 4. FOREIGN RELIEF. The Foreign Relations Committee reported with amendment H.J. Res. 153, authorizing \$350,000,000 for relief assistance to people of war-devastated countries (S.Rept.153) (p. 4610).
- 5. NEWSPRIME'SHORTAGE. Minority views were submitted on the report of the Small Business Committee regarding the newsprint shortage (S.Rept. 150, Pt. 2) (n. 4610).
- 6. CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT. Sen. McCarran, Nev., submitted admendments which he intends to propose to S. 637, the omnibus retirement bill (p. 4612).

BILLS INTRODUCED

- 7. CLAIMS. S. 1224, by Sen. Sparkman, Ala., "to amend the Federal Tort Claims Act." To Judiciary Committee. (p. 4610.)
- 8. BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS. S. 1231, by Sen. Kem, Mo., authorizing and directing the Commissioner of Public Buildings, to determine the fair market value of the Fidelity Building in Kansas City, Mo., and to receive bids for the purchase thereof. To Public Works Committee. (p. 4611.) Remarks of author(pp. 4611-2).
- 9. COMMUNITY PROGRAMS. S. 1229, by Sen. Thomas, Utah (for himself and others), to authorize the Federal Security Administrator to assist the States in the development of community programs for the people of the U.S. To Labor and Public Welfare Committee. (p. 4611.)
- 10. TRANSPORTATION; TAXATION. H.R. 3315, by Dol. Farrington, T.H., to repeal the

tax on transportation of persons. To Ways and Means Committee. (p. 4679.)

- ITEMS IN APPENDIX

- 11. SOIL CONSERVATION. Sem. Hatch, N.Mex.; inserted Marquis Childs article on the soil conservation work being done in Mexico (p. A2188).
- 12. FLOOD COMPROL. Sen. McClellan, Ark., inserted the President's message to the National Rivers and Harbors Congress and his own address before that group favoring the continued construction of rivers and harbors, flood control, and reclamation projects (p. A2187).

Sen. Overton, La., inserted his address before the National Rivers and Harbors Congress opposing cuts in appropriations for flood control, reclamation

and rivers and harbors projects (p. A2198).

- 13. PATENTS. Sen. Wiley, Wis., inserted his recent address before the Patent Office Society on America's patent system (pp. A2191-3).
- 14. PERSONTEL. Son. Taylor, Idaho, inserted a letter published in the N.Y.Times opposing the President's loyalty order as being "Nazilike" (p. A2197-8).

 Sen. Morse, Oreg., inserted a letter published in the N.Y. Times criticizing the procedure under the President's loyalty order as being inadequate (pp. A2199-200).

COINITTEE HEARINGS Released by G.P.O.

15. LANDS. S. 28, reestablishing registers in land offices. Senate Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee.

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COMMITTEE HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for May 6: Joint Committee on Economic Report (ex. S. Public Lands, Central Valley reclamation project; 5: Appropriations, Interior appropriation bill: H. Ways and Means, trade agreements: H. Appropriations, Government corporations and independent offices appropriation bills (ex.). For May 9: H. Public Lands, FS range policy and 1948 range program (Watts, Granger, and Dutton to testify).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654 or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

REPORT No. 153

PROVIDING FOR RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

MAY 5 (legislative day, April 21), 1947.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. Vandenberg, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. J. Res. 153]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of eountries devastated by war, unanimously report the resolution favorably to the Senate with an amendment in the nature of a substitute and recommend that it do pass.

MAIN PURPOSE OF THE RESOLUTION

The main purpose of the resolution is to authorize the appropriation of a sum of money, not to execed \$350,000,000, so that the United States may provide its share of the relief assistance still needed during the calendar year 1947 for the people of the war-devastated areas. The assistance contemplated will be extended by the United States directly to the recipient countries. It will be concerned with relief needs only; it will not extend to reconstruction and rehabilitation. The resolution provides for ample safeguards and limitations in order to insure that the funds will be properly administered and wisely spent. Particular attention has been given to provisions designed to meet congressional objections which have been raised with respect to the administration of UNRRA.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

On April 15 the Foreign Relations Committee met in executive session with representatives of the Department of State to discuss the pending resolution. Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Mr. C. Tyler Wood, deputy to the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, and Mr. Dallas Dort, adviser on relief and rehabilitation, analyzed the provisions of the resolution and outlined in some

detail the relief needs of the devastated areas. On April 18 the Honorable Herbert Hoover also appeared in executive session and gave the committee the benefit of his wide experience in relief work. No public hearings were held. The committee considered such a course unnecessary in view of the exhaustive hearings held by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives and in view of the fact that no one asked to be heard. The committee noted that a number of communications were received in favor of the bill but that

no opposition was expressed.

Following a number of concrete suggestions put forth by Mr. Hoover, the committee met in executive session on April 22, 25, and 29, with representatives from the Department of State to write up the resolution. It should be noted that the committee took as the basis of its discussion House Joint Resolution 153 as it was reported out by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. After the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had completed its study of the resolution some additional amendments were approved on the floor of the House. The principles involved in these amendments were discussed by the Foreign Relations Committee and some of the amendments are included in the resolution as approved by the committee.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

The joint resolution was introduced as the result of a message from the President of the United States to the Congress on February 21, 1947, recommending that an appropriation of \$350,000,000 be authorized for relief assistance to the devastated areas. For the information of the Senate the full text of President Truman's message is reproduced below:

To the Congress of the United States of America:

I recommend that the Congress authorize the appropriation of not to exceed \$350,000,000 to assist in completing the great task of bringing relief from the

ravages of the war to the people of the liberated countries.

The period of full scale supply operations by the United Nations Relief, and Rehabilitation Administration is rapidly drawing to a close. In some of the liberated countries UNRRA will have achieved its objective fully, for these countries will once again be self-supporting so far as the basic essentials of life are concerned. In other liberated countries, however, this is not yet the case. Compared with what has already been done, what remains to be done is relatively

small and limited in time and scope, but nonetheless vitally important.

On humanitarian grounds, and in the light of our own self-interest as well, we must not leave the task unfinished. We cannot abandon the peoples still in need. To do so would be to replace hope with despair in the hearts of these peoples and thus to undermine the spiritual and economic stability upon which our own hopes for a better world must rest. Others will help, but such is the preponderance of our economic resources that success cannot be achieved without us. If we fail to do our part, millions of human beings will be denied the clemental necessities of life. Their strength and recuperative powers, which have been slowly growing, will be undermined. The time, now in sight, when they can once more exist without help and make their contributions to the peace, prosperity, and progress of the world, will be indefinitely postponed.

I recommend that this relief assistance be given directly rather than through an international organization, and that our contribution be administered under

an international organization, and that our contribution be administered under United States control. International cooperation in the program and the necessary coordination of our relief activities with those of other contributors can be achieved by informal consultations with all nations concerned through the mechanism of the United Nations and otherwise. I believe that our relief contribution should be used only for providing the basic essentials of life, such as medical

supplies, food and items which will aid in the production of foodstuffs.

The authorization recommended is designed for the urgent relief needs for the balance of the year. The most critical period will be in the spring and summer months, when UNRRA shipments will cease and the harvests are not yet available.

Swift legislative action is necessary if our help is not to come too late.

The United States, in keeping with our traditions of immediate and whole-hearted response to human need, has stood in the forefront of those who have checked the forces of starvation, disease, suffering, and chaos which threatened to engulf the world in the wake of the war. The task is nearly finished. I urge the Congress to act promptly to insure that we do not stop short of the goal; that we do not endanger the permanence of the gains we have helped to achieve.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 21, 1947.

TOTAL RELIEF NEEDS FOR 1947

On December 11, 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations, largely because of the insistence of the United States, adopted a resolution calling upon the individual members to assist in furnishing relief when and where it might be needed during 1947. While the resolution recommended informal consultations among members of the United Nations, in order to coordinate their respective relief programs, it was urged that such relief needs be met through direct arrangements between the contributing and recipient countries. A Technical Committee to analyze relief needs for 1947 was also provided. This Committee reported a total need—not including China—of \$583,000,000.

In consultation with the Technical Committee and with other governments, and as a result of extensive on-the-spot surveys, the State Department, working in close collaboration with other departments of the Government, has estimated the total needs for basic relief for the calendar year 1947 at approximately \$600,000,000. This figure excludes UNRRA shipments. Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Trieste appear to need assistance and China will probably require certain imports to prevent suffering and starvation in certain areas. Other countries which have received assistance from

UNRRA in the past will probably not require further relief.

UNITED STATES SHARE OF TOTAL RELIEF NEEDS

The \$350,000,000 authorized by this joint resolution represents approximately 58 percent of the estimated total relief needs for the calendar year 1947. By way of comparison our contribution to UNRRA was 72 percent. Bearing in mind our capacity, in relation to that of other contributing countries, the committee considered the

\$350,000,000 figure a fair share of the total requirements.

The \$350,000,000 was arrived at following a careful estimate that a maximum of \$250,000,000 might be contributed by other countries in a position to assist. The committee was advised that this was an optimistic estimate and included several countries which had not contributed to the UNRRA program. Moreover, the committee was informed that according to the estimates of food experts food shipments totaling approximately \$296,000,000 would be needed from the United States by the devastated areas and would be available for export from this country during the calendar year 1947. It will be noted that the \$296,000,000 estimate does not include the other types of relief supplies listed in the resolution and does not extend to China. In view of all these considerations the committee considered that at

least \$350,000,000 would be necessary to meet our share of the relief

program.

There are no definite assurances that the remaining relief needs beyond the \$350,000,000 will be mct. The British, Norwegian, and Danish Governments have indicated their intention to contribute specific amounts to certain needy countries, and it is reported that the Soviet Union has made an advance in gold to Poland which might be used in part to procure essential supplies. The Department of State is of the opinion that a number of additional contributions will be forthcoming when a final decision has been reached with respect to the program of the United States Government.

KIND OF RELIEF TO BE FURNISHED

During the hearings, representatives of the State Department emphasized the purely relief character of the aid to be furnished. The joint resolution specifically provides that the assistance contemplated is to be limited to food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed material for clothing, fucl, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed. There is no provision for machinery and tools or equipment for rehabilitation purposes. Moreover, relief estimates have been computed on a minimum basis in order to make it possible to provide the people of the countries concerned with an average of 2,000 to 2,200 calories per day. This figure compares with the 3,400-calorie average in the United States,

THE COUNTRIES TO WHICH RELIEF WOULD BE GRANTED

Some criticism has arisen in certain quarters because the resolution does not specify the countries to which assistance would be granted and the total amounts each would receive. As the resolution stands, say the critics, it is a blank check enabling the President to extend relief to countries other than those generally considered within the scope of our relief program. Unless some limitation is provided, the argument runs, the President and the Congress may be under considerable pressure from other governments desirous of securing assistance.

It is the view of the committee, however, that it would be unwise to determine now the total amount to be allocated to any particular State. Changing crop conditions and the evolving programs of other contributing countries with which we expect to cooperate make it desirable for the United States to be in a position to adjust our plans as the situation may demand. Moreover, if certain States were named in the resolution and a total announced for each recipient country—even if the figures were only tentative—it might be looked upon as a definite commitment with the people of each country assuming they had a right to relief and to the amount specified.

On May 3 the Sccretary of State addressed to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee a letter, in which the states at present eligible for relief assistance are identified. Since the letter is a positive commitment on the part of the State Department, and offers a complete answer to those who wish to have the countries receiving

relief named, it is reproduced here in full.

My Dear Senator Vandenberg: In connection with the proposed legislation authorizing an appropriation of \$350,000,000 for relief assistance (H. J. Res.

153), I wish to advise you that the Department of State, if given responsibility for determining the beneficiary countries, would not approve the expenditure of more than \$15,000,000 of this amount for relief in any other countries or territories than Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Trieste, and China. It is felt that not more than \$15,000,000 should be available to meet emergencies which, while they are not now foreseen, might arise in other countries to which we might wish to render assistance.

Sincerely yours,

G. C. Marshall.

REPAYMENT OF RELIEF ASSISTANCE NOT REQUIRED

The resolution authorizes the extension of relief assistance in the form of free grants. The countries to which relief supplies are expected to go are all economically bankrupt. They have all been devastated by war. Their tasks in the field of rehabilitation and reconstruction are so compelling that all of their available resources and foreign exchange will be sorely needed for some time to come for the purchase of essential imports and for the servicing of reconstruction and rehabilitation loans. Under the circumstances, the committee agreed that it would be unwise and unsound economically to require such countries to assume debts for consumable commodities like food which do not add to a nation's productive capacity thus permitting repayment to be made. Additional debts imposed upon them now for relief supplies would make extremely precarious their already weak financial position.

REQUIREMENTS TO BE MET BEFORE RELIEF WILL BE GRANTED

The committee was impressed by the fact that the proposed resolution sets forth a formidable list of conditions which must be met by recipient countries before relief will be granted by the United States. While these conditions obviously could not guarantee perfect results, they should provide adequate assurance that the money appropriated will be wisely spent and the program carefully administered. Specifically, the resolution provides that no relief assistance shall be provided to the people of any country unless the government of such country has given assurance satisfactory to the President that the following requirements have been met:

1. There will be no discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief in the distribution of relief supplies in the recipient country.

2. United States officials and representatives of the press and radio will be permitted to observe freely and report fully regarding the use of relief supplies.

3. Full and continuous publicity will be given in such country as to the nature and progress of the relief program carried on by

the United States.

4. If food, fertilizer, and other supplies are made available to needy countries, no articles of the same character will be exported or removed from such country while need therefor for relief purposes continues.

5. The recipient country, insofar as possible, must take the measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and provide for its

own future reconstruction.

6. If requested by the President, the recipient country will furnish information concerning any supplies which affect the relief needs of such country.

7. Representatives of the United States will be permitted to supervise the distribution of the supplies made available among

the people of the recipient country.

The resolution as approved by the committee also includes a number of additional restrictions and limitations with respect to the administration of the program. These include the following:

1. Expenditures for relief supplies outside the United States

are limited to 6 percent;

2. Assistance to any country may be terminated for various reasons by the President or by a concurrent resolution of the Congress;

3. Local proceeds for the sale of relief goods are to be put in a special revolving fund, the use of which must be approved by the

United States; and

4. Relief supplies are to be clearly stamped and labeled so as to indicate that they have been furnished by the United States. These additional limitations are discussed in detail in other sections of this report.

TERMINATION OF RELIEF ASSISTANCE

Relief to any country may be stopped by either the President or the Congress. In the event any of the basic conditions listed above are violated the President must promptly terminate relief assistance to the country in question. Likewise the President is required to discontinue assistance whenever he finds it is no longer necessary, or whenever an excessive amount of the relief supplies, or of similar supplies imported or produced locally, is being used for the maintenance of armed forces, or whenever such supplies are being exported or removed from the recipient country. Finally, the Congress, by concurrent resolution, may direct the termination of the program to any country.

It has been pointed out that the President must stop relief shipments whenever he finds that relief supplies or similar supplies imported or produced locally are being exported from the country in question. This would seem to be a reasonable restriction since the United States would not want a country to build up its export of grain by means of the wheat shipments it received under our relief program. Such a provision, however, would not operate to prevent Greece, for example, from exporting a surplus quantity of olive oil merely because she receives other foodstuffs from us. Such exports are essential if devastated countries are to be able to obtain other

badly needed supplies.

ADDITIONAL RESTRICTIONS APPROVED BY THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Following its executive session with former President Hoover, the committee invited Mr. Hoover to submit his specific suggestions in the form of a memorandum. This was done and the committee, meeting with officials of the State Department, examined Mr. Hoover's proposals with extreme care. As a result, four important amendments

were added to the joint resolution which the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House had previously approved.

FIRST AMENDMENT: RELIEF EXPENDITURES OUTSIDE UNITED STATES
LIMITED TO 6 PERCENT

The first amendment would limit to 6 percent of the total the amount of money which could be spent for the procurement of supplies outside the United States and its territorial possessions. The committee members were in complete agreement that nearly all the funds appropriated should be used for purchases within the United States. There are some instances, however, where it would be in the interest of the United States and of the efficiency of the program to authorize purchases in other countries. For example, supplies of fertilizer are severely limited in this country but are urgently needed in Europe in order that food production might be increased. It may be possible to procure phosphate rock in north Africa, and potash and nitrates in other areas of the world where the supplying countries are not in a position to make these available free. Similarly, it may be advantageous to obtain coal and certain types of seed elsewhere. The committee believed that it would be entirely reasonable to set aside 6 percent, or \$21,000,000, for such essential purchases abroad.

SECOND AMENDMENT: APPOINTMENT OF ADMINISTRATOR APPROVED BY SENATE

The second amendment provides that the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint an administrator to direct the supervision of the relief program in Europe. The administrator will act in accordance with instructions from the President who may, to the extent that he desires, delegate his authority to the Secretary of State. Due to the relatively simple nature of the relief operations to be performed in the Far East, it is not believed that an administrator of comparable stature will be needed for that phase of the program.

The committee stressed the fact that the success of the program would depend in large measure upon the skill and ability of the administrator in the field. The operation is far more than a technical supply problem. The proper supervision of the distribution of relief supplies and of the use of local funds accruing from their sale will be extremely important functions. Moreover, the problems of insuring the distribution of supplies without political discrimination, making certain that the American press and radio are free to observe the operations, and the enforcement of the other conditions specified in

the resolution, will require a high degree of ability.

In Washington the operation is largely one of making certain that the relief program conforms to our over-all foreign policy, and of coordinating the procurement and supply activities of the appropriate Government agencies. The committee believes that this function can be performed most appropriately by the Secretary of State and his staff.

THIRD AMENDMENT: LOCAL PROCEEDS OF SALE OF RELIEF GOODS TO GO INTO RELIEF FUND

The third amendment provides that the local proceeds which a country derives from the sale of relief goods are to be set aside in a special fund. This fund is to be used, with the approval of the United States, for relief and work-relief purposes including local currency expense incident to the furnishing of relief. Any balance remaining in the account on June 30, 1948, will be disposed of within the country for such purposes as the United States, pursuant to act or resolution of the Congress, may determine.

It is assumed that a large proportion of the relief goods furnished by the United States will be sold in the recipient countries for local currency. In practice, relief supplies will be given only to people who are unable to pay. Since the local currencies of these countries, however, are not freely convertible into other currencies they would be of little value outside the country. Consequently, the committee believed it might be desirable to place the local proceeds from the sale of relief goods into a special revolving fund which might be used to further relief and work relief activities.

FOURTH AMENDMENT: PROVIDES FOR MARKING AND LABELING RELIEF SUPPLIES

The fourth amendment provides that, wherever practicable, relief supplies shall be stamped or labeled in such a manner as to indicate to the consumers in devastated countries that the supplies or articles in question have been furnished by the United States. If it is difficult or impossible to so mark certain supplies then steps will be taken to inform the consumers about the origin of the goods. The committee felt strongly that this amendment—which had been advanced previously by Senators Young and McClellan—was desirable in order to protect the interests of the United States and avoid the use of relief supplies for political purposes.

RELATION OF RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO REPARATIONS PAYMENTS

During its consideration of the resolution the committee examined the relationship between relief assistance and reparations payments. Inasmuch as Italy and Hungary will be required to pay large sums in the form of reparations it has been argued that the United States, by contributing relief supplies, would be indirectly paying their reparations bills. The American taxpayer, the argument runs, would be making in effect contributions to the exchequers of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Albania, Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia, and Greece rather than to the needy peoples of Italy and Hungary.

While there is an element of validity in this argument, it should be noted that in the ease of Italy deliveries for reparations payments from current industrial production are not to be made until 2 years after the treaty is in force. Our main concern, therefore, is with Hungary. Under the circumstances the committee felt it best to accept the situation as it is. It should be kept in mind that the amount of reparations to be paid is fixed by the peace treaty and will not be increased or decreased as a result of our assistance to Hungary. Given the great difficulty with which final agreement was reached on

the peace treaties it would be most impracticable to reopen the whole matter at this time. Meanwhile the relief need is urgent. It would seem highly unfair to the people of Hungary who are struggling at this very moment to maintain an independent government, to further penalize them because their country is compelled to pay reparations under the terms of the peace treaty.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROGRAM IN THE FIELD

If the relief program contemplated in the resolution is put into effect the United States would negotiate agreements with each of the recipient governments. These agreements would include the various conditions specified in the resolution and would outline the general procedures and controls which would be established with respect to the procurement and shipment of supplies. Provisions would also be made for a ration and price control system so that all classes of people within a country would receive their fair share of essential supplies.

Under the direction of an Administrator of American Relief in Europe steps would be taken to set up in each country a staff charged with the responsibility of supervising and inspecting the distribution of relief supplies and checking against possible noncompliance with the terms of our agreement. The staff would be attached to the United States mission. Clearly it would not be possible in a few months' time to build up the huge force necessary to actually distribute relief supplies directly to those who need them. The committee agreed that a relatively small staff, if allowed to inspect operations freely, could adequately supervise the distribution process and detect any important violations of the agreement. In case any violations were reported and not promptly corrected, immediate steps would be taken to stop relief shipments. The regular staff of our embassies would assist in the work.

METHOD OF PROCUREMENT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES

The resolution provides that supplies to be furnished may be procured by agencies of the United States Government or by authorizing the foreign governments to arrange for procurement. In the latter case appropriated funds can be made available to meet the cost of supplies which are purchased by the foreign governments upon authorization of United States officials. The resolution authorizes the establishment of credits in the name of the foreign government by deposits in the Federal Reserve Bank or other United States depository. It is required that these credits will be under the control of the President or his authorized agent and it is intended that the foreign government cannot withdraw funds so deposited without the specific authorization of an appropriate United States official.

RELATIONSHIP OF RELIEF MEASURES TO THE GREEK-TURK ASSISTANCE BILL

During its consideration of the joint resolution the committee emphasized the close relationship between the relief program for devastated areas and the bill providing for financial and other assistance to Greece and Turkey. The latter makes no provision for relief assistance in the way of food, clothing, and medical supplies; yet, obviously, if these basic human needs are not met, the broader objective of bringing security and economic stability to Greece might fall to the ground. The joint resolution providing for relief, in that a portion of the \$350,000,000 authorized would be set aside for the needs of the Greek people, would seem to be an essential supplement to the Greek-Turkish assistance bill. There is no duplication, however, involved in the two measures. Favorable action with respect to the present resolution is indispensable to the success of the total Greek program.

NEED FOR PROMPT ACTION

With the activities of UNRRA now drawing to a close, the urgent need for a speedy consideration of the resolution is apparent. UNRRA food shipments will cease early in May. Grain stocks in Europe are lowest just before the harvest. To a very large extent the people in the needy countries will have to exist on imported grain until the new harvest becomes available. In some cases that may be as late as September or October. Our Government must be prepared to begin shipments in May if a break-down of food distribution, with its consequent threat of starvation and civil unrest, is to be avoided during this critical period.

The United States, together with other countries in a position to help, have done much to alleviate human suffering in war-devastated This great work must be carried on to a successful conclusion in line with the humanitarian principles which have traditionally dominated the thinking of our people and the foreign policy of our

country. Time is important.

With these considerations in mind, the Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously recommend the passage of the joint resolution and urge the Senate to act upon it at the earliest possible time.

APPENDIX

MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE RESOLUTION APPROVED BY THE HOUSE AND THAT REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE

The main differences between the resolution approved by the House of Representatives and the substitute resolution reported by the Foreign Relations Committee may be summarized as follows:

HOUSE RESOLUTION

1. Provides for appropriation not to exceed \$200,000,000.

SENATE RESOLUTION

1. Provides for appropriation not to

exceed \$350,000,000.

Bearing in mind the total relief needs of the devastated areas and the capacity of the United States to contribute, the committee believes that at least \$350,-000,000 should be appropriated. A more detailed explanation of the committee's position on this point is contained in an earlier section of the report.

2. Does not include any authorizadollars of the amount appropriated may tion for a United States contribution to the International Children's Emergency

2. Provides that from 15 to 50 million be set aside for the International Chil-the Inderen's Emergency Fund of the United Fund. Nations.

HOUSE RESOLUTION-continued

- 3. Provides that no assistance shall be extended "those countries whose governments are dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics unless the governments of the countries covered by this amendment agree to not specify that personnel should be the following regulations which are approved as to loyalty by the FBI. hereby declared to be applicable to Nor does it require that recipient counevery country receiving aid under this Act." These regulations require establishment of relief distribution missions in each country comprised of American citizens approved as to loyalty by the FBI. Those missions would have direct supervision and control of relief supplies and could retain possession of supplies up to the local community where they are made available to the consumer.
- 4. Provides that the appropriations authorized are to be available for relief in Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and China. The President, in case of emergency needs, may authorize an additional \$15,000,000 for relief in other countries.
- 5. Provides that not more than 10 percent of the appropriation shall be spent for relief supplies in countries other than the United States.

6. Provides that when assistance is given a country reparations payable by that country by treaty shall be postponed during the period relief is extended.

SENATE RESOLUTION—continued

3. Makes no reference to countries whose governments are dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Requires supervision of distribution by United States representatives but does tries must agree to permit United States retention of supplies up to the local community.

The committee preferred not to refer in the resolution to any particular state or group of states. In any case, the phrase in the House resolution "whose governments are dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" would seem superfluous inasmuch as the provision is made applicable to all

countries receiving relief.

4. Does not specifically designate the countries to which relief assistance will

be granted.

The committee preferred not to designate in the resolution particular countries for relief assistance since such designation might be interpreted as a commitment to extend relief to the countries named. This point is covered more fully in a previous section of the report which includes a letter from the Secretary of State in regard to the

5. Provides that not more than 6 percent of the amount appropriated shall be used to procure supplies outside the United States and its territorial pos-

sessions.

Considering the estimated quantities of coal, fertilizer, and seed which would need to be procured from other countries, the committee believed that an allowance of 6 percent, or \$21,000,000, would be sufficient for such purposes. This point is covered more fully in an earlier section of the report.

6. Makes no provision for the post-ponement of reparations payments during the period relief is extended.

In view of the great difficulty with which final agreement was reached on the peace treaties, the committee did not feel that countries entitled to receive reparations could be persuaded to postpone them. Hungary and Italy, which are the only countries affected, urgently need relief and should not be penalized because they are compelled by treaty to pay reparations. A fuller explanation of the committee's views is set forth in a previous section of the report.

HOUSE RESOLUTION—continued

7. Provides for appointment of a Relief Administrator by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. It also eliminates the authority of the President to delegate certain of his responsibilities under the resolution to the Secretary of State.

8. Provides that local currency proceeds arising from the sale of relief supplies shall be placed in a special account to be used for relief and rehabilitation purposes upon the approval of United States representatives.

SENATE RESOLUTION—continued

7. Provides for appointment by the President, with Senate confirmation, of an Administrator to direct the supervision of relief assistance in Europe. It also authorizes the President to delegate a large measure of his authority over the program to the Secretary of State.

The House resolution seems to envisage the creation of a new relief agency in Washington. While the committee stressed the importance of securing a competent Administrator to supervise the program in the field, it believed that relief activities in Washington could most appropriately be guided and coordinated by the Secretary of State and his staff. A more complete explanation of the committee's view with respect to this matter is contained in an earlier section of this report.

8. Provides that such local currency proceeds shall be placed in a special revolving fund to be used, with the approval of the United States, for relief and work-relief purposes. Any balance remaining on June 30, 1948, will be disposed of within such country for such purposes as the United States Government, pursuant to act of Congress, may determine.

Calendar No. 155

80TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 153

[Report No. 153]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

May 1 (legislative day, April 21), 1947 Read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

> May 5 (legislative day, April 21), 1947 Reported by Mr. Vandenberg, with an amendment

[Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert the part printed in italic]

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

- 1 Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives
- 2 of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the
- 4 President not to exceed \$200,000,000 for the provision of
- 5 relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war,
- 6 such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food,
- 7 medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for
- 8 clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seeds: Provided,
- 9 That from the sums appropriated pursuant to this section
- 10 the President may make contributions to the International

Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations for the 1 special care and feeding of children, and such contributions 2 shall not be subject to the limitations and requirements pro-3 vided in this joint resolution, but after \$15,000,000 has 4 been so contributed, no further contributions shall be made 5 which would cause the aggregate amount so contributed 6 by the United States, (1) to constitute more than 57 per 7 8 centum of the aggregate amount contributed to said fund 9 by all governments, including the United States; or (2) to 10 exceed \$50,000,000, whichever is the lesser: Provided 11 further, That none of the funds authorized to be appro-12 printed herein shall be expended in or used for such relief 13 assistance in those countries whose governments are domi-14 nated by the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republies unless 15 the governments of the countries covered by this amendment 16 agree to the following regulations which are hereby de-17 elared to be applicable to every country receiving aid under 18 this Act. 19 The State Department shall establish and maintain out 20 of the funds herein authorized for appropriation, a relief 21 distribution mission for each of the countries receiving aid 22 under this Act. This relief distribution mission shall be 23 comprised solely of American citizens who shall have been 24 approved as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau

of Investigation. These missions shall have direct super-

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- 1 vision and control of relief supplies in each country and
- 2 when it is deemed desirable by the American authorities
- 3 administering the provisions of this Act these relief mis-
- 4 sions shall be empowered to retain possession of these sup-
- 5 plies up to the city or local community where our relief
- 6 supplies are actually made available to the ultimate con-
- 7 sumers.
- 8 Appropriations authorized by this joint resolution shall
- 9 be available for relief in Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy,
- Poland, and China: Provided, That the President, if he shall
- 11 determine that emergency needs exist in any other country
- 12 or countries, is authorized to utilize not more than
- \$15,000,000 for the purpose of providing relief in such other
- 14 country or countries.
- 15 SEC. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such
- 16 relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers
- of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits
- subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and
- on such terms as the President may determine; except that
- 20 no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may
- be made after June 30, 1948.
- (b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds appro-
- priated pursuant thereto may be used to pay necessary
- expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance,
- including expenses of or incident to the procurement, stor-

1 age, transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred

2 under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits

3 established under subsection (a).

(e) Sums from the appropriations made pursuant to 4 5 this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the pur-6 poses of this joint resolution to any department, agency, 7 or independent establishment of the Government and such sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in 8 9 accordance with the laws governing obligations and expendi-10 tures of the department, agency, or independent establish-11 ment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without 12 regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes, 13 as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and 14 title 31, sec. 529).

(d) When any department, agency, or independent 15 establishment of the Government receives request from the 16 government of any country for which credits have been 17 18 established under subsection (a) and receives, from eredits 19 so established, advancements or reimbursements for the cost 20 and necessary expenses, it may furnish, or procure and 21 furnish (if advancements are made), supplies within the 22 entegory of relief assistance as defined in section 1 and may 23 use sums so received for the purposes set forth in subsection 24 (b) of this section. When any such reimbursement is made 25 it shall be eredited, at the option of the department, agency,

- 1 or independent establishment concerned, either to the appro-
- ² printion, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation,
- 3 or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which
- 4 is current at the time of such reimbursement.
- 5 (e) Not more than 10 per centum of the appropria-
- 6 tions authorized by this resolution shall be expended for the
- 7 procurement of relief supplies in countries other than the
- 8 United States. The relief supplies provided under the terms
- 9 of this joint resolution shall be procured and furnished by
- the appropriate United States procurement agencies unless
- 11 the President shall determine otherwise.

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SEC. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any country unless the government of such country has given assurance satisfactory to the President that (a) the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the people of such country without discrimination as to race, ereed, or political belief; (b) representatives of the Government of the United States and of the press and radio of the United States will be permitted to observe freely and to report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character,

scope, amounts and progress of the United States relief pro-1 2 gram carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution; 3 (d) if food, medical supplies, fertilizer, or seed is transferred or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to 4 this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will 5 be exported or removed from such country while need there-6 7 for for relief purposes continues; (e) such country has taken 8 or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures neces-9 sary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own 10 future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, 11 it will furnish promptly information concerning the produc-12 tion, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any 13 supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such 14 country; (g) representatives of the Government of the 15 United States will be permitted to supervise the distribu-16 tion among the people of such country of the supplies trans-17 ferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint 18 resolution; and (h) that when relief supplies procured with 19 the funds authorized by this joint resolution are sold by 20 any receiving government for local currency, the amounts 21 of such local currency shall be deposited by that government 22 in a special account and shall be used only for relief and 23. rehabilitation purposes with the approval of the duly author-24 ized representative of the United States.

25 Sec. 4. When supplies are transferred or otherwise made

available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution, 1 the president shall cause representatives of the Government 2 of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution 3 of such supplies among the people of such country, (2) 4 to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of 5 the assurances given to the President pursuant to section 3, 6 and (3) make certain that reparations payable by any such 7 8 country to any other country by treaty have been postponed

during the period of such relief.

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SEC. 5. (a) The President shall promptly terminate the provision of relief assistance to the people of any country whenever he determines (1) that, by reason of changed conditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2) that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out; (3) that an excessive amount of any supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the maintenance of armed forces in such country, or (4) that supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed from such country.

(b) Relief assistance to the people of any country, under

- 1 this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the
- 2 President, be terminated whenever such termination is di-
- 3 rected by concurrent resolution of the two Houses of the
- 4 Congress.
- 5 SEC. 6. Relief assistance under this joint resolution shall
- 6 be administered, to the extent the President directs, by a
- 7 Relief Administrator who shall be appointed by the Presi-
- 8 dent, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and
- 9 shall perform such functions relating to the administration of
- this Act as the President shall prescribe.—The Administrator
- shall receive such salary and have such staff as the President
- 12 shall determine.
- 13 SEC. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress
- 14 quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under
- 15 authority of this joint resolution.
- 16 That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the
- 17 President not to exceed \$350,000,000 for the provision of
- 18 relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war,
- 19 such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food,
- 20 medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for
- 21 clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed.
- 22 Sec. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such
- 23 relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers
- 24 of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits
- subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and

- 1 on such terms as the President may determine; except that
- 2 no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may
- 3 be made after June 30, 1948, and except that not more
- 4 than 6 per centum of the amount herein authorized to be
- 5 appropriated shall be used for the procurement of supplies
- 6 outside the United States and its Territorial possessions.
- 7 (b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds appro-
- 8 priated pursuant thereto may be used to pay necessary
- 9 expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance,
- 10 including expenses of or incident to the procurement, stor-
- 11 age, transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred
- 12 under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits
- 13 established under subsection (a).
- (c) Sums from the appropriations made pursuant to
- 15 this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the pur-
- 16 poses of this joint resolution to any department, agency,
- or independent establishment of the Government and such
- 18 sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in
- 19 accordance with the laws governing obligations and expendi-
- 20 tures of the department, agency, or independent establish-
- 21 ment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without
- 22 regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes,
- 23 as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and
- 24 title 31, sec. 529).
- 25 (d) When any department, agency, or independent

establishment of the Government receives request from the government of any country for which credits have been established under subsection (a) and receives, from credits so established, advancements or reimbursements for the cost and necessary expenses, it may furnish, or procure and furnish (if advancements are made), supplies within the category of relief assistance as defined in section 1 and may use sums so received for the purposes set forth in subsection (b) of this section. When any such reimbursement is made it shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, either to the appro-priation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation, or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which is current at the time of such reimbursement.

SEC. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any country unless the government of such country has given assurance satisfactory to the President that (a) the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the people of such country without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief; (b) representatives of the Government of the United States and of the press and radio of the United States will be permitted to observe freely and to

report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such 1 supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given 2 within such country as to the purpose, source, character, 3 scope, amounts and progress of the United States relief pro-4 gram carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution; 5 6 (d) if food, medical supplies, fertilizer, or seed is transferred 7 or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will 8 9 be exported or removed from such country while need there-10 for for relief purposes continues; (e) such country has taken 11 or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures neces-12 sary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own 13 future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, 14 it will furnish promptly information concerning the produc-15 tion, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any 16 supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such 17 country: (g) representatives of the Government of the United 18 States will be permitted to supervise the distribution among 19 the people of such country of the supplies transferred or 20 otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution; 21 and (h) all supplies transferred pursuant to this joint reso-22 lution or acquired through the use of credits established 23 pursuant to this joint resolution and any articles processed 24 from such supplies, or the containers of such supplies or 25 articles, shall, to the extent practicable, be marked, stamped,

branded, or labeled in a conspicuous place as legibly, in-1 2 delibly, and permanently as the nature of such supplies, articles, or containers will permit in such manner as to 3 indicate to the ultimate consumer in such country that such 4 5 supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States 6 of America for relief assistance; or if such supplies, articles, 7 or containers are incapable of being so marked, stamped, 8 branded, or labeled, that all practicable steps are taken to 9 inform the ultimate consumers thereof that such supplies or 10 articles have been furnished by the United States of America 11 for relief assistance. 12 SEC. 4. When supplies are transferred or otherwise made 13 available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution, 14 the President shall cause representatives of the Government 15 of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution of 16 such supplies among the people of such country, and (2) 17 to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of 18 the assurances given to the President pursuant to section 3. 19 With respect to the furnishing of relief assistance to 20 the countries in Europe pursuant to this joint resolution, 21the President shall appoint, by and with the advice and 22 consent of the Senate, an administrator who shall direct the 23 supervision in Europe of such relief assistance. Such ad-24 ministrator shall receive compensation at a rate not to exceed 25 \$12,000 per aunum, and any necessary expenses, as the

- 1 President shall determine. He shall act in accordance with
- 2 the instructions of the President.
- 3 Sec. 5. (a) The President shall promptly terminate the
- 4 provision of relief assistance to the people of any country
- 5 whenever he determines (1) that, by reason of changed con-
- 6 ditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character
- 7 authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2)
- 8 that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not
- 9 being carried out, (3) that an excessive amount of any sup-.
- 10 plies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this
- 11 joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or
- 12 imported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the
- 13 maintenance of armed forces in such country, or (4) that
- 14 supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to
- 15 this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or
- 16 imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed
- 17 from such country.
- (b) Relief assistance to the people of any country, under
- 19 this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the
- 20 President, be terminated whenever such termination is di-
- 21 rected by concurrent resolution of the two Houses of the
- 22 Congress.
- Sec. 6. To the extent that relief supplies procured with
- 24 funds appropriated pursuant to this joint resolution are not
- furnished on terms of repayment in dollars, they shall be

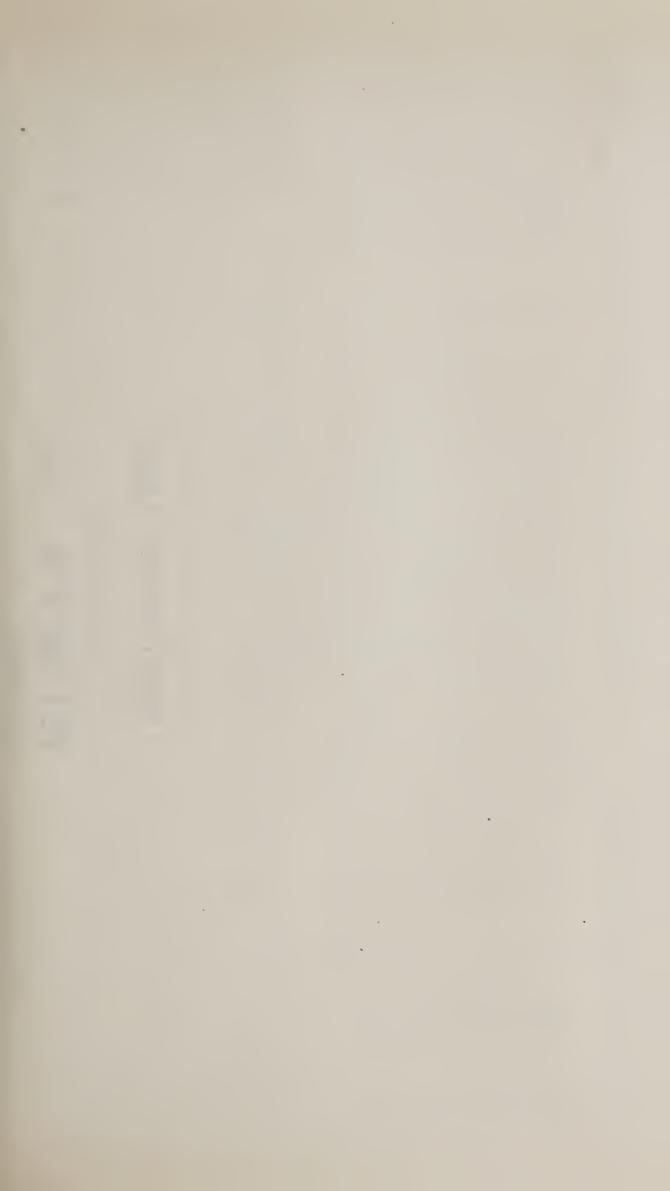
- 1 furnished only upon condition that the government of the
- 2 receiving country agree that when it sells such relief supplies
- 3 for local currency (a) the amounts of such local currency
- 4 will be deposited by it in a special account; (b) such account
- 5 will be used within such country, as a revolving fund, until
- 6 June 30, 1948, only upon the approval of the duly authorized
- 7 representative of the United States, for relief and work relief
- 8 purposes, including local currency expenses of the United
- 9 States incident to the furnishing of relief; and (c) any
- 10 unencumbered balance remaining in such account on June 30,
- 11 1948, will be disposed of within such country for such pur-
- 12 poses as the United States Government, pursuant to Act or
- 13 joint resolution of the Congress, may determine.
- 14 Sec. 7. The authority of the President under sections
- 15 2, 3, and 4 may, to the extent the President directs, be
- 16 exercised by the Secretary of State.
- 17 Sec. 8. The President shall submit to the Congress
- 18 quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under
- 19 authority of this joint resolution.

Passed the House of Representatives April 30, 1947.

Attest:

JOHN ANDREWS,

Clerk.



SOTH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 153

[Report No. 153]

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

Max 1 (legislative day, April 21), 1947

Read twice and referred to the Committee on

Foreign Relations

Max 5 (legislative day, April 21), 1947

Reported with an amendment

"Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the President pro tempore of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

A joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

"Assembly Joint Resolution 43

"Joint resolution relative to memorializing the President and Congress of the United States to investigate the freight-car shortage

"Whereas there exists today in the West-ern States a serious shortage of railroad freight cars—a condition which has existed since the close of hostilities in World War II, and which is creating a disastrons industrial situation and Imperiling western post-

war economy; and
"Whereas this serious and threatening situation has been well known to the responsible interests, the American Association of Rallroads and the Interstate Com merce Commission who, despite the pleas of industry, the press and the people, have wholly failed to remedy the matter; and "Whereas Interstate Commerce Commis-

sion figures indicate that there no longer exists any legitimate argument or circumstance for a shortage of freight cars; and

"Whereas the damaging conditions which are threatening the progress of industry in the several Western States should be eliminated at the earliest practicable moment by effective legislation or such other measures as will insure an even and equitable freightcar distribution of quantity sufficient to encourage and permit maximum production and full development of our vast natural resources and the progress of economy: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the legislature of the State of California hereby memorializes the Presndent and the Congress of the United States to make an immediate investigation of conditions causing or con-tributing to the present shortage of freight cars in the Western States, and to take such steps as may be necessary to insure adequate and permanent relief; and be it further

"Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly be hereby directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, the President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States.'

Two joint resolutions of the Legislature of the State of California; to the Compattee on Armed Services:

"Assembly Joint Resolution 30

"Joint resolution relative to remains of Americans fighting with Allied forces killed in action in World War II

"Whereas the Congress of the United States "Whereas the Congress of the United States has enacted legislation which provides for the return for reinterment in this country, upon the request of the next of kin, of the remains of Americans serving in the armed forces of the United States killed in action in World War II and interred in foreign countries: and

"Whereas there were killed in action in Whereas there were kined in action in World War II many Americans who prior to the entry of the United States into the war, voluntarily enlisted in the fighting forces of powers allied with the United States, and whose remains are now interred in foreign countries: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California (jointly), That the Congress and President of the United States are hereby urged and memorialized to enact such legislation as will permit, upon the request of the next of kin, the return to the United States and the reinterment of the remains of American volunteers who lost their lives while serving in the armed forces of powers allied with the United States in World War II; and be it further

"Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is hereby directed to transmit coples of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the President pro tempore of the United States Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

"Assembly Joint Resolution 32

"Joint resolution relating to memorializing Congress and the President to retain the identity of the Marine Corps in any unification of the armed forces

"Whereas there is now pending before Congress the administration's plan for the unification of the armed forces of the United States—the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, under one head or department; and

"Whereas this plan if carried into effect without due provision being made for its reention may eliminate or destroy the identity of the United States Marine Corps, thos gallant soldiers of the sea who have been the advance guard, the intervening force, the landing party, the first to fight in every war in which the United States has been engaged from the year 1775, when, contemporaneously with the birth of the Nation, the poraneously with the birth of the Nation, the Marine Corps, as we now know it, was born, on down to the recent World Var II, where with modern equipment, its amphlbious landings of scouting and combat forces, its tanks, flame throwers and its air squadrons, have brought new glories to American arms on scores of battlefields all over the earth and particularly in the islands of the Pacific; and "Whereas to absort the marines into any general military force which would destroy their identity or disrupt the separate organization under which heretofore they have always trained and fought would tend to destroy their norale—their esprit de corps, and render them less valuable and effective in attaining their objectives in the future: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Assembly and the Tenate of the State of California (jointly), That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully urges and memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States in any

fully urges and memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States, in any mification program for the armed forces of the Nation which may be put into effect, that the identity and present tables of organization of the Marine Corps be retained, to the end that its manifold usefulness may be insured and preserved; and be it further

"Resolved, That the chief clerk of the assembly is directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

A joint memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"Senate Joint Memorial 20

"To the United States Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled, to the Secretary of State, to the Secretary of the Interior and to the Delegate From Alaska:

"Your memorialist, the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska, respectfully represents

"Whereas the United States Army for military purposes recently constructed a road from Haines, Alaska, to connect with the Alaska Highway at a place called Dezadeash to Yukon Territory, Canada; and

"Whereas this road going in a northwesterly direction from Haines traverses approximately 42 miles of American territory—a part of the Territory of Alaska—and then passes through northern British columbia and southern Yukon Territory to the main United States-Canadian boundary on the

United States-Canadian boundary on the one hundred and forty-first meridian; and "Whereas the area through which this route passes in British Columbia and Yukon Territory and lying southl, and southwesterly therefrom is virtually unpopulated and is not known to be of any special or considerable value or importance; and "Whereas the Dominion of Canada and Alaska now embrace hundreds of thousands of square miles of similar terrain of which practically no use is being made; and "Whereas the Canadian Government to the present moment has not made any commitment as so the maintenance of any part

the present moment has not made any commitment as to the maintenance of any part of the highway lying in Canada; and "Where's, it is deemed desirable that the entire length of the road between Haines and the main United States-Canadian boundary lying on the one hundred and forty-first meridian should be brought under the furtisdiction of the United States in the jurisdiction of the United States in order that there might be direct communication between the people of the United States and people residing in the Territory of Alaska; and

"Whereas it has been suggested that a . transfer might be effected between the Governments of the United States and Canada so as to give the Canadian Government ample compensation for that part of their land which we desire, either in cash or by conveyance to Canada of a tract of land of approximately the same area lying north of one hundred and forty-fourth meridian.

"Now, therefore, your memorialist, the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska, does respectfully pray that negotiations be entered into immediately with the Canadian Government for the exchange, sale, lease, or transfer of so much of the territory lylng in British Columbia and the Yukon Territory as may be necessary in order that the whole road for its entire length might be brought under the jurisdiction of the Government of the United States.

"And your memorialist will ever pray."

A joint memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on Finance:

"House Joint Memorial 23

"To the President of the United States, the Congress of the United States, the Delegate from Alaska and the Secretary of the Interior:

Your memorialist, the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska in eighteenth session assembled, respectfully submits that:

"Whereas the Territory is undergoing expansion of population and is on the verge of the greatest development in its history, which is compatible with the interest of the Federal Government in seeing Alaska become a strong buffer State; and

"Whereas pursuant to the recent request of the people of Alaska by a referendum vote of three to two in favor of statehood for Alaska, Congress is presently considering enactment of appropriate legislation for that purpose; and

"Whereas extra financing to implement development programs and provide capital for the new State in establishment of State institutions would be to the advantage of all concerned, including the Nation as a whole: and

"Whereas it has long been the custom to refund to Porto Rico internal revenues derived from that possession, without similar consideration for Alaska, although Alaskans have likewise long paid Federal taxes without voting representation:

"Now, therefore, your memorialist, the Alaska Legislature in eighteenth session

ssembled, respectfully petitions Congress to flyorably consider both the advisability and edulty of refunding 50 percent of the income taxes paid directly to the Federal Government by Alaskan taxpayers, which would amount to over \$5,000,000 per year, and to enact appropriate legislation for that pur-

"And your memorialist will ever pray."

A joint memoriai of the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on Public Lands:

"House Joint Memoriai 33

"To the Secretary of the Interior, the Congress of the United States, and the Delegate from Alaska:

"Your memorialist, the Legislature of the Territory of Alasta, in elghteenth session assembled, respectfully submits: "Whereas the present existing laws pro-

hibit the white race to own reindeer in Alaska; and

"Whereas, the reindeer herds are fast be-coming depleted and unless immediate and appropriate steps are taken the Industry will soon become extinct; citing such Instances In the second judiciary division of Alaska as Unalakleet, Shaktoolik Elim, Koyuk, Mountain Village, White Mountain, Council, and Nome where large herds once existed, but are now nonexistent; and but are now nonexistent; and "Whereas, this industry is vitally necessary

to Alaska and especially the second judiclary

division; and

"Whereas many of the white race have expressed a desire in this Industry; and

"Whereas It will encourage veterans to participate in this worthwhile venture:

"Now, therefore, your memorialist the Legislature of the Territory of Alaska re-spectfully prays that immediate steps be taken to repeal existing laws whereby whites are restricted from owning relndeer in the Territory of Alaska.

"And your memorialist will ever pray."

Petitlons of the members of the Sarasota Townsend Club, No. 1, and the Orlando Townsend Club, No. 2, both in the State Florida, praying for the enactment of the so-called Townsend plan to provide oid age assistance; to the Committee on Finance

The petition of Joseph and Eugenle Geiger, of Milwaukee, Wis., relating to a Yederal building program in the interest of national defense and safety, and to protect the civilian population against atom bombing and germ warfare; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BROOKS:

A resolution of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois; to the Committee of Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

"House Resolution 57

"Whereas the use of live decoys while hunting ducks is now prohibited by act of Congress; and

"Whereas this situation is quite satisfactory in the Northern and Southern States where ducks are so numerous that hunters can easily bag their limits without using live decoys: and

"Whereas the ducks which arrive in Iliinois and the other Central States are so gun-shy and blind-shy that it is Impossible to enjoy the sport of duck hunting when live decoys are prohibited; and "Whereas according to a recent survey at the beginning of the season ducks are

the beginning of the season, ducks are very tame in the Northern States, and in the Southern States are often destroyed by many methods to save the crops; and though the game authorities of the Northern and South. ern States have and would oppose any iegislation that would permlt the use of live decoys in their own areas, they are quite willing to support any bills that would permit the use of such decoys in the Central or pligratory States: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-fifth General Assembly of th State of Illinois, That we request Congress to enact ieglslation that will zone the United States, the same as the State of Illino's is zoned, namely, northern, central, and southern zones, and to permit the use of at least six live decoys to each blind in the central zone, or migratory States, while continuing the present prohibition in the northern and southern zones; and be lt further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the secretary of state to the President of the United States, to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, to the President protempore of the United States Senate, to the Fish and Wildstein Service of the United States Department. life Service of the United States Department of the Interior, and to each Member of Congress from the State of Illnois.
"Adopted by the house, April 28, 1947."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a resolution of the House of Rep-resentatives of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, Identical with the foregoing, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PROHIBITION AGAINST LIQUOR ADVERTISING

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I am in receipt of a letter from Mrs. M. M. Ward, president of the New Mexico WCTU. With Mrs. Ward's letter was enclosed a petition regarding the Capper bill, S. 265, to prolibit the transportation of alcoholic-beverage advertising in interstate commerce and the broadcasting of alcoholic-beverage advertising over the radio, bearing 200 signatures, with addresses. The original petition has al-leady been referred to the proper committee. I ask unanimous consent that Mrs. Ward's letter, together with a copy of the petition, be printed in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter, together with a copy of the petition, was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

APRIL 28, 1947.

Hon. SENATOR HATCH,

Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C .:

Please find a petition in regard to the Capper bill, S. 265. You will find around 200 signatures and addresses.

Please have this petition recorded in the

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mrs. M. M. WARD, President of WCTU at Alamogordo, N. Mex. also New Mexico Secretary of WCTU.

To Our Senators and Representatives in Congress:

We respectfully request that you use your influence and vote for the passage of S. 265, a blil to prohibit the transportation of alcohoilc-beverage advertising ln interstate commerce and the broadcasting of alcoholicbeverage advertising over the radio. The most pernicious effect of this advertising is the constant invitation and enticement drink. The American people spent \$7,770,-000,000 for alcoholic beverages in 1946 as compared with \$3,700,000,000 in 1942. During the same period there was a corresponding increase each year in crime. There is every reason why this expenditure should not be increased, but decreased.

PROTEST AGAINST LIQUOR ADVERTIS-ING-PETITION

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, Aask unanimous consent to present for appropriate reference a petition signed by 340 residents of the District of Columbia, urging favorable action on my antiliquor-advertising bill, S. 265. The petition reads as follows:

To Our Senators and Representatives in Congress:

Congress:

We respectfully request that you ase your Influence and vote for the passage of S. 265, a bill to prohibit the transportation of alcoholic-beverage advertising in interstate commerce and the broadcasting of alcoholic-beverage advertising over the radio. The most perniclous effect of this advertising is the constant invitation and enticement to drink. The American people spent \$7,770,000,000 for alcoholic beverages in 1946, as compared with \$3,00,000 000 in 1942. Durling the same period there was a corresponding increase each year in crime. There is every reason why this expenditure should not be increased, but decreased.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the petition will be received and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. LANGER, from the Committee on

Civil Service: S. 125. A bili to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, so as to extend the benefits of such act to the Official Reporters of Debates in the Senate and persons employed by them in con-nection with performance of their duties as such reporters; without amendment (Rept) No. 152).

By Mr. VANDENBERG, from the Commit-

ee on Foreign Relations; H. J. Res. 153. Joint resolution providing for relief assistance to the people of countrles devastated by war; with an amendment (Rept. No. 153).

NEWSPRINT SUPPLY AND DISTRIBUTION-MINORITY VIEWS (PT. 2 OF S. REPT. No. 150)

Mr. MURRAY submitted the minority views of himself and Mr. Taylor's as members of the Special Committee To Study Problems of American Small Business, on the subject of newsprint supply and distribution, which were ordered to be printed

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

Bills and a joint resolution were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows

By Mr. CORDON:
S. 1223. A bill for the relief of Clarence S.
Osika; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
By Mr. SPARKMAN:

S. 1224. A bill to amend the Federal Tort Claims Act; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1225. A bill to amend the Federal Reserve Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. LANGER: S. 1226. A bill to amend the Judicial Code in respect to the original jurisdiction of the district courts of the United States in certain cases, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1227 A bili to amend the act of July 6, 1945, relating to the compensation of postal employees; to the Committee on Civil Servic

> By Mr. McGRATH (for himself and Mr. GREEN):

8. 1228. A biil to permit the Administrator of the National Housing Agency to sell

134/3



CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE Division of Logislative Reports (For Department staff only)

Issued For actions of

May 14, 1947 May 13, 1947 Soth-1st, No. 90

CONTENTS

Appropriations2,10,16 Cotton3	Information 5	Personnel
Electrification10	Lands	Research
Flood control	Lands, grazing15	Sugar and simps
Forests and forestry7,16	Livestock and meat 4	Transportation18,20

HIGHLIGHTS; House received conference report on Greek-Turkish aid bill. Senate committee reported bill to extend reclamation laws to Ark. Sen. McCarthy criticized USDA's sugar rationing program. Rep. Gathings urged additional cotten-research appropriations. House committee approved bill to protect forests against insects and diseases.

HOUSE

- 1. FOREIGN RELIEF. Received the conference report on S. 938, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (pp. 5284-5). As reported from conference, the bill provides as follows:

 Authorizes the President to assist Greece and Turkey through financial aid by loans, grants, etc.; detailing Federal employees to those countries; procurement for and transfer to those countries of articles, services, and information; etc. Authorizes appropriations of \$400,000,000 to earry out the act. Pending an appropriation, directs RFC to make advances up to \$100,000,000, to be repaid from the appropriation. Provides for allocations from these funds to the departments and agencies which furnish assistance, and prohibits any such department or agency from providing assistance except through these allocations. Specifies certain conditions precedent to such aid, and certain conditions under which such aid shall be withdrawn.
- 2. STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE APPROPRIATION BILL. Began debate on this bill, H. R. 3311 (pp. 5244-65, 5268-84).
- 3. COTTON RESEARCH. Rep. Gathings, Ark., spoke in favor of additional appropriations for research on new uses for cotton (p. 5242).
- 4. FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE. Received from this Department a report on progress of the control of this disease in Mexico. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 5285.)
- 5. GEOGRAPHIC NOMENCLATURE. The Public Lands Committee reported with amendments H. R. 1555, to promote uniformity of geographic nomenclature in the Federal

Government (H. Rept. 366)(p. 5285).

- 6. RECLAMATION. The Public Lands Committee reported with amendment H. R. 3143, to authorize construction, operation, and maintenance of the Paonia Federal reclamation project, Colo. (H. Rept. 371)(p. 5285).
- 7. The Public Lands Committee ordered reported H. R. 1826, changing the penalty for trespassing on national-forest land; H. R. 1826, to protect forests from insect and diseases; and H. R. 195, authorizing USDA to sell to Sitka, Alaska, certain lands formerly occupied by the Alaska Agricultural Experiment Station (p. D240 (These bills, as reported, and the committee reports will not be available unter the bills are actually reported. At that time this Digest will include a not to that effect.)

SENATE

- 8. SUGAR COMTROLS. Sen. McCarthy, Wis., stated that "the Sugar Rationing Division of the Agriculture Department is participating in planned scarcity, so far as sugar is concerned, and planned wastage so far as fruits and berries on the farm are concerned," and urged the decontrol of sugar (pp. 5320-3).
- 9. LABOR. Passed, 68-24, with amendments H.R. 3020, the labor-management bill (pp 5288-99). Sens. Taft, Pall, Ives, Murray, and Ellender were appointed conferes (p. 5298). House conferes not yet appointed.
- 10. RECLAMATION. The Public Lands Committee reported with amendment S. 299, to extend the reclamation laws to Arkansas (S. Rept. 168) (p. 5300).

 Sen. Morse, Oreg., discussed the effects of reduced appropriations on the reclamation and power projects of the West (pp. 5338-61).
- 11. PHILIPPINE REHABILITATION. The Public Lands Committee reported without amendme 5. 1020, to amend the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946 relative to accumulated leave and claims' authorizations (S.Rept. 166) (p. 5300).
- 12. FOREIGN RELIEF. Began debate on H.J.Res. 153, providing for relief assistance the people of countries devastated by war (pp. 5303-20).
- 13. LANDS. The Public Lands Committee reported without amendment S. 28, to reestablish the offices of registers of land offices (S.Rept. 165) (p. 5300).
- 14. PERSONNEL. Sen. McCarran, Nev., inscrted the amendments which he intends to propose and his prepared statement on S. 637, the omnibus retirement bill (pp. 5301-2).

BILL INTRODUCED

15. GRAZING LANDS. H.R. 3429, by Re. Barrett, Wyo., "to amend section 10 of the Taylor Grazing Act." To Public Lands Committee. (p. 5286.)

ITE IS IN APPEADIX

- 16. FORESTRY APPROPRIATIONS. Rep. Morrison, La., inserted his statement before the Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture urging that no reduction be made in appropriations for forestry work (p. A2385).
- 17. RECLAMATION; ELECTRIFICATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Welch, Calif., stating that Government funds spent on such projects will be returned to the Feder

RECORD OF THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS— ARTICLE BY DAVID LAWRENCE

(Mr. WILEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Job of GOP Congress Seen as Remarkable Despite Press Critics," by David Lawrence, from the Washington Evening Star of May 12, 1947, which will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S BROADCAST TO RUSSIA—ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

[Mr. LODGE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article entitled "The Henry Wallace Affair," by John Crosby, published in the New York Herald Tribune of May 9, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

DIRECT ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT—EDITORIAL FROM THE BOSTON HERALD

[Mr. LODGE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "People's Presidents," published in the Boston Herald of May 12 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY EDITORIAL FROM UNION (MANCHESTER, N. H.)

[Mr. AIKEN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "St. Lawrence Seaway," published in the Union (Manchester, N. H.), which appears in the Appendix.]

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to be absent from the Senate for a period of 1 week.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, consent is granted.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be absent from the Senate until next Monday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without

objection, consent is granted.

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be absent for the remainder of this week.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without

objection, consent is granted.

Mr. McCARRAN. Mr. President, having been called to my State by the Governor of my State for a conference pertaining to State welfare, I ask to be excused from attendance on the Senate for the next 2 weeks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without

objection, the request is granted.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be absent from the Senate for a few days beginning this afternoon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave is granted.

MEETING OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRIVI-LEGES AND ELECTIONS OF COMMITTEE ON DULES AND ADMINISTRATION

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Committee on Rules and Administration may be authorized to hold a session this afternoon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, consent is granted.

CLAIMS BILL OF LOUISE S. PAGE, AND STATEMENT OF PRECEDENT

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on the Judiciary, of which I am the chairman, I desire to make a brief statement in connection with our consideration of Senate bill 676, "For the relief of Louise S. Page," which was referred to the Judiciary Committee on February 21, 1947. This is a claim bill arising in tort, and the cause of action arose on April 30, 1945.

I made a point of order against consideration of the bill in the committee for the following reasons:

Section 131 of Public Law 601 provides that—

No private bill or resolution * * * authorizing or directing (1) the payment of money for property damages for personal injuries or death for which suit may be instituted under the Federal fort Claims Act * * shall be received or considered in either the Senate or the House of Representatives.

Section 410 (a) provides—

Subject to the provisions of this title, the United States district court for the district wherein the plaintiff is resident or wherein the act or omission complained of occurred, * * * shall have exclusive jurisdiction to hear, determine, and render judgment on any claim against the United States, for money only, accruing on and after January 1, 1945 * * on account of personal injury or death caused by the negligent or wrongful act or omission of any employee of the Government while acting within the scope of his office or employment.

This bill seeks to compensate Mrs. Louise S. Page, of Columbus, Ga., in the amount of \$11,114.56, in full satisfaction of her claims against the United States for compensation for personal injuries and hospital and medical expenses incurred by her as a result of an accident which occurred when she attempted to prevent her grandson from being dragged across a highway by a parachute attached to a United States Army paratrooper who was landing from a jump, at the municipal airport, Columbus, Ga., on April 30, 1945.

The basis for submission of the bill, contrary to the specific language of Public Law 601 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, cited above, seems to be that the War Department denies that the injuries to Mrs. Page occurred as the result of any negligence on the part of any officer, agent, or employee of the United States.

The committee is of the belief that it is not within the jurisdiction of either the War Department or the committee to make this determination. The law plainly provides that the United States district court "shall have exclusive jurisdiction to hear, determine, and render judgment on any claim against the United States, for money only, accruing on and after January 1, 1945."

The committee has, therefore, voted to postpone indefinitely any further consideration of this bill; and I wish to state to the Senators that it is my belief that this action establishes a committee precedent, and that in the future any bills introduced which fall within the limitation of the point of order made by me will not be considered by the Committee on the Judiciary.

RELIEF ASSISTANCE FOR COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consid-

eration of Calendar No. 153, House Joint Resolution 153, and I ask that the joint resolution be read by title.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Cain in the chair). The joint resolution will be read by title for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance for countries devastated by war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Nebraska.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$350,-000,000 for the provision of relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed.

Sec. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and on such terms as the President may determine; except that no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made after June 30, 1948, and except that not more than 6 percent of the amount herein authorized to be appropriated shall be used for the procurement of supplies outside the United States and its Territorial possessions.

- (b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds appropriated pursuant thereto may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance, including expenses of or incident to the procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits established under subsection (a).
- (c) Sums from the appropriations made pursuant to this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the purposes of this joint resolution to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government and such sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in accordance with the laws governing obligations and expenditures of the department, agency, or independent establishment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (U. S. C., 1940 ed., title 41, sec. 5, and title 31, sec. 529).
- (d) When any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government receives request from the government of any country for which credits have been established under subsection (a) and receives, from credits so established, advancements or reimbursements for the cost and necessary expenses, it may furnish, or pro-cure and furnish (if advancements are made), supplies within the category of relief assistance as defined in section 1 and may use sums so received for the purposes set forth in subsection (b) of this section. When any such reimbursement is made it shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment con-cerned, either to the appropriation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation, or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which is current at the time of such reimbursement.

SEC. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any country unless the government of such country has given assurance satisfactory to the President that
(a) the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the people of such country without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief; (b) representatives of the Government of the United States and of the press and radio of the United States will be permitted to observe freely and to report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of the United States relief program carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution; (d) if food, medical supplies, fertilizer, or seed is trans-ferred or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will be exported or removed from such country while need therefor for relief purposes continues; (e) such country has taken or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, it will furnished promptly information con-cerning the production, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such country; (g) representatives of the Government of the United States will be permitted to supervise the distribution among the people of such country of the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution; and (h) all supplies transferred pursuant to this joint resolution or acquired through the use of credits established pursuant to this joint resolution and any articles processed from such supplies, or the containers of such supplies or articles, shall, to the extent practicable, be marked, stamped, branded, or labeled in a conspicuous place or legibly, indelibly, and permanently as the nature of such supplies, articles, or containers will permit in such maner as to indicate to the ultimate consumer in such country that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance; or if such supplies, articles, or containers are incapable of being so marked, stamped, branded, or labeled, that all practicable steps are taken to inform the ulti-mate consumers thereof that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance.

SEC. 4. When supplies are transferred or otherwise made available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution, the President shall cause representatives of the Government of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution of such supplies among the people of such country, and (2) to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of the assurances given to the President pursuant to section 3.

With respect to the furnishing of relief assistance to the countries in Europe pursuant to this joint resolution, the President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, an administrator who shall direct the supervision in Europe of such relief assistance. Such administrator shall receive compensation at a rate not to exceed \$12,000 per annum, and any necessary expenses, as the President shall determine. He shall act in accordance with the instructions of the President.

SEC. 5. (a) The President shall promptly terminate the provision of relief assistance to the people of any country whenever he determines (1) that, by reason of changed conditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2) that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out, (3) that an excessive amount of any supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the maintenance of armed forces in such country, or (4) that supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed from such country.

(b) Relief assistance to the people of any country, under this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated whenever such termination is directed by concurrent resolution of the two

Houses of the Congress.

SEC. 6. To the extent that relief supplies procured with funds appropriated pursuant to this joint resolution are not furnished on terms of repayment in dollars, they shall be furnished only upon condition that the government of the receiving country agree that when it sells such relief supplies for local currency (a) the amounts of such local currency will be deposited by it in a special acount; (b) such account will be used within such country, as a revolving fund, until June 30, 1948, only upon the approval of the duly authorized representative of the United States, for relief and work relief purposes, including local currency expenses of the United States incident to the furnishing of relief; and (c) any unencumbered balance remaining in such account on June 30, 1948, will be disposed of within such country for such purposes as the United States Government, pursuant to act or joint resolution of the Congress, may determine.

SEC. 7. The authority of the President under sections 2, 3, and 4 may, to the extent the President directs, be exercised by the

Secretary of State.

SEC. 8. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under authority of this joint resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment reported by the committee.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the body of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Doing Our Part," from the New Haven Journal-Courier of Monday, May 5. In view of the measure the Senate is about to consider, I think it appropriate that this editorial be in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DOING OUR PART

In the displaced persons camps of Germany, Austria, and Italy are existing some 850,000 former nationals of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Polish Ukraine, and Czechoslovakia. In large part, they continue in cheerless barracks that formerly housed Hitler's SS troops or other makeshift quarters, as "men without a country," because they are antitotalitarians who cannot go home without risk of firing squad or prison. They represent a great living challenge to the announced purposes of the United Nations: "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person."

Regarding these unfortunate people, who are victims of ideological rather than shooting war, President Truman has erred in understatement, if anything, when he said: "I do not think that the United States has done its part." We must all admit, with considerable shame, that our fortunate country has done much less than its part. In fact, we

have done practically nothing. On several occasions, in fact, we have appeared in a hypocritical light when we have officially urged upon other countries the duty of receiving DP's to whom we have so far shown the cold shoulder.

By the Immigration Act of 1924, immigration to this country, on the quota plan, is limited to 153,929 aliens a year. Great Britain never uses her full quota of 65,000, Germany and Austria are allowed 26,000, and the remainder is distributed among some 60 countries. The quotas are not cumulative. but expire at the end of each year. number of unused quotas has exceeded 100,-000 in every year except one since 1931.

The President has asked Congress to show some leadership in the form of new legislation which would admit a reasonable number of displaced persons. Large numbers of them have industrial, agricultural, and other skills which could be highly useful here. All of them, it may be assumed, have that independence of spirit and appreciation of democracy which should make them good members of a democratic society.

UNRRA, which is to terminate in less than 2 months, has administered the DP camps, the International Refugee Organization not yet a going concern as only 11 of the required 15 nations have joined and its budget is therefore not yet provided. Even after IRO begins to function, it can do nothing for resettlement of the DP's unless friendly nations are willing to open their doors.

Senator McMahon is to be commended for his interest and leadership in this urgent matter. He has introduced two bilis, one of which would make available unused portions of German quotas to nationals of countries overrun by German troops. The other would make effective the unused quotas of the war years in 10 percent installments in each of the next 10 years. Other proposals which lie buried in congressional committees include the Straton bill to admit 400,000 DP's over a 4-year period and the Ives and Javits bills to admit DP war orphans of 14 years and younger.

There is no question involved of letting down immigration bars to a flood of immigrants such as poured in annually in the half-century preceding passage of the exist-ing Immigration Act. No honest thinker can doubt that we could absorb with ease-and profit to our economic and civic life-the modest numbers proposed in the bills filed by Senator McMahon and others. The example of opening our doors to a fair share of these unsettled and desirable people would be the best possible way of influencing other countries to accept some new settlers.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I shall present the case for the joint resolution with great brevity. It should require no salesmanship. Its necessity speaks for itself. It is indispensable to the helpless lives of millions of war victims who can look only to America for even the minimums of relief which we here provide. It is indispensable to any hope or any plan for a democratic post-war world. Without it, famine and disease and disaster will stalk a desperate European countryside during the immediate months to come. These are the inevitable elements of revolution. These are the sinister agents of physical, moral, social, and finally political dis-integration. The joint resolution is an assault on disintegration at its source.

It therefore not only irresistibly appeals to our humanities, an appeal to which traditional America never yet has turned a deaf ear, but it also irresistibly appeals to the logic and the hard-headed

common sense with which American foreign policy pursues security and peace in a free world of free men.

There, in a nutshell, Senators, is the challenge in this relief measure.

As long ago as last January Secretary of State Marshall put this relief measure down as No. 1 on his list of 27 legislative proposals in the area of foreign relations. It is that important as a matter of American public policy, entirely aside from its overriding American appeal.

This is May. The last UNRRA shipment has left our shores. New harvests are not available over yonder until late fall. There are deadly zero hours and zero days ahead. Make no mistake, they can be-dangerous also for us. Surely, Senators will agree that it must not be said of what we now do, "Too little and too late."

Without this measure there is no use in trying to save Greece, as both Houses of Congress have voted overwhelmingly to do, because this relief is specifically at the base of our Greek plan. Without this measure there is no use in professing our Italian friendship, because this relief is specifically fundamental to Italy's destiny, whether we write peace treaties or not. Indeed, without this measure hunger will substitute for statesmanship in setting the grim pattern for tomorrow over these and other areas, to an incalculable extent; and that is what the joint resolution is about.

Mr. President, I believe these are axioms. I shall let them stand as such. But I want my colleagues to have all possible information regarding the details of the joint resolution. I shall now confine myself to these explanations, and I shall be very glad to be interrupted at any time, as I proceed briefly to discuss the measure itself.

Mr. President, all Senators probably are mindful of the fact that the joint resolution, which has already passed the House of Representatives, in amended form, by an overwhelming majority, deals with a situation which we inherit when UNRRA goes out of business. It is written to meet not only the responsibilities which we inherit in the aftermath of UNRRA, but it is written in the light of our experience with UNRRA, deliberately and specifically to avoid all those things which happened under UNRRA, to the great dissatisfaction of large elements of Congress and the country.

When the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations met, the question arose fundamentally as to what should be done by way of meeting the relief necessities which still remain to be confronted in the aftermath of the war. There were those who insisted that UNRRA, in one form or another, should be extended and expanded. It was the position of the delegation of the United States that there would be no further life given to UNRRA: on the contrary. that hereafter the major governments of the world which have the capacity to help in the relief field should act on their own responsibility, with integrated advice, through the central functioning of the United Nations, but each major nation acting on its own.

As one of the American delegation at New York in the Second General Assembly, I, with others, strongly took the position that I felt very sure it was the attitude of the American Congress that UNRRA must end, and that there must be no request, no quest of any nation, for a renewal of UNRRA, so far as the Congress of the United States was concerned. I based that appeal, among other things, on the fact that the last time an UNRRA measure passed this body, I gave my Senatorial colleagues my own word that never again would I ask for another UNRRA bill.

Mr. President, there was much controversy in the General Assembly over precisely what course should be followed, but the General Assembly finally decided that the procedure as favored by the Government of the United States should be followed, and, as a result, a general survey committee was appointed, solely for the purpose of assessing the remaining needs which had to be confronted during 1947, up to New Year's of 1948, in the area of relief; in the war liberated areas, particularly of Europe, with some reference to China. Mr. President, it is as a result of that decision that the pending measure presents itself to the Congress.

I challenge particularly the attention of my colleagues to the fact, as I proceed, that I think they will find every criticism which has ever been made against UNRRA categorically answered in the text of the pending measure. That has been the effort not only of the House committee but of the Senate committee in writing the joint resolution.

When the survey was made to find out what the war-relief needs, which it is necessary to meet, would probably amount to for the calendar year 1947, very careful on-the-spot surveys were made by the agricultural and economic experts attached to the United States Embassies abroad. There were also available the calculations of a committee of experts established by the United Nations. There were also data gathered by a subcommittee of the Economic and Social Council, which toured the devastated areas. There were also the findings of a number of FAO survey missions. There was also the great fund of information available in the United States Department of Agriculture. As a result of this accumulation of information and material, using all the data, and applying a severe test of criteria, which takes into account—and I emphasize this statement—only the most elementary necessities, it was concluded that minimum relief needs in Austria, China, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and Trieste, during 1947, would be roughly \$600,000,-000. Recovery in other countries has proceeded to the point where, as to the basic necessities involved in the joint resolution and within its contemplation, it is believed that they can take care of themselves. Other countries cannot take care of themselves, either as a matter of the humanities or as a matter of fundamental governmental stabilities which flow as a matter of course, under the circumstances.

The United Nations Expert Committee therefore estimated the needs for 1947, exclusive of China, at \$583,000,000. The pending joint resolution, it is indicated in its text, includes China; so that Senators confront a need represented by the round figure of \$600,000,000. These needs, I repeat, were figured on a basis of bare subsistence, in order to feed people at a level of from 2,000 to 2,200 calories a day, and only to prevent retrogression that would threaten a supply of the basic essentials of life.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator for the latter observation, and I should like to ask a further question. Is there to be found anywhere in the House report or hearings any testimony or evidence justifying the sum of \$610,000,000, which was suggested by United Nations, and which, according to my understanding, is the basis of the \$350,000,000 allocation requested by the President?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senate committee held no public hearings on the bill, because the House hearings were so extensive. We confined our hearings essentially to a discussion of the technical problems involved, with the technical experts from the Government departments, and particularly we gave our attention to a considerable series of consultations with ex-President Herbert Hoover, who had recently returned, as the Senator knows, from a survey in Europe. The \$600,000,000, I can only repeat to the Senator, which is a few dollars larger than the actual figure, is the figure reported by the technical committee of experts raised by United Nations. I think the Senator will find testimony respecting its justification in the House hearings. I cannot give him the reference at the moment, but I shall undertake to do so.

Mr. WHERRY. I could not find the Hoover-report in the House hearings.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Suppose the Senator lets me come to a discussion of our share of the \$600,000,000; because I can be more definite about that. The question arose of course, immediately, as to what our share of the \$600,000,000 would be. Senators are familiar with the fact that, under UNRRA, for the past 2 years we have contributed a total of \$2,700,000,000 in relief. It is rather difficult to divide that specifically into calendar years, but, speaking not too roughly, indeed, rather accurately, as a matter of fact, our expenditures for 2 years have been approximately \$1,300,000,000, perhaps \$1,350,000,000, a year. That has been 72 percent of the total expenditure of UNRRA.

I call attention to the fact, therefore, that when we accept for ourselves an assessment of 58 percent instead of 72 percent of \$600,000,000, we find ourselves accepting in round figures a contribution of \$350,000,000 which compares with \$1,350,000,000 of last year; so that the first definite point I want to leave very clear in the minds of the Senate is the fact that, under the alternative method which we have insisted should be fol-

lowed, and in the light of bettered circumstances which exist in many of the previously stricken areas in Europe, we find ourselves confronting a request for \$350,000,000 instead of \$1,300,000,000.

Coming back to the question of the Senator from Nebraska, the justification of our \$350,000,000 becomes a justification of our 58 percent, as against 72 percent for the year previous. That is a matter quite beyond any yardstick that can be demonstrated to be equitable. At best it is an educated guess as to what our share should be. I can only say that in the opinion of ex-President Hoover, the figure in our bill should be \$350,000,000, even though he feels that there are economies that can be effected. That is indicated by his definite and specific recommendation. The recommendation of his chief expert, Dr. Fitzgerald, which is in the record, is a further categorical justification of the estimates.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. To my mind that is the justification. I could not find the report in the House hearings, nor did I find it mentioned, nor could I find the figures in either the Senate report or the House report on the bill. I am speaking now about the information received from ex-President Hoover and Dr. Fitzgerald. the expert who went to the various countries with Mr. Hoover, to assist in his examination of the situation. Getting back to the figures the distinguished Senator gave in the justification, I also gathered, from what was said by Mr. Clayton, of the State Department, in his attempt to support his figures, that he justified UNRRA. Of course, as I understand, our proportion of the total amount provided for UNRRA was about two and one-half billion dollars. Is that not correct?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That was our

Mr. WHERRY. That was our contribution. It is my understanding that the \$350,000,000 proposed to be authorized shall be expended solely for food-

Mr. VANDENBERG. No.

Mr. WHERRY. And medicine and fertilizer and several other items. UNRRA's distributions went beyond food. As I recall, about half of all its expenditures went for food, and the remainder went for machinery and equipment and materials to help rehabilitate devastated countries. In other words, to me it is difficult to see where the justification has been made by the State Department. I certainly feel, and I want the distinguished Senator to know, that the justification made by former President Hoover is necessary in helping me to make up my mind. I am glad to have the statement made by the Senator from Michigan, for I could not find the figures anywhere in the record.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will my colleague yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. The figure suggested by the General Assembly was \$650,000,-000, was it not?

Mr. WHERRY. \$610,000,000.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes; I think so. Mr. FERGUSON. When they debated the subject did they include any other items than food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seeds, which are the items at present in the bill?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not think

Mr. FERGUSON. So when we consider the total amount provided for UNRRA. many other items were included for distribution.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes; there is no doubt about that.

I think perhaps if Senators will permit me to proceed with a description of the various methods which we have embraced in an effort to tie down this particular appropriation they will be better satisfied with my explanation and perhaps I shall anticipate some of their points of view.

Mr. FERGUSON. I want my colleague to understand clearly that my questions do not imply any criticism of the measure.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I understand that, and I want to say again that I wish to be interrupted at any moment, because if I can answer any questions I desire to answer them.

Mr. WHERRY. I also want the Senator to know that the questions I asked were not asked in the spirit of criticism.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am sure of that.

Mr. WHERRY. I intend to support the joint resolution. I feel that direct relief is the way in which to proceed; I concur wholeheartedly in the recommendations which are made for the spending of this money in a direct manner; but I am very much interested in the restrictions, and so forth, which the Senator is about to explain to the Senate.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is what I want particularly to emphasize, because I think it goes to the question of the integrity of the figure. No one can lay down a rule of thumb to justify the figure. It must be justified by the precautions which are required to make sure that its integrity is protected, and so I emphasize the precautions as my chief answer to the Senator's question.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield. Mr. McCLELLAN. I merely want to have one mattter clarified. As I understood the Senator a few moments ago he said that during the past 2 years we spent \$1,350,000,000 on UNRRA. Is that amount for each year?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Averaging that each year.

Mr. McCLELLAN. For 2 years?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. McCLELLAN. That makes \$2,-700,000,000.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. It is for a little more than 2 years, but speaking roughly it can be allocated in that fashion.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator vield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. I merely wanted to confirm, if any words of mine could confirm, a statement of the Senator from Michigan, that while Mr. Hoover was before the committee he repeatedly made it

clear to the members of the committee that he had no objection whatsoever to the total amount of expenditure which we authorize. He did have some suggestion to make as to the purposes for which the expenditures should be made, and he specifically made suggestions as to limitations upon where the money mght be spent.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I understand from the report accompanying the joint resolution, that other countries will probably be asked to contribute, or perhaps already have stated that they would advance certain funds for relief purposes. Will the funds and supplies furnished by the United States be administered solely and wholly by an agency created under this joint resolution?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Entirely, solely, exclusively, conclusively, and in no other

Mr. ELLENDER. Is the Senator able to state how the supplies furnished by other countries will be distributed?

Mr. VANDENBERG. In the same fashion, with coordination in the field. Mr. ELLENDER. So as to prevent duplication?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. ELLENDER. Under the House measure, as I understand, the various countries to be afforded aid were named.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Will the Senator withhold that phase of the discussion for a moment until I can finish the particular part of it on which we are now engaged, because the Senator refers to a very important phase, and I want to discuss it by itself in a moment.
Mr. ELLENDER. The reason I asked

the question at this time is that I will be obliged to leave the floor of the Senate in a short while, but it is perfectly agreeable to me that the Senator proceed as he suggested.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Whenever the Senator must leave, if I have not already reached that point, if he then will direct his question to me I shall detour for the purpose of answering it.

Mr. ELLENDER. Very well.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I particularly want to answer in consecutive detail if I can, the fundamental inquiry submitted by the able Senator from Nebraska, repeating for myself that I think the schedule of our precautions is the eloquent answer to the question, rather than an effort to try to figure out mathematically what our precise share of things is.

I do not need to recount the bases of criticism from which have arisen the very definite congressional antipathy for any further life for UNRRA. We are all familiar with them. I want to say that in spite of those criticisms, in spite of the bad spots in the UNRRA record, it certainly must be said that UNRRA, nevertheless, served the high humanities in a desperately essential way, and has many very great credit marks upon its record which must not be overlooked when we rather concentrate our case at the moment on the things we do not like

in the record. There are many things we do not like. There are infinitely many more things which are well worthy of praise and justification. But it is the things we do not like and it is the criticisms which are so totally legitimate against the things that happened under UNRRA which are, I repeat, at the base of the effort which has been made by the committees, both in the House and Senate, to put the resolution on such a basis that Congress can be content with the prsopectus.

In the first place, as the Senator has already indicated, relief under this measure is absolutely confined to food, médical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, posticides, and seeds

pesticides, and seeds.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me add one more sentence. There is no opportunity for the latitudes which were available to UNRRA in its administration, latitudes which of themselves were largely responsible for many of the difficulties and criticisms which arose.

I now yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. There are no restrictions in the joint resolution as to where these supplies are to come from, are there?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes. I shall reach that point in just a moment.

Let me call attention to the specific protections in the joint resolution which have been put in for the reason I have indicated, to make absolutely sure that we were meeting every criticism which Congress has heretofore raised in respect to the administration of foreign relief.

In the first place, there will be no discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief in the distribution of relief supplies in the recipient countries. That is a general rule of conduct upon which we would all insist.

Secondly, United States officials and representatives of the press and radio will be permitted to observe freely and report fully regarding the use of relief supplies. In other words, from start to finish, this process must be in the full light of day, and open to the total scrutiny of the American press and any other American inquiry which seeks to pursue it

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Does the joint resolution provide that the United States shall retain ownership in the food until it reaches the local level, or are we to distribute it as UNRRA distributed it, to the boundary line of the recipient country?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall reach

that point in just a moment.

Mr. WHERRY. If the distinguished Senator will permit another observation, that point seems to me to be highly important, in view of the statement just made with respect to one of the safeguards, that United States officials and representatives of the press and radio shall be permitted to observe freely and report fully regarding the use of relief supplies. They should be permitted to

go into the recipient countries and there check the food supplies, the needs, and also the distribution. With that statement in mind, having myself been in the territories involved, I wish to ask the distinguished Senator if he feels that we shall be able to observe freely if we lose control of the ownership of the food at the boundary line of the recipient country.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I believe that under the requirements which I have already read, and those which are still to follow, it will be possible to have, perhaps not 100 percent success in a venture of this sort, but as complete and effective control as it is humanly possible to provide.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. Before any distribution of the supplies is made will any steps be taken by the Commission, or whoever is to handle the allocation, to determine into what countries food and material are to be sent, and on what basis? It may be possible that only a few countries will receive the bulk of this relief unless a survey is made in advance of the needs of all countries concerned. I am wondering the extent to which our Government will go into that question before making any distribution whatever.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The survey has been made. Before I finish I shall give the Senator the specific allocations, in dollars and cents, to the countries which are to receive the relief.

Mr. ELLENDER. By whom was the survey made?

Mr. VANDENBERG. By all the various authorities to which I have referred, including most recently the Hoover survey, but including also reports of agricultural and economic experts attached to United States embassies abroad; the calculations of the Committee of Experts established by the United Nations; the data gathered by a subcommittee of the Economic and Social Council which toured the devastated areas; the findings of a number of FAO survey missions; and the general fund of information which has been collected on the subject by the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. ELLENDER. Are there any countries which were not surveyed, and in which funds may be allocated?

Mr. VANDENBERG. When we get through with the specific commitments to various countries, there is a latitude of \$15,000,000 out of \$350,000,000 for unallocated, unanticipated necessities. While this latitude is not written into the joint resolution, it is written in the bond. I might as well discuss countries with the Senator. I see that that is what he wishes to talk about.

Mr. ELLENDER. I should like to know specifically in what countries these surveys have been made, unless the Senator has already mentioned them.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Wherry] will be patient enough to let me detour from his questions, I shall come to the question raised by the Senator from Louisiana, although I am sorry that I can-

not first lay the total foundation, because to me the total foundation is so impressive, when we confront the entire framework of the precautions and protections which have been erected, that really the ultimate minutiae of the situation become highly secondary, I am sure, in the mind of every man when the whole story is laid before him.

Mr. ELLENDER. I suggest to the Senator that he proceed in his own way and not take a detour at this moment to satisfy me. I believe that this subject is of sufficient importance for me to cancel the engagement which I had previously made and I will listen to the distinguished Senator.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thank the Senator very much. I want the Senator to have all the information he asked for, and I intend to give it to him.

I was discussing the things which are categorically and textually required before any relief is granted. These things are required continuously throughout the administration of the relief.

I had just finished mentioning the fact that representatives of the Government of the United States and of the press and radio of the United States must have absolute freedom of observation and report in connection with the entire operation. That has a substantial bearing upon what happens in some of the countries which may be involved, because there can be no "iron curtain" between this relief and our information with respect to it.

In order further to emphasize that point, the joint resolution provides that—

Full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of the United States relief program carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution.

So not only is the operation itself wholly and totally disclosed by way of protection, but for the first time the people in the areas receiving the supplies are guaranteed information as to where they come from. There must be continuous information available to them as to whence this relief comes, instead of some of the very unhappy and unfortunate situations which we know existed under UNRRA.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. If the food is sold to the recipient country, as it now is—

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator will wait a moment, I shall reach that point in a moment. If I have succeeded in answering the Senator's questions up to date, I shall move on.

Mr. WHERRY. Not quite.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Then let me continue. I have just discussed the necessity for full and continuous publicity. The next provision in the joint resolution is as follows:

If food, medical supplies, fertilizers, or seed is transferred or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will be exported or removed from such country while need therefor for relief purposes continues.

In other words, we are not going to compete with an export market in respect to the things which we are fur-

nishing by way of relief.

The next requirement is that "such country has taken or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own future reconstruction."

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.
Mr. ELLENDER. Who determines that condition?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That provision is somewhat nebulous, but it is an injunction to good faith on the part of those to whom we are giving the relief, and an instruction to our own administrators that if they do not find reasonable good faith in that aspect, relief

should not be given.

Mr. ELLENDER. Is it contemplated to force compliance with such a requirement before relief is granted? It seems to me that that would probably be the case under clause (e) on page 11 which

the Senator has adverted to.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Everything I am saying to the Senate is required by way of assurance before any relief is granted whatever. I refer to the first sentence of section 3 on page 10-

Mr. ELLENDER. It will be up to the agency of our Government which makes the distribution to see to it that such

steps are taken?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. ELLENDER. And if such steps are not taken relief can and will be refused?

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President-

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COOPER in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Let us say that there is a government which is dominated by Russia and that the policy of the officials of that country is dictated by Russia. How is it known that there will be such distribution of food? Let me give an illustration. The distinguished Senator well knows, and certainly Mr. Hoover well knows, that UNRRA supplies were furnished to countries which took ownership at the border and then diverted food supplies thus obtained to the armies of Russia. They did more than that. Puppet officials, carrying out the orders of Russia, took the indigenous food supply which should have been used for local relief, and diverted it to the armies of Russia. So UNRRA had to step in and supplement that food. I hope the distinguished Senator will answer this question, which I think is very important. There is a difference between what the House did and what the Senate did, and I am asking for the justification for it. I think that if we are to supply food to the people who need it and should have it we must control the food at the local level and not release it at the boundaries and distribute it as it has been distribtued in the past.

Mr. VANDENBERG. May I answer

the question now. Mr. WHERRY.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I suggest that the Senator read section 4 of the bill, which I have not yet reached. I am afraid that my explanations are proceeding too slowly. Section 4 reads as follows:

When supplies are transferred or otherwise made available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution-

Mind you, this is another series of protections in addition to those which I had started to read and which I have not even yet had an opportunity to conclude. These are additional protections. I am coming to the question of the Senator, because I want him to be happy about it. I read further from section 4:

When supplies are transferred or otherwise made available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution, the President shall cause representatives of the Government of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution of such supplies among the people of such country, (2) to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of the assurances given to the President pursuant to section 3.

It is impossible for us to set up a relief organization which follows the food to the mouth of the final recipient. It would require an army of administrators that would certainly be totally unwelcome to a Congress which is undertaking to demobilize similar institutions in the United States. The relief, however, in its final phases is distributed through the agents of the government in the country involved. Every moment down to that final second when it goes to the final consumer, it is under the mandate of this joint resolution, to be under the supervision, observation, and report of representatives of the Government of the United States.

I submit to the Senator that that is about as far as we can go in writing the joint resolution.

Mr. WHERRY. Will the Senator be patient with me and permit me to ask another question, which I hope will not 'detour" him?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Certainly.

Mr. WHERRY. Is it the understanding that representatives of the government will administer this relief as UNRRA has administered relief, namely, that the food shall be sold to local units within the Government who will in turn redistribute it to the local grocery stores and then to the people? Is that the object of the joint resolution?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I will answer that question. That is covered by still another section of the bill to which I will jump in order to keep abreast of my friend's questions.

It is the expectation that perhaps from 15 to 20 percent of the relief supplied through this joint resolution will have to go to indigents from whom no payment of any nature will be received, although it is hoped that some sort of work relief formula may be established even in connection with that matter. With regard to the remainder, which would constitute 80 or 85 percent of the supplies, it is to be distributed by the instrumentalities of local governments through the regular channels of distribution for local currency; and we are advised by those who know and in whom we have a right to place our confidence that the necessity, up to perhaps 80 percent of these needs, is not a lack of local currency to pay for the supplies; it is the impossibility of getting the supplies at all. The Senator will realize that when this process proceeds there is immediately a revenue from the sale of the relief supplies. Heretofore that has been another point at which there has been even more dangerous maladministration.

What happens under this joint resolution? There has to be an agreement before the relief process starts. In fact, the relief is furnished only upon condition that the government of the receiving country agrees that when it sells such relief supplies for local currencyand this applies to about 80 percent—

(a) The amounts of such local currency will be deposited by it in a special account.

That is something nev.

(b) Such account shall be used within such country, as a revolving fund, until June 30, 1948, only upon the approval of the duly authorized representative of the United States, for relief and work relief purposes, including local currency expenses of the United States incident to the furnishing of

In other words, those funds can be used up to the end of the next fiscal year. June 30, 1948, as a revolving fund under our administration for further relief purposes and for the payment of our administrative expenditures. But the funds are constantly under the control of the Government of the United States, and at the end of the fiscal year any unencumbered balance remaining in such account, namely, the account that is to cover 80 percent of this distribution, "will be disposed of within such country for such purposes as the United States Government, pursuant to act or joint resolution of the Congress, may determine."

I submit to the able Senator from Nebraska that I have read him something new by way of detailed and persistent effort to surround the operation of this relief system with adequate protection to the very last second of the operation. Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the

Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. WHITE. In addition to what the Senator has already said, is it not true that the President is authorized at any time when he finds conditions to be justifiable, to stop all relief given to any country whenever he finds, as I say, that the terms and conditions under which the relief was given are not being met?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is true, That is in a section of the joint resolution to which I shall return in order to complete my answer to the original question of the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. The point which has been made by the distinguished majority leader [Mr. WHITE] that the President has the right to terminate this relief if it is found that the conditions over there are not as they should be, is new. I think that is a good provision in the joint résolution. It is different from UNRRA. because we will now be in control of our

own distribution, and if the food does not get to where it is intended the President can terminate relief. I think that is an excellent provision.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think the Senator, when he parallels this resolution and the program of UNRRA at any point or in any part, will say that this is not only an improvement, but a total answer to the criticisms which have heretofore been leveled at the method of distribu-

Mr. WHERRY. It is, indeed, a decided improvement; and that is one of the reasons why I am supporting the joint resolution. But I should like to point out to the distinguished Senator from Michigan that the method of distribution provided by the joint resolution is practically the same as that used for UNRRA supplies in the countries I visited. In other words, they had a pool, for example, in Austria, where there is an American sector or an American occupied territory, and the pool is used to help stabilize the currency.

However, the point I make is that the minute the food reaches the boundary of that country, the country buys the food—please understand that—and then it is distributed through the wholesaler to the small groceryman, who in turn holds the cards which the consumers use in getting their supplies. While it is true that 15 or 20 percent of the food goes to people who are on relief and have little white cards which entitle them to food amounting to a certain number of calories, and they get-it, yet, as the distinguished Senator has already pointed out, 80 percent of the food is sold to help the local governments. I am not complaining of that; I think it is a good thing. But I point out that the moment the food reaches the boundary lines, the country assumes control of the food.

I can point out to the Senator instances in which, time and again, in occupied Austria the indigenous food supply was taken away from the people of that country, with the result that supplemental feeding by UNRRA was required. Of course, at that time no check was made, whereas under the provisions of this joint resolution we are supposed to have absolute freedom to go into that country and see that the food reaches he places it should reach; and that will be a decided improvement. When the food changes hands at the boundary, rather than at the local level in the cases I observed, and from the testimony adduced at the hearings which I attended, it seems that the food goes to the governments, instead of to the people who need it for relief.

A few minutes ago I talked on the floor of the Senate to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Wilson]; and, as I recall, he showed me a press dispatch from the Des Moines Register, calling attention to the fact that Rumania had diverted 400 carloads of flour to a puppet Russian Government.

Mr. VANDENBERG. No; it was to Russia itself.

Mr. WHERRY. Very well; what is the difference?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is worse.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to have the distinguished Senator put the re-

lease in the RECORD, because I am asking the Senator-and that was the reason for my original question-how the food supply will be controlled if it is released at the boundary line, and what assurance there will be that in regard to the countries we are trying to help-and I understand that one is Poland and another is Hungary; that they will receive supplies, or at least that is the supposition—the old system under UNRRA will not be used, and the food will go for the purpose we intend it to go when we appropriate the \$350,000,000?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, may I answer the Senator now?

Mr. WHERRY. Yes; and I hope I have made myself clear.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Oh, yes; but I shall start over again.

We have put into this measure one provision after another placing upon our American administrators the responsibility of protecting the integrity of this distribution down to its finality. In the last analysis, we are at the mercy of a human element in Government, no matter what department of it we inspect.

Mr. WHERRY. That is correct. Mr. VANDENBERG. There is no way to write a law which will make even the office force of a United States Senator operate in the way the Senator wishes it to operate. I submit that all we can do is to do what has been provided for: and in doing that we shall be doing things which, I repeat, have never been done before. There is no question, as I think I demonstrated unequivocally some time ago, that under this measure there will be no chance for such a thing to happen as the diversion of flour out of Rumania, for the benefit of Russia, to which the Senator from Nebraska has referred. That would instantly stop the entire process with respect to Rumania, although I point out that Rumania is not on this particular list. If anything of that sort were to happen anywhere, it would instantly suspend the entire operation.

Mr. WHERRY. I agree.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is so under the categorical requirements of this

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President-

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, there are many more protections-I simply wish to keep the Senator from, Louisiana in suspense to that extentthere are many other protections which we have provided, and to which I shall refer, if I ever get around to referring to

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, as I understand the method of distribution, it will be somewhat similar to that utilized by Great Britain when we sent lend-lease supplies to that country. The food was received by the British Government for which we were given an IOU and it was sold to the wholesale stores, and the wholesale stores in turn sold the supplies to the retail stores who in turn sold the supplies to the consuming public. The British Government was paid for those goods by the wholesalers at the same prices charged by our Government and profits were made by the wholesalers and

the retailers, and also, of course, by the British Government. I should like to ask the Senator whether there will be any restrictions as to which stores will handle the food. Will the stores be supervised by the government of the country in which the food will be distributed, or just exactly what will be done after the food reaches that country? I refer to the 80 percent of the food that I understand may be so distributed.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am unable to answer the Senator's question, except as I know the local method of food distribution in each particular country. Whatever the food distribution system is, it will be used, insofar as anyone has the ways and means to pay for the relief. I am sure the Senator from Louisiana would wish it paid for, if there is any possibility of having it paid for.

Mr. ELLENDER. There is no question about that; but-

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator will permit me to proceed, let me say that the difference between the situation under the pending measure and the one which was described as occuring in the past is the precise difference that we tried to cover in the final formula I read to the Senator regarding the handling of the credits which result from the sale: and we are doing the precise thing which we are trying to do here because of the experience which the Senator describes in regard to what happened yesterday, and we are taking these steps in the hope that that will not be repeated.

But I ask the Senator to consider that the fact that it happened before now should not rob us of confidence in this measure, when our purpose is to see that the very thing the Senator has mentioned shall not happen again.

Mr. ELLENDER. But the fact remains that the American people, as well as the Congress, wish to provide relief to those who need it, and if we send this food abroad and if it is to be distributed by the wholesalers and retailers in Greece and in Turkey, and wherever else it is to be allocated, profits will be made in that process, but if there is no control as to how much the food will be sold for it may be that much of the food will not find its way into the hands of those who most need it. It may be used in black markets. Those better able to buy it may get all the benefits.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I repeatedly read to the Senator the provisions which require the representatives of the relief administration of the United States to follow the administration of this aid right down to its finality; I have read him the provisions which require total publicity respecting the total distribution down to the finality; I have read him the requirements that there shall be no discrimination in respect to its distribution down to the finality; I have read him the provisions which require American newspaper reporters to be entitled to follow it down to its finality: and I have read him the requirements which put the American relief administrators under the obligation of protecting this system against the things concerning which the Senator has complained.

I submit to the Senator that that is all anyone can do in the text of a relief bill.

Mr. ELLENDER. There is no question that it is a decided improvement. But let us not call it a relief bill because much of the food is not going to find its way to the people who really need it people who cannot buy it because they do not have the funds.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have said to the Senator that that portion of the population which cannot buy is to be served by an allocation for which they

do not have to pay.

Mr. ELLENDER. That is only 15 to 20 percent of the entire amount.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is the estimate of all that is required for those purposes

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator means from reports made?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Exactly.

Mr. ELLENDER. It is not so bad as I thought it was.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Exactly.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Of course, there is one very difficult problem of administration, and, after all, with the explanation the distinguished Senator has made, the question comes down to this: It will be just as good as the administration, and that puts terrific responsibility upon the Government officials to see that the funds are properly administered. Is that correct?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I underwrite that 100 percent. In the same connection, I wish to say that Senators are catechising me on this measure as though I owned the preferred stock in this corporation, or something of the kind. I submit that there are some limitations upon what can be put down in black and white by way of a warrant to meet all the suspicions and highly justified criticisms which the Senator has respecting previous relief adventures. But I will ask the Senator to read page after page after page of the new precautions in the proposed legislation, against the record of yesterday and the day before.

Mr. WHERRY. Let me say to the distinguished Senator that I appreciate very much his answers to the many questions asked. I think that in making the record the distinguished Senator wants all the membership of the Senate to know the purposes for which the \$350.-000,000 is being appopriated.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. WHERRY. I am satisfied that any constructive criticism some of us might make with the idea of getting explanations and interpretations in the RECORD would be most illuminating, in the event, for instance, of an occurrence in a country getting the relief such as that mentioned in the Des Moines newspaper to which I referred. I am sure the distinguished Senator, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, in the event such a thing happened, would agree that the President has authority to terminate immediately any relief to that country. It seems to me that the pending measure goes a long way toward the proper distribution of foodstuffs to people in continental Europe. It represents a radical departure from our relief experiences in Europe under UNRA.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I agree with that. Mr. WHERRY. I wish to pay the Senator a high compliment, inasmuch as apparently he has accepted presidency of this organization for the purpose of castigation. I think anything that can be done to place the administration of the proposed fund and the distribution of the food on the local level is very desirable.

Let me proceed for a moment with an observation which points to the very thing the Senator from Louisiana was discussing. I found in Wiener Neustadt. which is in Russian-occupied Austria. that some persons carried a small white card which entitled them to what we call direct relief, but they were getting calories away below what they should have been given, because the burgomaster in that particular area had the power to say what one particular person should get, what another should get, and so on. In fact, there are three cards. running from a low-calorie ration on up to those given to persons who work satisfactorily for the Russian Government.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President

Mr. WHERRY. Let me finish the statement, then I shall be glad to ask the distinguished Senator from Michigan to let me yield to the Senator from Maine.

The point is that, after all, what we are attempting to do is to get relief to starving people. That is the basis of the measure before us. I do not object to the food being distributed through regular channels; in many respects that is less expensive. On the other hand, I wish to point out to the Senator from Michigan, and to the administration that is providing the relief, that it is highly important, in the administration of the law, that we have representatives in the countries to which the relief is sent, who will go down to the local level and see that the people who need relief get it, and, if possible, straighten out the differences in the cards, so that all people can live on the calories which the pending measure is supposed to provide for those who are starving.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield to me? Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let me say to the Senator from Nebraska that I agree with him, of course, that we should get the relief down, as nearly as possible, to the places where it is needed, under United States supervision, but we cannot exclude participation by the local authorities, of the Greek Government, because if we did, there would be all sorts of complaints that we were interfering, intervening, and doing this, that, and the other, not by the Greeks, perhaps, but by others. So I think there should be cooperation between our inspectors on the ground and the local authorities of the respective governments.

Let me say to the Senator, furthermore. since he made a comparison a moment ago about the way he hoped the relief

would be distributed and the procedures under UNRRA, that while we contributed 72 percent to UNRRA, we did not control it. The control was in the hands of many foreigners, who mismanaged and mishandled the funds, and squandered them in many places. For instance, they gave \$400,000,000 to Yugoslavia, and the return we got for it was to have our airplanes shot down, and to have the Yugoslavs very bitter, and denouncing us every time they opened their mouths.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President—— Mr. VANDENBERG. I think I shall reclaim the floor in a moment. I am trying to present a consecutive story. I have wanted to be interrupted, and I continue so to desire, but I do not want to get too far off the track.

I continue to yield to the Senator from

Nebraska.

Mr. WHERRY. I did not want to get the distinguished Senator away off the track.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am speaking about further interruptions.

Mr. WHERRY. I think the main track is that we want to get the relief to the local level, to the people who need the relief.

I agree with what the distinguished Senator from Texas has said about UNRRA. In fact, a few moments ago I made a similar statement. I agree with him in toto. But I think that when we lose control of the ownership of food at the boundary line of a country, we will have to have representatives of the American Government immediately check the relief down to the local level, if we expect to accomplish what the Senator from Louisiana has asked the senior Senator from Michigan about relative to feeding the starving people of Europe.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. In a moment. I wish to say again that that for which the Senator from Nebraska asks is required by the proposed legislation. In the first place, the relief must be fol-lowed to its ultimate destination, under the obligation the relief administration takes under the terms of the joint resolution. In the second place, it must be followed by complete publicity from start to finish. It must be followed, not only by governmental publicity, but by access afforded American newspapermen and American radio commentators. It must be done from start to finish in the full light of day, and it must be done under specifications which require total protection against any maladministration, insofar as it is humanly possible to provide it. I submit that, under the circumstances, the joint resolution has gone as far as it is possible to put things down in black and white.

There are some further precautions which, if I may be allowed to reclaim the · floor for a moment, I should like to discuss, in addition to all the other precautions to which reference has been made.

The importance of the point made by the senior Senator from Texas is not to be overlooked, that when we compare the UNRRA operation with the operation under the proposed legislation, we find that the UNRRA operation was one in

which we were substantially at the mercy of foreign governments in the distribution of the relief. It is because of that precise situation that we refused to continue the UNRRA method, and insisted upon taking our own responsibility for our own relief distribution. That, fundamentally, is the continuous, overriding protection of the new system, which is a terrifically important factor, I submit to all Senators, in comparing the relief experience under UNRRA with the relief experience which is contemplated under the pending measure.

Let me continue a moment. I had read a dozen or so of the specific protections which are required in connection with the operation of the relief. Now I wish to read some more. I refer to page 11:

(f) upon request of the President, it will furnish promptly information concerning the production, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such country.

In other words, in order to be sure we are not the subjects of exploitation, we are entitled to ask for total information, not only regarding our own relief distribution in these countries, but also regarding all the other native resources. Reading further:

(g) representatives of the Government of the United States will be permitted to supervise the distribution among the people of such country—

"The people of such country"—
of the supplies transferred or otherwise
made available pursuant to this joint resolution;

And then, of grave importance, subsection (h)—and this is an amendment which was proposed by the able Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young] and the able Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan], and which finds its way into the pending measure:

(h) all supplies transferred pursuant to this joint resolution or acquired through the use of credits established pursuant to this joint resolution and any articles processed from such supplies, or the containers of such supplies or articles, shall, to the extent practicable, be marked, stamped, branded, or labeled in a conspicuous place as legibly, indelibly, and permanently as the nature of such supplies, articles, or containers will permit in such manner as to indicate to the ultimate consumer in such country that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance; or if such supplies, articles, or containers are incapable of being so marked, stamped, branded, or labeled, that all practicable steps are taken to inform the ultimate consumers thereof that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance.

In other words, this is a categorical response to the unhappy and unfortunate experience which we too often had under UNRRA, where our largess was exploited by others in their own behalf, and the generosities of the United States were not only totally ignored but were deliberately blacked out, so that those who were the beneficiaries of our assistance often were kept in ignorance of the fact that the United States of America was the source of the relief. We do not propose to have anything of

that sort happen again. We were very happy to accept the amendment submitted by the Senator from Arkansas and the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I want to congratulate the chairman and the committee on writing a bill and surrounding it with all the reasonable safeguards which the conditions we have in mind will permit. I would like to ask the Senator a question. The proposed law seems to be very ample. strictions on the powers and the checks and balances of the bill seem to me to be ample to do this work in a highly creditable and a highly efficient manner. But, as I look at the situation, the success of the undertaking is going to depend in no small degree on the man who is the head of it, in Greece or Turkey or wherever it may be; and while I am not privy to the President's thoughts on the matter, it seems to me that the Administrator ought before everything else to be a businessman. We ought to go into this on a business and systematic basis. Secondly, he ought to have some knowledge of or contact with foreign governments. He ought to have had some experience in the foreign field. Thirdly, his objective ought not to be to spend money or to give it away so that he can get rid of the appropriation; but, if he finds that half will suffice—which I doubt very much—then he ought to stop there. In other words, the funds should be administered the same as if the official were administering his own individual fortune or property.

The success of this undertaking will depend on the administrator catching the spirit of the pending joint resolution, with all the safeguards written around it, and who executes it accordingly in the country to which the relief is directed. I sincerely hope, as one legislator who intends to support the measure, that the President will look very carefully, because, with a good administrator, what the Senator from Michigan hopes will be accomplished will largely come to pass. That is the keystone in the whole arch of the pending joint resolution, in my opinion.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Of course I entirely agree with the able Senator from Maryland. He has reiterated the same thought that was suggested by the Senator from Nebraska that, in the final analysis, no matter how much we try to write the formula, we are finally at the mercy of the personnel of administration. We have provided in the joint resolution of course that the administrator of European relief must be confirmed by the Senate; and I would expect the Senate to apply all the acute tests the Senator from Maryland has in mind to the confirmation of the administrator, although I think we should be very fortunate if we can find an administrator who possesses all the qualifications which the able Senator from Maryland indicates.

I desire particularly to refer to the fact that the Senator from Maryland emphasized the importance of stopping this relief at any time when it is no longer needed, and I point out that there, again, the pending measure undertakes to provide protections which never heretofore have been available, because we categorically commit the President to the necessity of terminating the provision of relief assistance to the people of any country whenever he determines—

(1) that, by reason of changed conditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2) that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out—

That is, all the requirements for publicity, and so forth, that I have recited—

(3) that an excessive amount of any supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the maintenance of armed forces in such country—

It cannot be diverted to armed forces. If an extraordinarily heavy proportion of the local supplies were being used for armed forces, the country might become ineligible, as a result of this administrative authority—

or (4) that supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed from such country.

If anybody's imagination can think of any additional proscriptions to write into the bill for the purpose of legitimate protection, I should like to know what they are.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. I am wondering how that can be prevented.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator wonders how what can be prevented?

Mr. ELLENDER. Selling to all those who offer to buy. In short, so that soldiers in the armed forces of a country could not obtain the supplies.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is not what it says.

Mr. ELLENDER. As I understood the Senator a moment ago, he said that 85 percent of the supplies would be distributed through the regular distribution channels of the country selected to receive such supplies. Suppose that in Rumania, Turkey, or Bulgaria, the methods of distribution are—

Mr. VANDENBERG. We do not go into any one of the three. These supplies do not go into any of those countries

Mr. ELLENDER. I am merely supposing. This is a supposition.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Very well, I will suppose with the Senator.

Mr. ELLENDER. Let us make it Italy. I suppose Italy is going to be allocated a lot of these supplies. Suppose the supplies are sold to wholesale establishments in various parts of Italy. Then the wholesale establishments will sell to the retail stores. How can those goods be followed through in the way the Senator from Michigan indicated a moment ago? These supplies will be in various

stores in Italy and they will be for sale to whoever has the money to pay for

them. Is that not true?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Has the Senator finished?

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes; but is not what I have stated true?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have explained to the Senator as well as I can, and several times, that the distribution locally is determined by the standard method

of local distribution.

Mr. ELLENDER. Which may be-Mr. VANDENBERG. Just a minute please.

Mr. ELLENDER. But which, in all probability, is along the lines I just suggested?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Which may be along the lines the Senator has suggested or along the lines that any Senator might suggest, and in none of those events do I know whether the Senators are discussing what is going to happen or not. I do not know what the methods of distribution are, and I have not thought that it was necessary for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to try to invade the final details of merchandising in order to establish an obligation upon American administrators to follow the relief to its finality and see that it is distributed under the requirements of this measure. Now if the Senator asks me how Luigi or Antonio or some of his neighbors in Naples are going to be dealt with by their corner grocer, I cannot tell him.

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes; but Luigi or Antonio, as the Senator has just said, may become rich by selling some of these goods at unconscionable prices.
Mr. VANDENBERG. What would the

Senator do to prevent it?

Mr. ELLENDER. I do not know at the moment. I expect to explore possibilities, if I should be afforded the opportunity. I am just seeking for information. As I understood from the beginthis \$350,000,000 appropriation was to be used to feed the hungry people in the various countries in which surveys have been made.

Mr. VANDENBERG. We are coming to that in a minute.

Mr. ELLENDER. And the Senator has indicated that the report shows that of this huge amount, only 15 per-

Mr. VANDENBERG. Or 20 percent. Mr. ELLENDER. Would be used to help the indigent.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Fifteen or 20 percent.

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes; 15 or 20 percent of this huge amount. In other words, there would be only from 15 to 20 percent given away, and the rest of the supplies will be sold to the wholesale establishments, and in turn, the retail establishments in these various countries and sold to whoever wants to buy them, I presume. Am I wrong in that statement?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let us go over that question for the third or fourth time, and I do not say that critically.

Mr. ELLENDER. If I have misstated the plan of distribution, I wish the Senator would say so, because that is the way I understand it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator's statement is correct in part and invites what I would think was an entirely erroneous conclusion from what he said.

Mr. ELLENDER. Let the Senator

give us the erroneous part.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I would rather give the Senator the correct part. These relief supplies, to the extent of about 80 percent, will be distributed through the use of whatever the local distributing system for the distribution of food is in the receiving countries, as there is no other way to distribute except as we are going to have an enormous free-for-all give-away to the entire population, which would be the last thing on earth in which the Senator from Louisiana would be interested or in which the Senator from Michigan would be interested.

Now what happens? Under the direct administration and responsibility of the American administrators, who must follow the relief down to its finality under the terms of these obligations, this distribution is made through whatever is the local food-distributing system. It is paid for to the extent of about 80 percent, because 80 percent of the people, according to all the reports, have the local currency with which to pay. It is not the local currency they lack; it is the food they lack, and we are providing the food. They pay in local currency. At this point I repeat, the system is utterly unique. Under the terms of this bill, for the first time the precaution is provided that local currency goes into a special trust fund under the control and direction of the Government of the United States, and it stays there under our control and direction, and the use of the balance at the end of the next fiscal year will be determined by the Congress of the United State's. If there is any better way to protect the system I do not know what it is. That is the only explanation I can make, if I make it 50 times. That is satisfactory, I hope, to the Senator, for whose opinion I have great respect.

Mr. ELLENDER. The Senator has stated exactly what I tried to say a while ago, and we seem to be in accord as to how the supplies will be distributed under the terms of the pending resolution.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Very well. Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I want to ask my colleague if this measure does not purport to authorize our President to enter into an executive agreement with other nations to provide for establishing the trust fund and distributing the food under the restrictions placed in the bill?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. FERGUSON. So that we will have something upon the basis of which the executive branch can operate.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is totally correct. I thank him for his observation.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. The statement was made a moment ago by the distinguished Senator from Michigan that relief funds would not go to certain countries. In the House measure appropriations were authorized to make relief available to Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, and China, and that provision was stricken by the Senate Committee? Am I correct now in assuming that where the money goes will be left to the discretion of the State Department?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, . that is the other half of the problem before the Senate. If we have finished with the first half, I should like to make a statement regarding the second half.

Mr. WHERRY. I have not finished with the first half.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator has not finished with the first half. Very well. We will revert to it again.

Mr. WHERRY. I wish to ask the Senator a question. Is any limitation provided on the expenses of administering the fund?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think not

WHERRY. Does the distinguished Senator think there should be any limitation placed on the administrative expense?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not know how that could be done. If we are going to trust administrators with other obligations and responsibilities, then inasmuch as the whole procedure is under the requirement of constant and complete publicity, the Senator from Michigan is willing, as is the usual American administrative custom in such matters, to trust to the good faith of the administration.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG.

Mr. FERGUSON. Would this expense item come out of the \$350,000,000?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. It would come out of that sum?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes; the joint resolution specifically provides that out of the trust fund which is created through the deposit of local currency received from the sale of relief supplies the administrative expense may be paid, so that, in the final analysis, we may expect to be reimbursed for the administrative expense.

Mr. FERGUSON. I should think it would be a deterrent to excessive administration costs if the expense is to come out of the funds which are actually to be used to feed the people of the various countries. I think that would be a guard against any excessive expenditures and the employment of more persons than necessary.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Is it not true that in the past the money which the Government has made out of the sale of food was used to finance th local government? Is that not true?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am unable to

Mr. WHERRY. That is my observation, and I think most of those who have visited the countries which received relief will agree with me. I think this proposal is a decided improvement. I believe it will result in avoidance of what has been done in the past, which is that the money derived from the sale of food was used to finance the local government.

Mr. VANDENBERG. These funds are under the constant control of the United

Mr. WHERRY. I understand, and I think that is a decided improvement. That is what I told the distinguished Senator. But I think it should be pointed out to the Members of the Senate that what is made out of the distribution or sale of food does not come back to the United States. When we appropriate this \$350,000,000 for relief there is to be no repayment of it. At least, that is the way I interpret it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. There is no

question in the world about it.

Mr. WHERRY. I made that observation because there might be some confusion arising from the expectation that because the supplies were sold and the money went into a fund, eventually the supplies would be paid for.

I should like to ask a further question. Is it proposed that direct relief be dis-

tributed in Hungary?

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator will permit me to make a statement about the countries, I shall appreciate it. I have not yet had an opportunity even to present the question of where relief is to be afforded, and I should like to make a very brief statement about the countries, and then I shall be very happy to be torn to pieces.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Mr. President, will the Senator yield before he leaves the general question of the

propriety of the action?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield. Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. I ask the Senator if anyone questions the fact that Europe needs food, clothing, and medicine.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have not heard it questioned.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Does any informed man question the fact that if Europe does not get help from some source there is more than a probability of anarchy or communism existing in Europe this winter? Whether it be called anarchy or communism, I refer to a state of lawlessness and a departure from democratic principles.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I not only completely agree with the able Senator from Virginia, but I should like to say to him, by way of demonstration of that fact, that in my opening statement, when the able Senator was not present, I summed up my view on that question by saying that unless this relief is provided hunger instead of statesmanship will write the

pattern of Europe hereafter.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. I fully agree with the distinguished Senator from Michigan. I think that in addition to being impelled by principles of humanitarianism, we also are being influenced by enlightened self-interest, to see that Europe does not fall a victim to communism or something worse in the coming months.

Is it not true that notwithstanding the fact that the destruction of World War I

was far less than that of World War II. we made large public and private loans to countries for rehabilitation after World War I? It is my recollection—and the Senator may have more accurate figures—that we made public loans after the war of approximately \$7,000,000,000 and private loans of approximately \$5,000,000,000. It might have been the other way around, but it is my recollection that the total amount of loans made for the stabilization of the postwar world was approximately \$12,000,000,000. Is not that correct?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is generally correct, without checking the

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. I think that is substantially the fact. As the Senator has previously stated on the floor, we have spent about \$300,000,000,-000 to win a war, and we have not yet won the peace. The Senator is now proposing to make some further investments, in keeping with our ability to spend, to win the peace.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thank the Sen-

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. BUTLER. I notice on page 8 of the joint resolution, in the first part of the printed resolution which itemizes the articles which will be provided, food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed. The report states that there is no provision for machinery and tools or equipment for rehabilitation purposes. I wonder how that is consistent with the fact that we are furnishing fertilizer, pesticides, and seed. Those items are not worth much to the people who need relief unless they have machinery with which they can use them. Those items are not food and clothing.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I cannot answer the Senator's question as to whether or not those people have the necessary tools and equipment to use the fertilizer. I assume they have, or the joint resolution would not be written as it is. At any rate, they will not get any machinery. Undoubtedly they have been helped by UNRRA in the fashion the Senator has in mind, but there are no shipments of that character involved in the joint resolution.

Inasmuch as the Senator has called attention to this particular section of the bill, I am reminded of another question which was asked me, which I am afraid I ignored in the course of our general conversation. The question was asked as to where the supplies are to be purchased, and what proportion is to be purchased from the United States. I invite attention to the fact that the answer to that question is found at the bottom of page 8 and the top of page 9:

SEC. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and on such terms as the President may determine; except that no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made after June 30.

This is the important part and except that not more than 6 percent of the amount herein authorized to be appropriated shall be used for the procurement of supplies outside the United States and its Territorial possessions.

At that point the House uses the figure of 10 percent instead of 6 percent. I should like to state for the RECORD why we chose the figure of 6 percent, because it has some bearing on the question asked by the able senior Senator from Nebraska.

So far as possible, of course, we wish to have these credits expended in the United States, for obvious reasons. the other hand, since two of the things fundamentally required are coal and fertilizer, and since the coal obviously must be obtained abroad because the transportation charge from here would be prohibitive, and since we want to husband all our own fertilizers to the last possible degree, it was the opinion of the committee that the amount contemplated for expenditure for coal and fertilizer, which would be about 5 percent of the total, should be exempted from this requirement; and we added 1 percent for latitude. That is the reason for the 6 percent.

Mr. President, I am taking much more time than I even remotely anticipated, but I wish to come to the question of what countries are to receive this relief. Considerable anxiety has been expressed in the Senate—and it is obvious from the text of the House languagethat the countries for which the relief is intended should be identified in the text of the joint resolution so that there would be no doubt not only about where the relief should go, but where it should not go, which is of even more importance

to many of us. It has been the attitude of the Department and the President that it would be inadvisable to name specific countries in the joint resolution, because we are anxious to avoid, if possible, anything that could be construed as a statutory obligation on our part in respect to any particular country; and in order to avoid any expectation in those countries that they have a hard and fast commitment from us, and that therefore they do not have to pay too much attention to all the requirements which we are setting up by way of qualification before they get any relief at all, instead of identifying the countries in the text of the Senate committee amendment, as the House language does, and instead of excluding any specific countries by text in the Senate committee amendment, as the House language does, and as an amendment suggested by the able Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan] would do, we have sought to achieve this result in a different fashion.

I call attention to the letter of the Secretary of State which begins at the bottom of page 4 of the committee report. I shall read it carefully, because Senators will agree that this is not only complete information to the Senate as to where the money goes, but is also complete assurance that it will not go somewhere else. I read the very brief letter signed by George C. Marshall, which is addressed to me, as follows:

MY DEAR SENATOR VANDENBERG: In connection with the proposed legislation authorizing an appropriation of \$350,000,000 for relief assistance (H. J. Res. 153), I wish to advise you that the Department of State, if given responsibility for determining the beneficiary countries, would not approve the expenditure of more than \$15,000,000 of this amount for relief in any other countries or territories than Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Trieste, and China. It is felt that not more than \$15,000,000 should be available to meet emergencies which, while they are not now foreseen, might arise in other countries to which we might wish to render assistance.

Sincerely yours,

G. C. MARSHALL.

Mr. President, when the Secretary of State presented the matter to the Committee on Foreign Relations we asked hlm categorically if he considered this letter to be a commitment, and he said without reservation that he did. Under the circumstances, knowing the complete confidence which Congress has in the integrity of the Secretary of State, I think we should be satisfied to rest upon this categorical, unequivocal written statement of the Secretary regarding the countries which are involved in the program included in this resolution; and under those circumstances, I would hope that we might be able to avoid what could too easily become the embarrassment of identifying the countries in the text of the resolution itself through unwittingly creating the appearance of a vested interest in behalf of the named countries.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Then the answer to my question is that the Senate committee amendment does not specifically designate the countries to which relief assistance will be furnished, but it is practically left up to the State Department to make the selection?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The answer is yes; but I hardly think that the answer is complete, because the Senator's question might leave the inference that it is just a blank check. I insist that if we name the countries in the text of the resolution itself we would have no greater assurance than we have when the Secretary of State guarantees that this is his prospectus.

Mr. WHERRY. One more question. Does the distinguished Senator have any apprehension that the State Department might designate a country to which relief would be granted and where the people would be required to pay reparation to Russia?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The one country where that situation might arise, I suppose, would be Hungary. I certainly would be completely unwilling to cut the brave people of Hngary off from all relief because their Government, perchance, may have been caught in the paws of the Russian bear in some current relief situation. I would think that since hunger knows no international boundaries, it would be to our interest to en-

courage those majorities in Hungary which thus far have been able to maintain what for them is a very substantial democracy against all the external pressures to which they have been submitted. I would weigh the great value of sustaining and encouraging that resistance among the people of Hungary against any unhappiness I would have over the fact that reparations might be going out of Hungary in some degree at the same time. I very much wish we could say that no relief goes anywhere where reparations are currently going out, because it is so easy to argue, and with great truth, that the net of that situation isthat the reparations are synthetically coming from us. But since Hungary is the country involved, since Hungary is at the heart, center, and core of this problem of democratic stability in Central Europe at the moment, and since Hungary does have what seems to be a majority of the people who are very courageously clinging to their own ideas of their own independence, I think it would be most unfortunate—and I speak only for myself—if we should put the people of Hungary under any particular prohibition in connection with the distribution of relief.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one further observation?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to say to the distinguished Senator that I want personally to thank him for the explanations and answers he has made to the questions which I have propounded to hlm. I should like to make one further observation. I shall vote for this appropriation because I believe the principle of direct relief is sound. I want to emphasize the fact that it seems to me we are going a pretty long way in allowing the State Department to determine where relief is to be given, and furthermore, how the resolution is to be administered. I certainly hope that in designating the countries the State Department will take recognition of the record made this afternoon.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I want to go further than that, if the Senator from Nebraska will permit me, because I now propose to put into the Record figures which heretofore have not been made public, showing the allocation of the money as contemplated by the State Department. I want it all to be written in the bond insofar as it is humanly possible to do so.

Mr. WHERRY. I deeply appreciate the insertion which the Senator is about to make. It is one of the points in which I have been very much interested. It helps me considerably. I should like to conclude with the statement that in the administration of \$350,000,000 of relief we certainly want to get an administrator who will administer the fund as efficiently and as judiciously as possible. Certainly our past experience has been one of maladministration rather than administration, when it came to distribution of the funds by UNRRA.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I appreciate what the Senator says, and I thank him very much for his very generous comment that I have at least approximated

answers to the questions which he has ralsed.

I want to conclude the particular part of the record to which I referred in our last colloquy, before I yield further, and then I shall be glad to yield.

The relative estimate of needs as between the various countries are set down in the final and conclusive statement of the State Department. This is the allocation of the total need of \$596,000,000, and from them we can make our own calculations and see what our contemplations are: Austria, \$148,000,000; Greece, \$60,000,000; Hungary, \$33,000,000; Italy, \$158,000,000; Poland, \$117,000,000; Trieste, \$20,000,000; and China, \$12,000,000.

I again call attention to the fact in passing that the \$60,000,000 for Greece is what I think lawyers call a sine qua non in respect to our Greek relief program which both the House and the Senate have recently approved. Except as we can proceed with this program, the other program is perfectly futile.

I call attention to the fact that it involves substantial aid for Italy; and while there is some division of opinion as to whether the Italian peace treaties as drawn should be ratified, certainly all those who have the slightest interest in the destiny and welfare of Italy must recognize the fact that except as this resolution be passed we need not worry about any peace treaties or anything else, because this is the fundament, the basis of life in those areas for the next few months.

So, Mr. President, that is my statement regarding where the money goes. I have made what I hope is a complete statement in regard to how the money goes. There only remains for me to point out finally, very briefly, the differences between the joint resolution as passed by the House and the joint resolution as it has been reported in amended form to the Senate.

Mr. PEPPER rose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THYE in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Florida?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I regret that I was compelled to miss the earlier explanation made by the able Senator from Michigan. I simply wish to ask several questions, if I may do so.

First, has the ascertainment of need been made with respect to the situation all over the world? Have we looked at the world, regardless of the politics of the country where the help is to be bestowed, and have we ascertained what the human appeal is, and have we assessed on that basis our determination to supply that need?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I cannot answer the Senator's question accurately without having some definitions, because human needs and aspirations, and so forth, are rather broad concepts

forth, are rather broad concepts.

Mr. PEPPER. I assume there was some basis for the decision which was arrived at.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. PEPPER. It must have been the number of dollars necessary to bring up to a certain level the number of calories

to be supplied to each human being, in accordance with need: or there must have been some criterion.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Certainly.

Mr. PEPPER. I wish to say that I am 100 percent in favor of passage of the joint resolution; but I wish to have it understood that I am in favor of giving the relief to human beings the world over, on the same standard and the same basis, namely, human need, without any political considerations or political preferences entering into the administration of humane assistance on the basis of need. I wish to know whether that is the policy. I base that inquiry upon the limited number of countries that are covered by the provisions of the joint resolution, and the fact that only \$60,-000,000 of the fund is offered for China. which has more than 400,000,000 people. Moreover, I have not heard anything said about India, and yet we hear that millions of the people of India die every year from starvation, nor have I heard anything about some other countries where starvation is prevalent.

If my country is going to provide relief, as it should do, on the basis of meeting the Christian challenge of need, as the Good Samaritan did on the road to Jericho, I wish to have that made plain, because I think that is only Christian

charity. Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I have no idea that such a broad concept is behind this \$350,000,000 measure. I do not think there has been any concept of discrimination in the writing of the joint resolution or in the arrangement of the budget in connection with it; but, on the contrary, the antidiscrimination concept for which the Senator from Florida speaks is specifically asserted in the joint resolution itself as the principle to which it is addressed.

The study of the needs to be served by the joint resolution was, as I understand, essentially and necessarily confined to the liberated areas and the reconstruction areas growing out of the war responsibilities, primarily in Europe, with some attention to Asia. I have previously stated in great detail the studies on the basis of which the figures were arrived at, and I have stated what agencies were involved in making the estimates. They-include agricultural and economic experts attached to our United States embassies abroad; they include the calculations of a committee of experts established by the United Nations; they include the data gathered by a subcommittee of the Economic and Social Council which toured the devastated areas; they include the findings of a number of Food and Agriculture Organization survey missions; and they include the fund of information mobilized from all those areas by the United States Department of Agriculture. Using all of that data and applying a severe test and a severe criterion in respect to needs, because the contemplated subsistence is to be supplied on a level of only approximately from 2,000 to 2,200 calories, as a result of that entire computation and conception, the figures are arrived at on the authority of the United Nations.
Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the

Senator further yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG, I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Are there any countries who obtained relief from UNRRA, but are not included within this program?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think so.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the Senator recall the names of those countries?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I recall one, for instance; I recall Yugoslavia. When I inquired why Yugoslavia is not on the list, the answer was that it is the opinion of our experts that Yugoslavia can be self-sustaining, without any question, from now until the new year, on the basis of her own resources.

Mr. PEPPER. The decision had nothing to do with the political situation in Yugoslavia, as we judge it there; did it?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is my understanding; and I suggest to the Senator, by way of collateral evidence on the subject, that the presence of Poland within the list might give him some reassurance in that respect.

Mr. PEPPER. The reason I raise this question is that I am afraid an impression is being created in the world that money can be obtained from the United States by those who are on the right side politically. That may be all right when a political loan is under consideration; but I do not want anyone to say that when my country is administering to the relief of human suffering, when we are feeding children and furnishing medicine to the ill and furnishing clothing to those who have no apparel, we are letting any other than humane and Christian considerations enter into our decision. I think it is terrifically important for the good name and the honor and the Christian reputation of the United States that that fact be kept absolutely clear in connection with what we do in this matter.

I am a little distressed to find only \$60,000,00 provided for China, for example. I imagine that an accurate survev of conditions in that tragic country would show that millions of children are on the verge of starvation, and that a similar survey will show a corresponding condition in India, and that a similar survey will show a corresponding condition in the Middle East and in many other parts of the world.

I do not want us to play favorites when we are dealing with human beings, Mr. President, because I have always understood that the dignity of man had no consideration for geography or political party.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I should like to get back to my statement in regard to the joint resolution, if I may do so.

Mr. SMITH rose.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH. I should like to make a few remarks when the Senator from Michigan has concluded.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Very well. I hope that will be soon.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield. Mr. McCLELLAN. First, I want to thank the able Senator from Michigan and also the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee for the consideration given to the amendment which was submitted by the able Senator from North Dakota and me.

I have listened to the Senator from Michigan very attentively, trying to understand why the other amendment which I submitted—an amendment with respect to excluding certain countries from receiving any of the benefits provided by this joint resolution—was not acceptable to the committee.

I have also listened with some interest to the statement just made by the able Senator from Florida. Apparently he wants this Government to give our charity to all countries and peoples alike irrespective of any political consideration.

Mr. President, I voted for the Greek-Turkish relief bill a few days ago rather reluctantly. I regretted that it was necessary for us to call on the American people to finance military assistance to countries on the border of some of the nations, whose peoples we now propose to give relief to, while at the same time one of the countries which is applying the pressure on these smaller and weaker nations is spending \$13,000,000,-000 this year for war purposes.

The time has come for us with our limited resources—and our resources are not unlimited—the time has come when we should go down either on one side of the street or the other. We cannot carry the burden of both sides. So far as I am concerned I am unwilling to vote a dollar to those countries which are spending money in possibly preparing for another war. I am unwilling to vote our taxpayers money to help feed the people abroad, when they could, if they would, reduce their military appropriations, as it is proposed we shall reduce ours, and thus have money to feed their people and not expect us to continue to finance their relief needs. Our people want to make contributions and want to help, and want to see the hungry fed and assistance given, but they do not want to assist them in one nation in that way and at the same time have to finance military assistance in another country to resist the pressure from the one to whom we are providing relief aid. There should be some consistency in the policies of this government and in the way we spend taxpayer's money which has come from the sweat and toil and struggle of the citizenship of this Nation.

I remember when the UNRRA bill was before us in February 1944, when we passed the bill creating UNRRA, I said we should limit the authorization to half a billion dollars instead of making it a billion and a half or a billion three hundred and seventy-five million. I felt we could spend a half a billion dollars and gain the experience and know how effectively, how fairly and how justly the money was going to be distributed. I. stated at the time that I did not like the idea of our putting up about 70 percent of the money and turning control of it over to a committee controlled by other governments who were not putting one dollar into the relief fund.

Now we know what happened. We hear the criticisms made of UNRRA today. How poorly it was administered. We are paying now for the mistake. We have spent the money, and it was not effective. We got little, if any, credit for our great contribution to that cause. Now we are asked to play both sides against the middle again.

Mr. President, I am not willing to do that. I am willing to put up some money for relief, but I want us to absolutely control its expenditure. I wish to compliment the committee on the good work it has done on this bill, for the restrictions and safeguards they have written into it. That is the way it should be handled, and with the amendment the committee was kind enough to incorporate in the joint resolution designating that every package, every item, should be labeled and stamped and identified, insofar as possible, so that the recipient of it might know that it came from the United States of America, and that it is our Government that is their benefactor, that it is the United States that is alleviating their hunger and distress.

Often in the past it was our dollars and our goods and our benevolence that saved the lives of people that fed and clothed them while some dictator got the credit for it. Some government foreign to our ideology was given the credit. The people who got the assistance and help we provided had to be subservient to a totalitarian ruler—a dictator, if you please—and he got the credit for the relief and assistance we gave. I am unwilling to squander and waste the substance of this Nation and our tax money in any such fashion. I appreciate the hedging and the restrictions in this joint resolution. We are going to get much better results by handling this relief program ourselves. We will then know where our money goes, what for, and who gets it.

Again I say, we cannot pay both bills, on the one hand to feed the starving, on the other to build up military armaments in other countries to resist pressure that is coming from those very countries whose people we are trying to feed and keep from starving.

I thank the Senator from Michigan.
Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I
am very glad to have yielded to the Senator, and in reply may say that in my
view I think the joint resolution falls
squarely within the definitions he has
mentioned.

I was about to conclude by calling attention categorically to the eight points of difference between the House measure and the Senate committee measure, but I think it will suffice for me to call attention to the fact that the subject is fully covered in the Appendix of the committee report.

I merely wish to say, in conclusion, that the differences between the House joint resolution and the Senate committee measure largely involve the question of the allocation of the funds. The House measure cuts the total to \$200,000,000. From the viewpoint of the Senate committee, from the viewpoint of Mr. Hoover's mission, and from the viewpoint of the departments, that would be totally and utterly inadequate.

Upon the fixing of the final total sum depends the question of whether or not

It is going to be practical to earmark any portion of the money for the so-called children's fund. So I do not see how we can settle these detailed allocations in debate on the floor of the Senate. I am afraid they will have to be settled in conference.

Since these are the only essential differences between the two measures, and since there seems to be little or no disposition on the part of the Senate to retreat from this desperately essential undertaking, I am very hopeful that the Senate will permit us very promptly to go to conference with the joint resolution, so that we can produce the finished product before the end of the week.

The need for haste is obvious. The last UNRRA shipment has gone abroad, I repeat. The program is needed in its major requirements in the immediately approaching period, before the European harvest comes in. We have precious little time to wait to get under way in order to make effective the things which our hearts recommend to us that we do.

Therefore, Mr. President, in conclusion, and thanking all the Senators who have joined in this catechism—and I hope I have displayed no impatience in connection with it—I shall yield the floor, again expressing the hope that we may very promptly take the joint resolution to conference.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, may

I inquire as to whether or not the Senator will press for a vote this afternoon?

Mr. VANDENBERG, I should like very much to get a vote this afternoon.

I know of only one amendment that is

pending.

Mr. ELLENDER. I should like to have the joint resolution go lover, if possible, until tomorrow, as I should like to study it. I have not had that opportunity. I am concerned about whether or not the proposal is really and truly a relief measure. It had been my impression, from reading the press and from listening to radio commentators on the subject that the authorization was in the nature of a relief proposal in aid of hungry people, but as the distinguished Senator from Michigan has stated, only 15 or 20 percent of the entire sum to be appropriated will be used for the indigent, and the rest of the goods, materials, and supplies, will be channeled through the regular commercial trade in the countries where the goods and supplies will be made available. Let us not overlook the fact that these supplies are in the nature of gifts from the American people to those in need and under no circumstances should they be used to make the rich more potent. My fear is that these goods will be sold in the black market and those really in need and for whose benefit we are willing to make the sacrifice will never be able to obtain them.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I should like to interrupt the Senator again on that point. I cannot conceive that the only definition of relief is service to those who are utterly indigent and penniless. If the Statler Hotel is on fire, it is quite as much relief to take from the eighth floor and put in a place of safety somebody who can pay for his room as it is to put in a place of safety somebody who is

sleeping in the back alley. I submit that relief is not necessarily service solely to the indigent. On the contrary, I submit that when an entire nation finds itself cut off from sources of fundamental food supplies it is not a question of whether one can or cannot pay for food; the question is that nobody can get food; and under those circumstances relief is just as important for one citizen as it is for another.

It seems to me the misconception under which the Senator labors is that because the joint resolution does not contemplate relief solely for those who are in poorhouses it ceases to be a relief measure. I cannot agree to that concept at all.

Mr. ELLENDER. I beg to differ with the distinguished Senator. I believe that the American people themselves are of the opinion and are under the impression. at any rate, that since we are donating. as it were, \$350,000,000 in supplies, it is in the nature of a gift to those who are needy as I have previously stated. But from what I have been able to learn this afternoon, the greater portion of the supplies will be distributed through wholesale and retail establishments, where profits will be the motive and few, if any, of these supplies will hit the mark. I am wondering if there is not some way by which we could make it possible to trace the goods and see to it that they are made available to the needy at a fair price. As I have indicated, I am quite certain that the American people are supporting us in our efforts in making the funds available, because they are of the view that the money and supplies should be utilized in feeding and supplying the hungry and needy. I simply ask that the bill go over so that I may study it overnight and determine if something cannot be done to amend the bill so as to give assurance that the funds and the supplies will find their way to the people who are really in need of them and for whom we are attempting to provide.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the Senator now reiterates that he wants the relief to feed the hungry. I assert that there is nothing in this measure to feed anybody except the hungry. But I also insist that a person can be hungry without being indigent. I also insist that the only civilization to be saved on this earth is not the civilization of the gutter; the higher forms of civilization must be saved, too.

Mr. President, I should like to accommodate the Senator from Louisiana insofar as I can, but it seems to me, and I respectfully suggest to my able friend, it is hardly fair to ask that the entire enterprise shall be suspended for his further study, in view of the fact that the joint resolution has at least the partial approval of the House of Representatives; in view of the fact that we have got to have a rather extensive conference ultimately to conclude the measure in its finality; and in view of the fact that every day is of pressing importance in behalf of the very thing that my able friend wants to do; namely, to feed the hungry. I suggest to him that I would like to proceed.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I do not desire to unduly delay the passage.

of the resolution, but, as the Senator knows, this body has been busy for the past 3 weeks with the labor bill. I am a member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and I have devoted much of my time to the labor bill. I want to be frank in saying that I have not had the opportunity to study the pending bill. It is only from questions put to the able Senator from Michigan this afternoon that certain information was elicited which I had not previously possessed. While I know the Senator does not agree with me, I believe, as I said, that it might be possible to find some way to assure that the supplies will find their way into the hands_of people who are really in need, not only as indigents, but who have some funds with which to purchase them. That is why I would like to examine the joint resolution and study it, if but for a few hours. That is all I am asking. I think I am entitled to it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I was wondering if, under the circumstances, the Senator from Louisiana, or any other Senator, would have objection to a unanimous-consent agreement that we vote tomorrow at 2 o'clock on any pending amendments, and on the joint reso-

lution itself.

Mr. ELLENDER. I would have no objection.

Mr. VANDENBERG. May I submit the unanimous-consent request?

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I have no objection to such a unanimous-consent agreement, of course, but since I was not able to be present at all the hearings of the Committee on Foreign Relations on the pending measure, having been engaged in the Finance Committee's hearings on the tax bill, I should like to ask the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee whether it was indicated that any further appropriation for relief in 1947 was contemplated, for any of the war-devastated countries, or for any other country.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have heard no suggestion whatever regarding any appropriations or requests beyond the pending measure; except, the Senator will recall, there is a project for a children's fund which has not yet come down to the Congress. The Senator is familiar with the fact that the United Nations

set up a children's fund.

Mr. GEORGE. Yes; I am familiar with that; but I meant general appropriations for relief of war-devastated countries. If I understand it correctly, the joint resolution applies only to countries that were devastated by the war.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. GEORGE. And it is for the year

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. GEORGE. Is any further appro-

priation contemplated?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am afraid to answer the Senator categorically, because there are so many different kinds of bills being discussed. Does the Senator have in mind the program for the rehabilitation of Korea? I hear some discussion about a rehabilitation program for Korea, in respect to our occupational areas there, I know nothing about it, except the general information on the subject. I would not think that was the kind of thing the Senator had in

Mr. GEORGE. I did not. I had in contemplation appropriations for relief. This is not a measure for rehabilitation

at all, as I understand it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. It is specifically otherwise.

Mr. GEORGE. It is a measure for relief, and it is strictly confined to relief

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. GEORGE. Within war-devastat-

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. GEORGE. I wished to know if there was any indication that the Congress would be asked to make any further appropriations of that character for the current year, at least. I suppose no one in the hearings could see beyond this

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have heard nothing of the sort. I will ask the Senator from Texas if he has heard of any-

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I know of no general relief proposals. Of course, a number of countries have made applications for loans to the Import-Export Bank.

Mr. GEORGE. I am not speaking of

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator refers to appropriations similar to the pending measure?

Mr. GEORGE. I refer to similar relief appropriations.

Mr. CONNALLY. I know of none.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I know of none. Mr. GEORGE. I inquired, because if there is not a limitation in some way on commitment of our Government to general relief all over the earth, which certain of the Senators in the discussion this afternoon have seemed to endorse, then we are headed toward a program that I do not think we could live up to, at all.

It must be remembered that appropriations of this character reduce the actual wealth of the Nation. They are bound to reduce the actual wealth of our economy. It does not make any difference whether our producers, on the farm, in the factory, or in the mine, get back the dollars for the production; if nothing is brought back from the countries abroad we are becoming poorer every time we make appropriations of this sort. Ultimately that course would lead to bankruptcy.

I think it highly important that it be made clear in the record that so far as the committee is advised at least, no further like appropriations for relief are contemplated for the current year. I think it also should be made explicit and clear, as indeed the language of the bill itself indicates, that this is not a mandatory requirement for an appropriation of \$350,000,000. It is simply an authorization for an appropriation not to exceed that amount, and the discretion is still within the appropriating committees of the two Houses.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is correct.

Mr. WHERRY .- Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. On page 9, line 3, appears the date when transfers of supplies or establishment of credits shall cease. That date is June 30, 1948.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. WHERRY. Can the senior Senator from Michigan assure us that investigations will be made continuously in the countries to which relief is given, so that after the harvests this year a recapitulation may be made of what is available, so that perhaps appropriations might be reduced?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think that under the terms of the joint resolution the Appropriations Committee itself would have the right to demand that information, because certainly the resolution it-

self contemplates such a result.
Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, what was the ruling with respect to the unanimous-consent request?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I. think a definite hour should be fixed. I think there are no further speeches to be made on the subject, except several brief ones.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] desires to speak on the subject.

Mr. VANDENBERG. There is plenty of time. I want the Senator from New Jersey to speak on the subject. I should like to have the ultimate time for voting on the measure fixed now, if that can be done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan has made a unanimous-consent request that the Senate vote at an hour certain on the pending measure. The request cannot be agreed to until the presence of a quorum has been established.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I should like to be heard on the subject tomorrow at some convenient time.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think there will be plenty of time for everyone who wishes to speak. I believe the Senator from New Jersey will complete what he has to say this afternoon.

Mr. KEM. I simply did not want a unanimous-consent agreement to be entered into which did not contemplate an opportunity for me to be heard.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. WHERRY. Is it necessary that the presence of a quorum be established in connection with a request for unanimous consent to fix an hour upon which a joint resolution or a bill shall be voted on for final passage?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair was just going to ask whether there was objection to the waiving of the call of the roll to establish a quorum. Is there objection to the waiving of the roll? The Chair hears none.

The question, then, is on the unanimous-consent request made by the senior Senator from Michigan to fix the hour for a vote upon the measure at 2:30 o'clock tomorrow afternoon.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I should like to ask a question.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I suggest the hour of 2 p. m. tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan suggests that the hour for voting be 2 o'clock tomorrow

Mr. McCLELLAN. Under whose control will the time be between now and then?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not know with whom to divide the time. I do not know who is opposed to the joint resolu-

Mr. McCLELLAN. That is what I want to determine. I should probably like to speak for a little while on the measure and perhaps offer an amendment, but I do not want to consume a great deal of time.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me assure the Senator from Arkansas that he will be recognized tomorrow.

Mr. McCLELLAN. That is all I wanted to be certain of.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request made by the Senator from Michigan that the Senate proceed to vote on the pending measure at 2 o'clock p. m. tomorrow? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

The unanimous-consent agreement was reduced to writing, as follows:

Ordered, That on the calendar day of Wednesday, May 14, 1947, at the hour of 2 p. m., the Senate proceed, without further debate, to vote upon any amendment that may be pending, or that may subsequently be proposed, to the committee amendment to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war; and immediately thereafter upon the committee amendment, whether amended or not, and upon the final passage of the joint resolution as

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I desire to address myself to the subject at hand in order to elaborate slightly on what the distinguished Senator from Michigan has said. As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee I take this occasion to commend most highly the splendid presentation which the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] has made of this matter. Having had some experience in the First World War with relief work, having participated in the relief work in Belgium, with which all the people of our country were familiar, I think in our committee meetings we have worked out the answer to every one of the objections made this afternoon on the floor and particularly the objections-I shall not say objections, but questions raised by the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER 1.

I can say to him from practical experience that it is necessary to feed wealthy people as well as poor people when they do not have food, and when payment can be secured from wealthy people in the local currency of the country in which the dealings are made, a revolving fund is provided to help everyone over and over again. In our Belgian experience we were able by that means not only to take care of all the indigent poor people, but the entire population, and there was left finally a considerable sum which was placed in an educational fund with which the Senator from Louisiana is familiar, which has done much good in promoting business and other relations between America and Belgium.

There is no reason why we should use the funds provided under this measure only for the purpose of feeding the poor, because when there is no food in a country everyone in it is poor. The people do not have American dollars with which to pay for food. Everyone pays in local currency, and under the bill the money paid is placed in a special fund which is used as a revolving fund, in order to take care of increasing relief needs.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SMITH. I yield.
Mr. BARKLEY. I wish merely to associate myself with what the Senator from New Jersey has stated, and with what the Senator from Michigan has outlined in his very fine presentation. All of us regret the necessity for appropriating funds for a purpose of this sort, although we recognize that there is a necessity for it, and that in doing so we are undertaking to conserve some degree of economic stability and contentment among people upon whose contentment, and stability world peace may

I feel very happy over the broad-minded approach to this subject by the Committee on Foreign Relations, which resulted in the report on the pending legislation, as well as on all the subjects that have come before that committee on an international basis, including the report on the Greek-Turkish loans, and the unanimous report of the committee on the Italian and other treaties made the other day.

I think we all recognize that there has been forced upon our Government and our people, due to causes which we all understand, a leadership, not simply in a political sense but in an economic sense, which we cannot avoid. We cannot escape it without running the great risk of contributing to world disorder, which will involve us no less than the nations we are trying to help.

Not only do I appreciate the very able statesmanship exhibited by the Senator from Michigan in connection with the joint resolution before the Senate, but I want to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to all the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, without regard to politics, for having approached this subject and dealt with it in a statesmanlike way, however, unpleasant it may be. There are many things which are good which we must do as individuals and as a nation, which are not altogether pleasant for us to do. but when we face the duty and the obligation I think we have the courage and the foresight and the good judgment to do the thing that is essential, not only for the benefit of suffering people but indirectly, if not directly in our own behalf, as a part of a world which must rely upon cooperation and upon economic and political stability if the peace is to be maintained.

Mr. SMITH. I thank the Senator from Kentucky for his comments.

Mr. President, I have been waiting for some time to speak for about 10 minutes on the pending joint resolution. The distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCarthy] told me that he had a matter to present. He wishes to catch a train, and I do not desire to delay matters. I should like to get through so that the Senator from Wisconsin may catch his train. However, he has been so courteous to me that if it is necessary for him to speak for a few minutes now in order to make his train, I shall be glad to yield to him, if I may have the floor as soon as he has finished.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I shall speak for only a few minutes. I shall be glad to wait until the Senator has concluded.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I am in entire accord with what the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] has said. I do not believe that I need to elaborate further on the crisis in the world and the need for this relief.

I notice that the House has reduced the amount from the \$350,000,000 originally asked for in the estimates of the State Department as our share of this relief. to \$200,000,000. I should like to go on record as urging the Senate to restore the \$350,000,000 figure in order that that figure may be in conference and we may try to maintain it in our dealings with the conferees on the part of the House.

I should like to call attention to two questions relating to this subject, which I believe belong in the RECORD as a part of this discussion. The first has already been referred to by the distinguished Senator from Michigan. It has to do with the so-called Children's International Emergency Fund of the United Nations. That fund has been established. We have theoretical participation in that fund to the extent of 50 percent of the total. It was my hope, if we could get the \$350,000,000 appropriation, that \$50.000,000 could be earmarked as our share of the children's fund. I was prepared to offer an amendment to that effect, which would be in line with the language in the House version of the joint resolution. However, because of the fact that the House passed the joint resolution authorizing only \$200,000,000, and that we must confer as to the amount, I shall not offer my amendment now. I merely wish to go on record as favoring the use of the fund to provide our share of the children's international emergency relief, and I hope that the total authorization which emerges from the conference will be adequate to take . care of it.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] indicated a few minutes ago

that he does not feel it would be proper for any further requests for relief of this kind to come before the Congress this year. If that should be the case, and if the children's fund should not be taken care of, I wish to make it clear that that particular character of relief cannot be continued because those in charge of it will be unable to continue their work unless they have the necessary funds. So either the necessary provision should appear in the joint resolution as it finally comes from conference, so that the children's fund will be taken care of and our commitment to the United Nations will be fulfilled, or there must be an attempt to obtain a further appropriation, which I think would be very difficult under the existing circumstances.

There is one further matter about which I wish to speak before I take my seat. It has to do with the entire relief program. In this connection, I shall offer a minor amendment.

I have had called to my attention by the American Council of Voluntary Agencies Engaged in Shipping Relief Supplies Abroad the fact that during the 9 months from April 1 to December 1, 1946, this group of voluntary agencies, headed by the American Friends Service Committee, and including a number of other agencies, the names of which I shall place in the Record, has furnished food to the amount of \$38,000,000. I have further figures showing that in the first quarter of 1947 the same group of voluntary organizations furnished food, in cash or in kind, through voluntary contributions, amounting to more than \$39,000,000.

This group has come to us to ask for assistance along a certain line. What these agencies do is to obtain supplies in kind. They obtain donations from producers and processors of food. What they lack is the cash for transportation. They have asked our committee and the State Department if they would be willing to make an allotment of \$5,000,000 in order to pay transportation costs of foodstuffs, in order to increase the outpouring of gifts to the nationals of various countries.

I have spoken to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations with regard to the amendment, and I have taken it up with the State Department. I shall send the amendment to the desk, but first I wish to read it for the RECORD.

On page 10, after line 14, it is proposed to insert the following subsection:

(e) In order to supplement the general relief assistance made available under the terms of section 1, and to effect the economical and expanded use of American voluntary relief contributions, funds appropriated pursuant to this joint resolution, not to exceed \$5,000,000, may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the ocean transportation of supplies donated to or purchased by American voluntary and non-profit relief agencies, and in such quantities and kinds and for such purposes as the President may determine to be essential supplements to the supplies provided for such general relief assistance.

The purpose of offering the amendment is to give assistance to those voluntary agencies, and to indicate to them that we are enthusiastic about the work they are doing, the appeals they are making, and the spirit of cooperation in the relief work being done all over the United States, and to give the agencies our blessing, so to speak, in the work they are doing.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SMITH. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Will the Senator indicate to me, first, speaking generally, what \$5,000,000 in transportation charges would represent in value of delivered relief?

Mr. SMITH. Those agencies have advised me that for every dollar of transportation charge they feel that they can deliver \$10 in relief. In other words, it is a ten-for-one proposal in furnishing help.

I invite the attention of the Senator to the fact which I mentioned a moment ago, that already, in the first quarter of 1947, these agencies have furnished, in cash or commodities sent abroad, \$39,000,000. It would require only a little more to bring the amount up to \$50,000,000, which would represent a ratio of 10 to 1 as compared with the \$5,000,000 transportation charges called for by the suggested allocation.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Are these voluntary relief organizations already coordinated and working through one organized center?

Mr. SMITH. That is correct. The organized center is known as the American Council of Voluntary Agencies Engaged in Shipping Relief Supplies Abroad. If the Senator desires, I can read the names of the various agencies. I propose to place the list in the Record, showing the supplies which they furnished in 1946 and the supplies they are furnishing in 1947, and the countries to which they have sent supplies, indicating the amount of cash and commodities in all cases.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I wish the Senator would place that information in the Record. I can think of nothing more logical or rational than to use \$5,000,000 of this appropriation—assuming that the total appropriation is available—to produce \$38,000,000 or \$40,000,000 worth of relief. That is my idea of a bargain. So far as I am concerned, if the Senator will offer his amendment, personally I shall be very glad to urge that it be accepted and taken to conference, where we can give it the more intimate study which the Foreign Relations Committee itself was unable to give it.

Mr. SMITH. I thank the Senator for his kind remarks. I am very glad to offer my amendment and send it to the deek

In closing, I should like to read a brief statement which was presented to me by this group of relief organizations with regard to this important question. The statement is as follows:

Memorandum from: Robertson M. Fort, of Church World Service, and Edward O'Connor, of War Relief Services of National Catholic Welfare Conference, representing the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. Subject: Amendment to House Joint Resolution 153 (providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war) making available free ocean freight for the relief supplies of private agencies.

One of the greatest problems facing the American voluntary agencies is the excessive outlay of funds to cover ocean freight for relief supplies shipped abroad. The American public has become increasingly responsive to campaigns for gifts-in-kind. These campaigns have produced large volumes of supplies, such as food, clothing, medicines, seeds. Commercial firms, processors of food and clothing, are coming forward with offers to donate their products for the succor of the needy abroad. Thus H. J. Heinz Co. contributed some three million cans of baby food to the American Friends Service Committee and donated as many more as were bought by the public between April 7 and 12. Textile firms have similar offers under consideration. The limiting factor in campaigning for and securing a greater volume of contributed supplies has been the lack of sufficient funds to cover ocean freight. For example, one agency was offered a thousand cars of grain; but it would have cost a million dollars to ship the grain abroad. For lack of funds to pay the ocean freight, the offer had to be refused.

For every dollar of free-freight, \$10 worth of critically needed supplies could be made available for foreign relief.

I may say that that statement answers the question raised by the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

There is now being organized among the American voluntary agencies with large constituencies in rural areas an agency known as Rural Overseas Relief. The first purpose of this agency is to secure larger contributions in kind of such items as grain, flour, cereals, cotton, seeds, and livestock. If ocean freight were guaranteed for contributions from this source the flow of voluntary relief would be greatly swelled.

It is the earnest hope of all the agencies

It is the earnest hope of all the agencies represented in the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service that this provision could be made without in any way reducing the full appropriation of \$350,000,000 so desperately needed for relief abroad. In their opinion, this amendment would result in a substantially increased measure of relief to these stricken peoples.

Mr. President, as the Senator from Michigan has said, it seems to me that it is a kind of encouragement that we give to those groups who continue the wonderful work which they have been doing, to encourage them to help their nationals.

In closing, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Record two tables, one of which shows the relief shipments made by the American Council of Voluntary Agencies in the period from April 1 to December 31, 1946, a period of 9 months, approximating a total of \$38,000,000. The other table shows what was shipped by the same group in the first quarter of 1947, showing a total in commodities and in cash of some \$39,000,000.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Dollar value of relief sent abroad during March 1947 by American agencies voluntarily recorded with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid 1

*	Total cash and com- moditics sent abroad		
Country	During March	1947—First quarter	
Europe: Belgium_ Bulgaria_ Czeehoslovakia_ Denmark_	\$286, 390 13, 475 295, 219 91, 034	\$572, 109 31, 120 . 1, 330, 321 105, 400	
Finland France Greece Hungary Italy Latvia	91, 034 153, 259 866, 891 392, 398 1, 287, 735 445, 814	105, 400 424, 327 1, 738, 192 1, 756, 672 3, 664, 268 3, 254, 979 44	
Lithuania Luxemburg Malta Netherlands Norway	4, 952 29 71, 377 17, 029 208, 206 5, 199	16 4, 952 29 253, 007 168, 625 4, 623, 367	
Poland Portugal Russia Rumania Spain Sweden Switzerland	1, 751, 661 56, 800	39, 249 784, 713 2, 052, 436 31, 280 95, 502 86, 334	
United KingdomYugoslaviaEurope—General ² Oecupied areas: Austria.	30, 238 69, 071 421, 601 260, 067 996, 779	201, 977 452, 385 699, 137 2, 670, 937	
Germany 3 Japan Korea Far East: Burma	2, 888, 501 179, 601	9, 007, 308 461, 761 4, 552 50, 322	
China	1, 909 100, 870	1, 608, 100 566, 887 2, 304 7, 093 38, 138 213, 908 4, 668	
Asia—General 2 Near East: Iran Lebanon and Syria	2, 740 8, 240 1, 172, 027	1, 901 16, 506 68, 487 1, 739, 144	
Palestine Turkey Central and South America: Argentina Bollvia Brazil Chile	844 156 728 707	6, 218 2, 512 468 2, 935 3, 232	
Colomhia Mexico Paraguay Uruguay Venezuela Central and South Amer-	7, 788 18, 577 917	301 15, 217 21, 977 1, 705 101	
ica—general 2 Africa: Algiers Egypt	16, 105 2, 199 8, 136	73, 364 2, 228 11, 136	
Libya Tunis Africa—general West Indies:	8, 136 2, 744 2, 551 219 2, 384	11, 136 10, 996 2, 551 558 41, 757	
Cuba Haitt Jamaica Puerto Rico	899 890 1, 696 3, 279	899 890 1, 846 4, 035	

SUMMARY				
Europe Occupied areas. Far East. Near East Central and South America Africa West Indies Grand total	\$6, 966, 309 4, 064, 881 833, 044 1, 183, 618 45, 822 18, 233 6, 764 13, 118, 671	\$22, 370, 441 12, 144, 558 2, 493, 321 1, 830, 355 121, 812 69, 226 7, 670 39, 037, 383		

¹ Report does not include cash transferred or goods shipped by American Art Federation, American Friends of France, Save the Children Federation, and the Church World Service, from whom no reports or incomplete reports were received.

2 Transferred to agencies' general stock piles, allocations to specific countries to be made later.

3 For benefit of German nationals and displaced persons in Germany.

Members of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies engaged in shipping relief supplies abroad (not limited to one country)

		Expenditure for relief	
Agency	Period covered	Purchased goods	Goods in kind
American Friends Service Committee American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc Brethren Service Committee Church World Service, Inc. Committee on Christian Science Wartime Activities of Mother Church. International Committee of YWCA. International Reseue and Relief Committee, Inc. Lutheran World Relief, Inc. Mennonite Central Committee Near East Foundation. Salvation Army Save the Children Federation, Inc. Unitarian Service Committee War Relief Services, National Catholic Welfare Conference World Student Service Fund.	Apr. 1 to Nov. 30, 1946 Apr. 1 to Dec. 31, 1946 dodo	62, 783 106, 853 107, 951 5, 000 174, 277 42, 502 257, 928	\$1, 094, 155 1, 340, 291' 50, 000 2, 304, 932 575, 527 219, 775 29, 528 1, 710, 940 1, 166, 900 441, 605 172, 062 587, 461 435, 518 8, 811, 168
Total		19, 215, 084	18, 939, 862

Note.—9 months equals approximately \$38,000,000.

PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH]

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 10, after line 14, it is proposed to insert the following new subsection:

(e) In order to supplement the general relief assistance made available under the terms of section 1, and to effect the economical and expanded use of American voluntary relief contributions, funds appropriated pursuant to this joint resolution, not to exceed \$5,000,000, may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the ocean transportation of supplies donated to or purchased by American voluntary and nonprofit relief agencies, and in such quantities and kinds and for such purposes as the President may determine to be essential supplements to the supplies provided for such general relief assistance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from New Jersey.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. MORSE rose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCarthy] is recognized.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, is the Chair following the rule of the Senate with reference to recognizing the Senator who first addresses the Chair?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. As the Chair understands the Senator from Wisconsin had the floor. He yielded to the Senator from New Jersey. The Senator from Wisconsin was on his feet, and that is the reason that the Chair recognized him.

Mr. MORSE. I accept the explanation of the Presiding Officer; but from now on in, for the duration of the Eightieth Congress, the junior Senator from Oregon will always object to recognizing Members on the basis of any list the Presiding Officer may have.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will say for the information of the Senator from Oregon that it was understood that the Senator from Wisconsin must catch a train, and he yielded to the Senator from New Jersey. The Senator from New Jersey asked the Senator from Wisconsin if he cared to speak, and the Senator from Wisconsin said that he would delay his speech for a few minutes.

Mr. MORSE. I shall always be willing myself to yield to the Senator from Wisconsin under those circumstances.

SUGAR CONTROL

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I shall not address the Senate on the resolution which it has been considering and which is in charge of the able Senator from Michigan. I did not plan to speak until after the vote on the pending resolution; but since it has been agreed that a vote will not be taken before tomorrow at 2 o'clock, and since apparently no Senators desire to speak on the resolu-tion at this time, I should like to address the Senate briefly.

The President of the United States has recently been talking much about the necessity of cutting down the high cost of living I should like to point out that one of the branches of the execu-tive departments over which the President has absolute control is doing everything possible to increase the high cost of living to a great mass of people in the lower-income brackets, especially those with large families I refer to the Sugar Rationing Division of the Department of Agriculture.

In this connection I should like to read a few brief excerpts from some news stories. The first one which I shall read is an Associated Press story published on May 10, as follows

The Evening Sun stated today "A survey of the port shows a glut of approximately 10,000,000 pounds of sugar in Baltimore warehouses and an acute shortage of storage space."

I continue the quotation:

"The port of Baltimore is bulying at the seams with sugar."

On April 18, the New York Times carried a story to the effect that sugar distributors were selling sugar at as much as 25 cents a hundred pounds below the Department of Agriculture's price ceiling, and that the principal reason for the price cut-back is the backing up of supplies in the hands of industrial users.

On the 28th day of April, the Journal of Commerce carried a story to the effect that one large wholesaler, Sucrest Corp by name, had reduced its price to \$7.95, with the statement that the sugar-control agencies were shipping sugar into the

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DIGEST OF

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE	•	Issued May 15, 19	147
Division of Legislative Reports	• • •	For actions of May 14, 19	
(For Department staff only)		Soth-1st, No.	
,	OMMERTICO		

CONTENTS

Accounting	Fisheries21	Potatoes 8
Appropriations8	Foreign affairs 1	Prices, farm18
Crop insurance:7,13	Forests and forestry 9	Public works
Dairy industry18	Labor6,12	Quarantine, animal 4
Education20	Lands11	Regional authorities17
	Livestock and meat 4	
Expenditures25	Nominations5	Soil conservation23
Federal aid20	Payments in lieu of	Taxation 3
	taxes9	
	•,	

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate passed bill authorizing \$350,000,000 relief for war devastated areas. Senate debated National Science Foundation bill. Sen. Hatch inserted Secretary Anderson's milk-prices speech. House committee voted to place crop insurance on experimental basis; bill introduced by Rep. Hill.

SENATE

- 1. FOREIGN RELIEF. Passed with amendments H. J. Res. 153, authorizing appropriations for relief of war-devastated countries (pp. 5367-82). Rejected, 19-64, the Kem amendment to authorize \$200,000,000; and agreed, 79-4, to the committee substitute for the House bill (with certain amendments), authorizing \$350,000,000 (p. 5382). Agreed to a Vandenberg amendment authorizing RFC to advance \$75,000,000 until an appropriation is made (p. 5372). Sens. Vandenberg, Wiley, Smith, Connally, and George; and Reps. Eaton, Vorys, Mundt, Bloom, and Kee were appointed conferces (pp. 5382, 5433).
- 2. RESEARCH. Began debate on S. 526, to create a National Science Foundation (pp. 5382, 5385-97, 5400-2).
- 3. TAXATION. The Finance Committee reported with amendments H. R. 1, to reduce individual income taxes (S. Rept. 173)(p. 5366).
- 4. FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE. Received this Department's report on progress of the control of this disease in Mexico. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee.

 (p. 5365.)
- 5. NOMINATION. Confirmed the nomination of William E. Warne to be Assistant Secretary of the Interior (p. 5400).

 Received the nomination of Robert A. Lovett to be Under Secretary of State (p. 5410).

HOUSE

portal-to-portal pay bill. In the message he recommended increasing the minimum

"to many persons not now protected by the law! (pp. 5418-9, 5369; H.Doc.247.)

- 7. CROR INSURANCE. The Agriculture Committee voted to introduce and report a bill placing crop insurance on an experimental basis (p. D246). This bill was introduced later in the day by Rep. Hill (Colo.), chairman of the Subcommittee on Crop Insurance (see Bills Introduced).
- 3. STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE, AND JUDICIARY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1943. Continued debate on this bill, H.R. 3311 (pp. 5419-47). During the debate, Rep. Shafer, Mich., spoke in favor of processing surplus potatoes into potato flour as a means of solving the potato-surplus problem, and asked early consideration of his resolution to provide for a study of the problem (pp. 5438-9).
- 9. NATIONAL FORESTS. The Agriculture Committee reported without amendment H.R. 1826, to make it a petty offense to enter any national-forest land while it is closed to the public (H.Rept. 385) (p. 5450).

closed to the public (H.Rent. 385) (p. 5450).

Ren. McDonough, Galif., spoke in favor of his bill, H.R. 2030, to authorize annual payments to the States, Territories, and insular governments by the Federal Government based on the fair value of national-forest lands situated therein, and inserted a Calif. Legislature resolution requesting such action (pp. 5416-7).

- 10. AUDIT REPORT. Received from the GAO the audit reports of the Export-Import Bank for the fiscal year 1945 and 1946 (H. Docs. 248 and 249) (pp. 5449-50).
- 11. LANDS. The Agriculture Committee reported without amendment H.R. 195, to authorize the Department to sell a former agriculture experiment station site in Sitka, Alaska to the city of Sitka, Alaska (H. Rept. 384) (p. 5450).
- 12. LABOR. Reps. Hartley, Landis, Hoffman, Kesinski, and Barden were appointed conferees on H.R. 3020, the labor-management bill (p. 5413). Senate conferees were appointed May 13.

BILLS INTRODUCED

- 13. CROP INSURANCE. H.R. 3465, by Rep. Hill, Colo., to amend the Federal Crop Insurance Act by placing crop insurance on an experimental basis. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 5450.)
- 14. ACCOUNTING. H.R. 3461, by Rep. Hoffman, Mich. (by request), to establish a procedure for facilitating the payment of certain Government checks. To Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee. (p. 5450.)
- 15. PUBLIC WORKS. H.Res. 211, by Rep. Dondero, Mich., authorizing and directing the Public Works Committee to conduct surveys of certain works of improvement. To Rules Committee. (p. 5450.)
- 16. FOREIGN TRADE. S. 1257, by Sen. Brewster, Maine, to change the hame of the U.S. Tariff Commission to "the United States Foreign Trade Board" and to vest additional authority in the Board. To Finance Committee. (p. 5366.) Remarks of author (pp. 5397-9).
- 17. T.V.A. S. 1277, by Sen. McKellar, Tenn., "to amond the Tennessee Valley Authorty Act." To Public Works Committee. (p. 5366.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

18. MILK PRICES. Sen. Hatch. N.Mex., inserted Secretary Anderson's recent address

national defense; and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table

and to be printed.

Mr. KILGORE (for himself, Mr. AIKEN, and Mr. O'MAHONEY) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (S. 526) to promote the progress of science; to advance the national health, prosperity, and welfare; to secure the national defense; and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. KILGORE (for himself, Mr. AIKEN, Mr. Magnuson, and Mr. McGrath) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them, jointly to the bill (S. 526) to promote the progress of science; to advance the national health, prosperity, and welfare; to secure the national defense; and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the

table and to be printed.

Mr. MAGNUSON (for himself and Mr. FULBRIGHT) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (S. 526) to promote the progress of science; to advance the national health, prosperity, and welfare; to secure the national defense; and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the

table and to be printed.

Mr. TAFT (for himself, Mr. Pepper, and Mr. Magnuson) submitted amendments intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (S. 526) to promote the progress of science; to advance the national health, prosperity, and welfare; to secure the national defense, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

RENT CONTROL-AMENDMENT

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit an amendment intended to be proposed by me to the bill (S. 1017) providing for the temporary continuation of rent control, transferring rent control to the Housing Expediter, providing for the creation of local advisory boards on rent control, and for other hurposes, which contains a feature that is found in House bill 3203, which was recently passed by the House. I request that the amendment be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment submitted by the Senator from New Jersey will be received, printed, and will lie on the

table.

MEETINGS OF COMMITTEES DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two subcommittees of the Committee on the Judiciary be permitted to sit during the session of the Senate today.

One subcommittee is considering the nomination of Thomas Vincent Quinn to be Assistant Attorney General, and the other subcommittee is considering Senate bill/104, the antimonopoly bill.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. Fercuson], who is presiding over the submittees, feels that these hearings should not be postponed due to the fact that there are a number of witnesses from out of town.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, permission is granted.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules and Administration may meet this afternoon at 2:30 o'clock.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the order is made.

MILK PRICES IN AGRICULTURE'S PAT-TERN—ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

[Mr. HATCH asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address on milk prices in agriculture's pattern, delivered by the Hon. Clinton P. Anderson, Secretary of Agriculture, before a testimonial dinner sponsored by the Schoharie County Democratic Committee, Schoharie, N. Y., on May 13, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

SPECIAL PRIVILEGE AND THE PRESS-EDITORIAL FROM ARIZONA DAILY STAR

[Mr. McFARLAND asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "Special Privilege and the Press," published in the May 6, 1947, issue of the Arizona Daily Star, which appears in the Appendix.]

STOP THE FEDERAL "BUROCRACY"—AN EDITORIAL FROM THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

[Mr. McFARLAND asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Stop the Federal 'Burocracy'," published in a recent issue of the Chicago Tribune, which appears in the Appendix.]

SECRECY AND SCIENCE—EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

[Mr. McMAHON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "Secrecy and Science," published in the New York Times of Monday, May 12, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

RELIEF ASSISTANCE FOR COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate is operating today under a unanimous-consent agreement, which will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Ordered, That on the calendar day of Wednesday, May 14, 1947, at the hour of 2 p. m., the Senate proceed, without further debate, to vote upon any amendment that may be pending, or that may subsequently be proposed, to the committee amendment to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war; and immediately thereafter upon the committee amendment, whether amended or not, and upon the final passage of the joint resolution as amended.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment as amended.

Mr. KEM obtained the floor.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may suggest the absence of a quorum?

Mr. KEM. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Hatch Morse Hawkes Hayden Hickenlooper Hill Murray Myers O'Conor O'Daniel Brewster Hoey Holland Bridges O'Mahoney Brooks Pepper Ives
Jenner
Johnson, Colo.
Johnston, S. C. Buck Robertson, Va. Robertson, Wyo. Bushfield Butler Byrd Cain Capper Russell Saltonstall Kilgore Knowland Lodge Smith Chavez Connally Sparkman Taft Cooper Cordon Lucas McCarthy McClellan Taylor Thomas, Okla. Thye Donnell McFarland McGrath Tydings Umstead Downey Dworshak Eastland McKellar Vandenberg Ecton McMahon Watkins Magnuson Malone Wherry White Ellender Ferguson Wiley Williams Fulbright Martin Maybank Millikin George Green Gurney Moore Young

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Baldwin] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Langer] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Tobey] is necessarily absent because of illness in his family.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. REVERCOMB] is necessarily absent.

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCarran], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Stewart] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas] and the Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDENT protempore. Eightyfour Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, at the outset of what I have to say, I want to commend the Committee on Foreign Relations, and particularly its able and distinguished chairman, for the work done to safeguard the expenditure of such sums as may be appropriated at this time for relief assistance. For this, I have nothing but praise. It is concerning the amount of the grant that I rise to speak. The joint resolution as passed in the House provides for an appropriation for relief assistance in the sum of \$200,000,000. This has been increased in the Senate measure to \$350,000,000.

The idea of a human being anywhere in the world without sufficient to eat wrings the heartstrings of every one of us. The American people, always generous and sympathetic, now enjoying a period of unexampled abundance, will not turn a deaf ear to such an appeal. There can be no question that an urgent necessity for food exists today in many places in Europe, Asia, and perhaps elsewhere in the world. There is nothing new or unusual about this. Unfortunately, it has occurred at many places and at many times in the world's history. The only thing new or novel about the present situation is the idea which has grown up in recent years that such situations should be met, not by voluntary charity, but by taxes to be levied upon the American taxpayer.

The important question for Congress to decide on the pending measure is how far this burden can wisely and fairly be placed upon the American taxpayer. We must bear in mind that we are not deciding an appeal for voluntary charity; we are deciding to what extent the money of the American taxpayer shall be involuntarily taken from him for this worthy and beneficent purpose.

Such a generous gesture must be made in full recognition of two inescapable economic facts:

First. Lavish expenditures, by increasing the cost of our Federal Government, make high taxes inevitable; and

Second. Purchases here for shipment abroad increase prices to the American consumer.

The first of these propositions would seem too obvious for an extended argument. Yet there is reason to believe that many an American citizen has not come to comprehend this hard economic fact of life. He fails to understand that every generous relief gesture from an openhanded Administration means fewer shoes for his own children, less food for his own family, fewer educational advantages for his own community. All of us know, when we stop to think of it, that the cost of the Federal Government is an important and integral part of the cost of living.

The second proposition has been demonstrated by our recent experience. An examination of the prices of the items which make a cost of living index issued by the United States Department of Labor, reveals that the largest percentage rise of any component in the cost of living has been in food. The Index shows that the consumer price of food was about 85 percent above the 1935-39 average, and all items other than food were only 37 percent above this average. In the period 1935-39 foodstuffs constituted about 34 percent of the cost of living. whereas it is now more than 40 percent. In other words, the price difficulty today, with which the President and so many others are so preoccupied, is due to the sharp advance in food prices. The relatively high price of foods is directly traceable to the Government's food purchases for shipment abroad.

Shortly after the first of this year, the Department of Agriculture became aggressive in its food buying. The Department's grain purchasing program for foreign relief was increased from the original goal of 400,000,000 bushels for the fiscal year to "400,000,000 bushels as soon as possible," and as much more as could be purchased by July 1. This was an especially inopportune time for the Government to be in the market.

The visible supply of grain was small and there was an extreme shortage of boxcars for transporting grain. The shortage of transportation facilities was even made more acute by the long hauls of the Government grain to the seaboard and the Gulf.

Nevertheless, in spite of the tight grain supply situation, the Government competed actively with the mills who were attempting to buy enough wheat with which to grind flour for their normal domestic trade. It was contracting with the mills for millions of sacks of flour, also for foreign shipment. The inevitable result was a sharply rising grain market, beginning in February, which spread to other food commodities.

The report of ex-President Hoover, released in late February recommended that the United States pay \$475,000,000 for food to German civilians during 1947 and the first half of 1948. Close on the heels of the Hoover report was the announcement by Secretary of Agriculture Anderson that the United States had agreed to provide the British with sufficient meat to prevent a cut in their current meat ration. He said also that the United States would help Great Britain build up a stock pile of wheat this fall. and that there would be a ready outlet for every bushel of grain harvested this year. These Government announcements were, of course, immediately reflected in the markets, inasmuch as the Government activities already were a dominating factor.

Foreign governments were allocated 140,000,000 pounds of our domestic meat supply for the first quarter of the year. Of this amount, the British Government was allocated 50,000,000 pounds, practically all of which was purchased by the British from between mid-February and April 1. This had a direct and substantial influence in increasing meat prices in this period. More recently the Government has allocated 155,000,000 pounds of meat for purchase by foreign governments during the second quarter of the year.

It must be apparent from these figures that legislative expenditures for relief constitute the first stage, the first step, the first station, along the inflationary line. The praiseworthy efforts of the merchants of Newburyport to reduce the cost of living are doomed to failure so long as the Federal Government itself is committed to inflationary pelicies.

Mr. President, I should like to believe that the present call for grants, to be a burden on the American taxpayer, will not be repeated again in the near future; but anyone who believes that is living in a fool's paradise. Incidentally, the American taxpayer has urgent calls for charity in his own family and in his own community, to which he is not always able to respond.

Yesterday the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations [Mr. Vandenberg], with his customary candor, told the Senate that a so-called children's fund proposal would soon be presented to us through the United Nations. So we must ask ourselves squarely, How far can the economy of the United States stand these constant drains with nothing coming in and everything going out?

It has often been said on the floor of the Senate that the most important problem before the Government today is to maintain our free institutions. Unless we can keep our system of free enterprise and free institutions, under which America has grown great and strong, the torchlight of liberty will probably go out all over the world. To do so we must have a sound financial and fiscal structure.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?
Mr. KEM. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Before the Senator leaves the question of the children's fund, I should like to make this observation: I entirely agree with what he is saying, but we must carefully survey the total prospective obligation which is involved when we engage in legislation of this sort. So far as the children's fund is concerned, there is considerable question as to how it ought to be handled. In the House measure, which will be in conference with the Senate amendment, there is a provision that a portion of the pending appropriation shall be used for whatever minimum contribution we shall ultimately make to the children's fund. We have not included that clause in the Senate committee amendment, because we have wanted that whole subject matter, beginning with the total amount of the grant, down to the possibility of including the children's fund, and the inclusion of other factors, to be left in a liquid state, to be adjusted in conference. I say to the Senator, therefore, that the point which he makes regarding the children's fund is a valid point, and one which will be considered in conference.

Mr. KEM. I thank the distinguished Senator from Michigan. I think the Senator will agree with me also that so long as demands coming from abroad are made at the expense of the American taxpayer, the demands will continue to come.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KEM. I yield.

Mr. WILEY. I am very much interested in the remarks of the distinguished Senator. I agree with his general premise: However, his statement in relation to the prices of farm products in the period from 1935 to 1939 has in it an element of misdirection, because I know from my own experience during that depression period that the farmers of America were selling their crops at prices far below the cost of production, whereas in a great many other lines producers were getting the cost of production. To illustrate, I know that in those years, on a farm which I have owned for a number of years, we were selling milk at prices between 90 cents and \$1.25 a hundred. That means that 481/2 quarts of good 3-percent milk were being sold on that basis.- It cost us between \$1.85 and \$1.90 to produce the milk at that time. when labor was cheap.

I have seen a great many similar statements in the press, and I am sorry to say that some of my manufacturing friends are using the same figures. At that time the farmer should have received at least the cost of production. In that event, the percentage of increase in the price of foodstuffs would not be so great as it now is. Certain segments among our farmers probably have been making money. At the same time, they have been wearing out their farms. They have not been able to obtain machinery in many instances, and when they bought machinery they had to pay increases of from 100 to 200 percent. I am speaking on the basis of my own experience.

While this is a trifle irrelevant to your main thesis, sir-with which I agree-I thought I should interject these observations at this point, because I feel that, just as there has been propaganda throughout the United States to the effect that the Republican Party, which is in control of the Congress, has not been doing an effective job, there has been propaganda to the effect that the farmers have been milking the public, which is all rot. In the past 10 or 15 years between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 farmers have left the farms, and today farms are again going on the auction block because farmers cannot get machinery or labor. I feel that those facts should be given the publicity which they merit.

In relation to the matter of loans, I had hoped at some time to express my views on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. KEM. As a matter of realism, should we not call them grants or gifts?

Mr. WILEY. Is the Senator talking about foreign loans or gifts like the present aid bill?

Mr-KEM. I am talking about what we now propose to do, and similar transactions in the recent past.

Mr. WILEY. I think the Senator is correct in that. We have made loans. This is a gift to the poor starving people of Europe.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President,

will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DONNELL in the chair). Does the Senator from Missouri yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. KEM. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let us be specific about it. So far as this bill is concerned, it is a grant and has no relationship to a loan.

Mr. KEM. Exactly.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. KEM. I yield.

Mr. WILEY. I want to say that the news that came over the radio the other night, and was confirmed in the subcommittee hearing the other day in the examination of a representative of the Department of Agriculture, to the effect that the good Lord has again favored this Nation; that we will have 150,000,000 more bushels of winter wheat this year than we ever had before in our history. I sometimes feel that there are hidden laws which apply, and one of those laws is that when we reach out and do that which our hearts tell us we should dohelp those who are in need, save them from going berserk mentally, save them from becoming objects of communism the operation of that law shows itself in making us adequate. May I say, then, to the Senator, that it is admitted that we will have the greatest national income in our history; it will be approximately \$170,000,000,000. While I would be the last one in the world to think that we should become prodigal, I still feel that it is imperative that we do the job as good Samaritans where that is necessary; and that job should be to make the other fellow competent to help himself, and not make him a "leaner."

I thank the Senator.

Mr. KEM. I appreciate the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. I join with him as a brother farmer in his interest in American agriculture. I am sure he would agree with me that so long as the Government, by its purchases, continues to preempt the available supply of agricultural products, such products will rise in price. I am sure he will also agree with me that in the judgment of most students of American agricultural problems the present rise in the price of certain agricultural commodities is unsound and not for the best interests of American agriculture. I appreciate also the scriptural references made by the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, and I might suggest others, such as "charity begins at home" and "Trust the Lord and keep your powder dry." Perhaps that is not scriptural. I'do not know whether it was Cromwell or Napoleon who said that, but in any case there is good authority for it.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to give me the chapter and page of the Scripture.

Mr. KEM. I yield if the Senator can

correct me in that quotation.

Mr. WILEY. The last quotation, as the Senator suggests, is ascribed to Cromwell. But I remember something which is pertinent to the Senator's argument, and I have quoted it heretofore on the floor of the Senate. I think it was St. Paul who said something to the effect that he who does not look after his own is unworthy. That brings up almost a metaphysical argument. How do we look after our own? It is not by letting the other fellow die while we are looking after our own.

Mr. KEM. I think I may say at the outset that I do not want any Member of the Senate to be deaf to the appeal of someone in need. I am trying to present some economic facts which I think should be taken into consideration. They are hard, economic facts which I think are worthy of our consideration in connection with this problem which is only one of a number of similar problems which without doubt will confront us in the immediate future.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KEM. I yield to the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I want to suggest to the Senator that I am not at all clear about the reference to St. Paul made by the Senator from Wisconsin, but I am clear about a reference to which the Senator can turn to his own great advantage in connection with his argument. It happens to be a statement to which I give my complete allegiance. St. Paul said:

But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.

Mr. KEM. I thank the Senator.

So, Mr. President, I think we must ask ourselves how far can the Congress of the United States stand these constant drains? It has often been said on the floor of the Senate that the most important problem before the Government

today is to maintain our free institutions. To do so we must have a sound financial and fiscal structure. In considering this matter let us be just and wise at the same time that we are generous.

Mr. President, I offer an amendment to the pending resolution to reduce the appropriation from \$350,000,000 to \$200,000,000, which is the amount fixed by the House committee after extensive public hearings. I want to say that this amendment is offered without apology, as a compromise between head and heart.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 8, line 17, it is proposed to strike out "\$350,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$200,000,000."

EXEMPTION OF EMPLOYERS FROM LIA-BILITY FOR PORTAL-TO-PORTAL WAGES IN CERTAIN CASES—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 247)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States with respect to his action on House bill 2157, the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947, which the clerk read.

(For President's message, see today's proceedings of the House of Representatives on p. 5418.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The message will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

RELIEF ASSISTANCE FOR COUNTRIES
DEVASTATED BY WAR

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Keml on page 8, line 17, to strike out "\$350,-000,000" and insert "\$200,000,000."

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, when we, as nonpartisan Americans, survey the position of the United States in the world today we are constrained by the sheer brute force of events to come to this conclusion:

In the large sense we have defeated the enemy, but we have not won the peace. W have killed off the German threat and the Japanese threat to our existence as a people, but we have not achieved any of our positive aims. Speaking broadly, Poland has not been liberated, democracy has not been established, autocracy has not been destroyed. To replace a German hegemony by one bearing another national designation is no gain; it is merely a change of name. The Christian concept of the dignity of man, which was the underlying spiritual fact in whatever idealism there was in World War II, is still reviled and violated in most of the world. That is a dreadful statement to make; but there is not a man in this room who does not know that it is true.

Mr. President, what is the matter with us? How is it that we can win the battle and lose the peace?

We need not look back very far to find the mistakes which will supply the answers to that question.

First. For one thing, we gave our supplies and our equipment to our allies during the war with a lavish hand-which was all right. But in conspicuous cases we did it without requiring assurances as to the future—and that was not all right. All of human experience shows that the time to get promises is before the other fellow gets the stuff, and not afterward.

I remember the argument which was made during the war whenever anyone suggested that some assurances as to the future should be received before we turned everything over to an ally. It ran something like this: "If your neighbor's house is on fire you lend him the equipment to extinguish it. You do not stand around arguing over how much it costs or the precise terms upon which you lend it to him. You leave such things until after the fire is out." That is what was said at that time. But, as we read in the book The Strange Alliance, written by Maj. Gen. John R. Deane, who was the head of our military mission in Russia during the war:

The fire in our neighbor's house had been extinguished and we had submitted ourselves to his direction in helping to extinguish it. He assumed that we would continue to submit ourselves to his direction in helping rebuild the house, and, unfortunately, we did. He allowed us to work on the outside and demanded that we furnish the material for the inside, the exact use of which we were not allowed to see. Now that the house is finished, we have at best only a nodding acquaintance.

There is no use in crying over spilled milk, but we can reflect in passing on how much better off we would be today if we had exacted some assurances-not selfish promises for ourselves alone, but aussurances for the benefit and the peace of the whole world—when we were still in a strong position to do so.

Second. Toward the end of the war we overestimated the ability of the Japanese to resist, and, therefore, in order to secure Russian support, we made concessions at Yalta which we now kitterly regret. We made concessions there and elsewhere which not only involved the giving up of our own overwhelming military advantage at a time when our victorious armies were advancing across Germany; they also involved a breach of faith with the people like the Poles, who had believed cur plighted word.

Third. We were utterly, completely, and abysmally unprepared for the end of the war. We remember what happened. Those of us who were in the service at that time will never forget it. Not a word did we hear from our national leadership, telling the soldiers and the sailors and the airmen of America, or their military leaders, or their families, or their Congressmen why it was necessary that they remain in the service. Our leaders did not tell us that it was absolutely essential to the national well-being that the United States maintain armed forces after the end of hostilities. They did not say that these forces would have to bear a definite relationship to the other armed forces in the world. If they had, the men in uniform would have understood, and so would their families and so would their Congress. But the tragic fact remains that they were never told why it was nec-

essary for them to stay in the service. Naturally, they wanted to get out. Naturally, their families wanted them at home. Nobody gave them a good reason for not being at home. And naturally a few months after VJ-day, we read of soldiers actually booing the Secretary of War because of their impatience to be out of uniform. By that time it was too late. The water was over the dam, for all the world to see. Mr. President, leadership would have avoided that disastrous occurrence.

Fourth. And so the people of the world beheld this sickening and astounding spectacle: the greatest military power the world had ever seen had, within a few short months, defeated itself by allowing its huge strength to dwindle The armies and the navies which the best troops of Germany and the finest fleets of Japan had not been able to defeat were going to pieces because of the lack of comprehension and the lack of leadership at the head of the government.

It was no wonder that so little could be accomplished at the peace conferences. Our opposite number at those peace conferences had never been taught to respect weakness. Those who faced us at the peace table had been brought up in the hard, flinty, and bloody school of European politics in which no one agrees to anything unless force is in evidence. Indeed, when we consider how fast our Army and Navy were evaporating, it seems a miracle that the satellite peace treaties, unsatisfactory as some of them are, were ever agreed to at all. This was due to the fact that Secretary Byrnes, supported by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. Connally], had made it clear that the United States would not yield

This was possible because we, the American people, had finally begun to learn the lesson that indecision on our part leads to brutality and bullying and expansionism elsewhere. But we have only begun. We have recognized our mistakes. But as a people, we have yet fully to grasp the far-reaching, positive, and purposeful steps yet to be taken, which I now desire to submit to the Senate under four major headings.

First. Clearly the first item in an effective foreign policy is the personnel abroad to carry it out.

There are many unfair criticisms of our foreign service. For example, it is not fair to say that it is largely composed of millionaire graduates of Ivy League Colleges who loaf in glittering world capitals where, having entirely forgotten America, they adopt reactionary and supercilious views in order to toady to the European nobility. That is a common criticism, but it is not true. Whatever merit that criticism had in the past. the truth is today that in the main our foreign service consists of men coming from all sections of the country, who depend on their salaries for their living, and who have had to meet stiff requirements in order to enter the service and then to stay in it.

They must often endure a life of isolation, separation from families, appalling prices at the official rate of exchange. which of course they are compelled to use, lack of food and fuel, and an unrelenting grind of work, often in hostile surroundings, and with very few diversions. I believe that our Foreign Service is, on the whole, as patriotic, as intelligent, as broad-minded, and as industrious as any other professional group.

This, however, does not mean that they are without faults, some of which are attributable to the vastly increased scope and volume of their work. Conceding that we have sound human material with which to deal, I believe these latent faults can be corrected if the following specific recommendations are

(a) With so much of the world behind the iron curtain, it seems vital that our Foreign Service officers receive specialized training in intelligence work to enable them to recognize the intelligence techniques being practiced by designing nations.

(b) With the entire world a welter of propaganda, our Foreign Service men should have training in publicity methods and in public speaking. They should be able to mix with, talk to, and understand all groups, just as we who hold elective office must do every day.

(c) The struggle between democratic parties and communism for influence with foreign organized labor, for example, opens a new and unfamiliar challenge to the Service to play an important part in demonstrating the advantages of a free system without involving interference in a nation's internal affairs.

(d) The great increase in the size and diversity of activities in our embassies requires better training in administra-

tion and organization.

(e) It is also probably true that many Foreign Service officers have spent too much time abroad; and the new requirement that they must have leave in the United States every 2 years, and a tour of duty in the State Department early in their service, is a good one and illustrates a policy which could be broadened.

(f) Another defect in the Foreign Service, which I believe has had some serious consequences, is the idea that the chief can do no wrong. We saw this attitude time and again in the military service. It kills a lot of initiative and independent thinking. I believe that the country has paid a heavy price for it. One remedy would be to have other reports coming into the Department through other channels to counterbalance, and give proper perspective to that of the chief. Further, I am told that there should be an improved inspection system which would periodically bring all foreign service officers to Washington so that their work could be appraised in such a way as to check the all-too-human tendency to curry favor with the boss.

(g) Thought should be given to having some permanent officials in certain key positions in the State Department who will give continuity to our policy and who will consequently prevent a lot of mistakes and errors by virtue of their knowledge of what has happened before. One often gets the unfavorable impression that there is not always enough teamwork and coherence among the top men in the State Department.

(h) One last word about the men of our Foreign Service. Even the best of them; and there are some very able men in it, give the impression that in diplomacy it is more important to avoid blunders than to achieve successes. I recognize that there have been many occasions in history when this has been a good rule. But we are in an era now in which we must be somewhat venturesome if we are to avoid disaster. Only the bold ever rise above mediocrity. We need an infusion of new blood or of new spirit or of both into our representation abroad which, excellent though it is in many individual cases, still in certain quarters regards it as outside its province to come aggressively to grips with the forces in the world which so closely affect American destiny. I deem it of fundamental importance, Mr. President, that we inculcate our Foreign Service with the spirit of positive, not negative, action.

(i) Finally, the President and the Senate have a direct responsibility, insofar as the caliber of our American representation abroad is concerned. We have the job here of confirming the diplomatic appointments which the President sends us. We should carefully scrutinize them, whether they be career or noncareer men. There was a time in the past when, without dangerous consequences, there jobs could be objects of political reward, and I know that both parties have played that game. But today, it would be both dangerous and reprehensible to select men to head our missions abroad on any basis other than that of fitness to do the job. It is offensive to one's common sense, to say nothing of one's patriotism, to think that the United States should be represented abroad year after year by men who have never had any qualifications at all and are only there because they had a friend at court. Good men from outside the Service are a great asset and are necessary to effective carrying out of foreign policy. Inferior political diplomatic appointees, on the other hand, do a great deal of undeserved harm to the Foreign Service career men. They lower the prestige and depress the morale of the career service as a whole.

(j) Congress has just appropriated \$400,000,000 for aid to Greece and Turkey. We are in the course of appropriating \$350,000,000 more for general relief abroad and the end is not yet. But we all know that unless these programs are ably administered they may be worse than useless. I know that able men to render this service are hard to find. It is easy to name men who are too arrogant; or men who are too soft and who, desiring some local popularity, think they are doing a people a favor by pauperizing them. The foreign-relief program calls for the best human talent in America.

So much for personnel.

Second. Then comes the development of a consistent, coherent, and thoroughgoing attitude on the part of those who conduct our foreign relations, supported by an understanding public opinion. We must not blow hot and cold. We must not be caught by surprise. We must be thoroughgoing as well as consistent.

(a) We would do well to make it clear immediately that we shall not aid governments which have failed to carry out their commitments of the United States. In particular, the executive branch should take all necessary steps to insure the registration, the screening, and the . effective control of all contracts which Americans have made with such governments, giving special attention to those contracts which call for the acquisition of our production "know how" in industry-which, I am told, is what some of our international competitors particularly want to know. In fact, I submit we should not let agents of a foreign country into our plants unless the foreign country allows Americans to enter its country and poke around in its plants.

(b) While we must be prepared to spend some money, we must not "pour money down a rat hole." There is never any use in pledging financial outlays abroad until we are satisfied that it is not a mere hold-up game or a last minute rescue party and until we are sure that fundamental steps have actually been taken which will change the situation permanently for the better. No nationand certainly not the United States-is rich enough to be strong everywhere at once. No nation is rich enough ever to splurge money recklessly. There is a limit; we must pick the place where we can properly influence the situation for the better. We must not only pick the place; we must make our expenditures solely in pursuance of an intelligent plan whereby in exchange for our outlays these peoples become self-supporting and thereby enable us to achieve those concrete things which need to be done. What are some of these things?

For example, it is frequently and correctly pointed out that the nations of western Europe are not making a real recovery from the damage done by the war and that they are staggering along on a hand-to-mouth basis. We in America certainly have a great stake in getting these nations back on their feet and on a self-supporting basis, if for no other reason than that we can then stop our own expenditures for foreign relief. To reestablish these nations, will, however, cost money. But it is worth doing, if in exchange for our aid, the nations of western Europe agree, for example, to integrate themselves, not in a military or a linguistic sense, but into an economic arrangement which has the possibility of life and growth. It is sickening after each war to reconstruct the same old European crazy-quilt. course, this European unity must be entirely voluntary. Although its present divisions are killing it, Europe, the birthplace of Western civilization, does not wish to be-and must not be-"united" under any foreign ruler.

Another example of getting something in return would be to work out our entire raw materials program as a part of our foreign policy. It is well known that, we are short of many very important commodities, and that in some ways we have become a "have-not" nation. In formulating our new foreign policy we should seek to obtain the raw materials which we need and do not possess ourselves. This would be helpful to us and

to the world and would be a self-respecting solution of several serious problems at one and the same time.

We and those nations with whom we have relations must deal in realities in terms of human freedom. In exchange for our help the military and political pressures which now cause fear and worry as to the future must be removed. We are constantly reminded that there are still military factors in back of foreign policy. Once political and military conditions are stable, much of Europe can again become a sound economic risk. If positive steps are not taken to solve these political and military problems, we shall go from tensions to hatred to civil war and finally to world catastrophe.

Whether we look at this proposed foreign policy from the standpoint of integrating a new Europe, or from the standpoint of easing our raw material shortage, or from the standpoint of restoring peace and prosperity, we may as well realize that it will in all probability be cheaper to appropriate substantial sums to be spent in accordance with a sound plan than to appropriate a smaller sum on a shotgun basis. In one case you have a good chance of getting your bacon back; in the other you face the sure prospect of total loss.

(c) Mr. President, it is distressing to me to hear an increasing number of Americans say: "Here we go granting millions of dollars to foreign governments while we do nothing to ease the high cost of living and the housing shortage for the poor American people." is distressing to hear it, but we all know that an increasing number of Americans all over the United States today are talking that way. And as long as they think that we are getting nothing out of this foreign program they will go on talking. But if they are convinced that they will get new markets for their products and vital raw materials which they need and a real chance for peace for their children as a result of these expenses, then this talk will stop. But to convince them, we must have a real far-sighted plan. We must be ready to undertake this nonbrutal, nonimperialistic, noncompulsory, nonviolent, nonselfish, and nondestructive assistance program, not because it is against something we do not like, but because it will build that solid individual prosperity which is a man's best hope of being rescued from his misery.

Third. We must make American democracy an article of export. Actually the Christian concept of the dignity of man is the strongest revolutionary force in the world. But for some reason or other—call it lack of imagination or lack of understanding—we have allowed the materialistic and brutal verbiage of communism to gain a greater export currency than our own belief, which springs from eternal sources and which can never run dry. We must export our way of looking at our fellow man. This does not mean that we try to force anything down any man's throat. That would be imperialism. It emphatically does not mean that we uphold any regime, no matter how corrupt, provided it is anti-Communist. That would be nihilism. But it does mean an outlay of time, intelligence, energy, and money to present our view and to give compelling demonstration of its worth. It is the essential first step that we believe in ourselves. Without such belief nothing can be done. Without such belief, all expenditures are mere waste.

Mr. President, let me sum up. We made dreadful mistakes, when the shooting stopped because we were not prepared for the end of hostilities. To avoid these mistakes in the future, we must:

First. Develop a modern-minded American personnel to carry out our

foreign policy abroad.

Second. Make a consistent, decisive, and thoroughgoing over-all plan for foreign policy which will secure military, political, and economic conditions in the world which will make peace and prosperity possible; and which, by making foreign peoples self-supporting, will obtain for us the markets and raw materials we need. In other words, Mr. President, what is wanted is a foreignaid program which will also aid the American people.

Third. Make American democracy an

article of export.

Fourth. There is a fourth point—one more word of advice, which always and ever underlies a constructive and fruitful foreign policy. That word calls for a strong America—strong in its economic life, strong in its enthusiastic faith in its own institutions, and strong in its armed forces on land, sea, and air, without which no foreign policy can be aught but mere words.

We can, I think, be hopeful that these things can and will be done. The American people are showing a-keen interest in world conditions. We have in General Marshall a Secretary of State who is completely above party and is of proven ability. We have in the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg] a chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee who acts always in an utterly nonpartisan spirit and who has evoked widespread admiration by his sure grasp of the challenge which confronts America. We can look confidently to the future with their wisdom and patriotism at the country's service.

Above all, let us realize that our foreign policy exists—and our effective support of the United Nations is possible—only in proportion to the national strength behind it. The fact that we allowed so many of the war's painfully won gains to slip away between our fingers in the year after the shooting stopped must teach us once and for all what a crime we commit against ourselves and against humanity when we allow ourselves to become weak.

[Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The occupants of the galleries are admonished that it is strictly against the rule of the Senate that any demonstrations be made from the galleries and that the rule will be strictly enforced.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I desire to submit two or three perfecting amendments, which I should like to have adopted.

First, I ask for a correction of the RECORD. At page 5314 of the RECORD, in

the third column, in listing the needs of various foreign countries as contemplated under the joint resolution, China is set down at "\$12,000,000," The figure should be "\$60,000,000." I ask that the permanent Record be corrected in that respect.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The correction will be made.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I offer certain perfecting amendments, the necessity for which will be obvious. They constitute precisely the same formula which is in the Greek and Turkish aid bill. Obviously there is going to be a gap between the authorization and the time when the appropriations themselves can be made, and provision is made in the Greek relief bill that a temporary advance of \$100,000,000 can be made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to be reimbursed to the RFC the moment the appropriation itself is made. It is doubly necessary that there be an arrangement of a similar sort in connection with the pending measure, because there is a similar gap, and the pressure for some immediate funds to start the purchases or relief supplies is absolutely unavoidable. Therefore, at the request of the Department—and although I have not had time to canvass it with the committee, I am sure it would meet with the committee's approval; at any rate, I will put my own personal request behind it-I ask for the adoption en bloc of certain amendments, the net result of which is exclusively, after the passage of the authorization and preceding the passage of an appropriation, to make available from the RFC \$75,000,000, to be reimbursed to the RFC from the appropriation as soon as it is made.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to immediate consideration of the amendments? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will state the amendments.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I suggest the Chief Clerk read them all, because they all can be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The amendments will be considered en bloc, and the clerk will state them.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 9, line 4, it is proposed to delete the words "to be appropriated."

On page 13, line 24, to delete "appropriated pursuant to" and substitute "authorized under."

On page 8, after line 21, to add the following paragraph to section 1:

Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$75,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine. From appropriations authorized under this section there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the advances made by it under the authority contained herein.

On page 9, lines 7 and 8, to delete the words "appropriated pursuant thereto" and substitute therefor the words "authorized herein."

On page 9, line 14, to delete the words "Sums from the appropriations made

pursuant to" and substitute in lieu thereof "Funds authorized under."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendments submitted by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg] to the committee amendment.

The amendments to the amendment were agreed to.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, there is one other perfecting amendment, necessitated by the following fact: The Federal Employees' Pay Act of 1946 fixed specific ceilings for civilian personnel in the War and Navy Departments. Under the pending measure it is contemplated that some of the personnel will be borrowed from the War and Navy Departments, and the sole purpose of the amendment which I now submit, at the request of the Departments affected, is to eliminate for the time being from the ceiling applicable to civilian employees in those departments such employees as are borrowed. The amendment is very essential.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the amendment? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 9, after line 24, it is proposed to insert a new subsection as follows:

(d) Such additional civilian employees as may be required by any department, agency, or independent establishment in connection with the furnishing of procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment services under this joint resolution and which services are paid for from funds herein authorized, shall not be counted as civilian employees within the meaning of section 607 of the Federal Employees' Pay Act of 1945, as amended by section 14 of the Federal Employees' Pay Act of 1946.

It is further proposed to change subsection "(d)" to subsection "(e)."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan to the committee amendment.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. I should like to inquire whether or not the agencies which are to furnish these employees are going to be reimbursed from the fund now proposed to be authorized.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is the plan. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan to the Committee amendment.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, on April 7 I gave notice that I would propose an amendment to the pending joint resolution which would exclude from any of its benefits certain countries and governments to which, under existing circumstances, I feel we are not obligated to provide relief, and with respect to which the cost of relief, if provided, I feel would impose upon the people of this Nation an unjust burden of taxation. Moreover, Mr. President, the spending of money for relief purposes in the countries which my amendment would ex-

clude from the provisions of the joint resolution would be inconsistent with the action of the Congress and with the established policy of this Government as contained in the recent Greco-Turkish relief measure which has been enacted.

As I stated yesterday, I voted for the Greco-Turkish aid bill with considerable reluctance, because it was not primarily a relief bill in the sense of relieving human distress. We all know that one of the major objectives of that bill is to enable Greece and Turkey to build up their military strength for resistance to military, political, and economic pressures which are being applied for the purpose of undermining their governments, at least with that purpose in mind, and possibly with the purpose of consummating further expansion into regions even beyond their territories.

Mr. President, everyone knows whence that pressure comes. When we speak of external pressure on Greece and Turkey everyone knows its source. Now we are going to take from the Treasury of this Nation \$400,000,000 to bolster these weaker nations-Greece and Turkeyand to build up resistance to that form of aggression and insidious infiltration which seeks to undermine the established governments of those countries.

Mr. President, when I gave notice on April 7 that I would submit this amendment to the general relief bill, there was greater reason and more justification for its adoption than there is now. At that time the final form of the joint resolution now pending before us had not been determined by the Foreign Relations Committee of this body. The Foreign Relations Committee, as I said in my brief remarks yesterday, Mr. President, has done a marvelous job in placing in the joint resolution certain provisions which are restrictive in character and which impose conditions upon other governments whose people are to be assisted, conditions which have to be met before this relief will be available to them.

Another forward step that was made by the committee in framing this joint resolution, in contrast to the policy we have pursued in the past under UNRRA, is that we retain full control and supervision of the funds which are to be expended.

Mr. President, I adverted to a point yesterday which I want to mention again today. When the bill authorizing and committing this Nation to the UNRRA program was before us I had serious apprehension that in such a tremendous program, with such a great outlay of money under the set-up as proposed, we would find that we were having very little control or supervision over UNRRA funds notwithstanding we were to contribute more than 70 percent of the total funds involved. That absolutely occurred. In many instances those funds went into countries and were actually used by the political authorities in power for strictly political purposes. In other words, the poor victims for whom UNRRA relief was really intended, got no assistance unless he was subversive to the political clique and authorities in power. If not, relief assistance was denied him.

Mr. President, the amendment I offer would make Russia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria ineligible for any benefits or assistance from the appropriations authorized in this bill. When I gave notice that I would propose such an amendment, Mr. President, I placed in the RECORD tables of figures which had been prepared for me and made available to me by the State Department and by the Legislative Reference Service and other agencies of the Government, showing the assistance that these countries had already received from us amounting to more than \$1,200,-000,000 since VJ-day. As I interpret the measure now before us, in view of the explanation made of it yesterday by the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and taking into account the letter of Secretary Marshall, which has been placed in the RECORD, setting forth in what countries the funds proposed to be appropriated shall be expended, the expenditure and supervision of which is left to the State Department; it appears Mr. President, that none of this money will go to any of the countries referred to in my amendment except to Poland and Hungary. I do not know to what extent the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which this amendment was referred, considered it; but to that extent I assume that my objectives and purposes have been served, in that five of the countries which I have named in my amendment have been eliminated. I concede this in view of the letter from General Marshall and the assurances that have been given here on the floor of the Senate by the chairman of the committee.

I can well appreciate the fact that there might be differences of opinion as to the wisdom and propriety of specifically naming in the legislation the countries which are to receive aid, as did the House in its measure, because such action implies a commitment to those countries with respect to their share of the aid, and it would possibly be embarrassing to withdraw the aid at any time if, under the restrictions which have been placed in the joint resolution, a situation should arise under which we thought the aid should be withdrawn.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCLELLAN. I'yield.
Mr. CONNALLY. Allow me to suggest that many of the matters referred to by the Senator from Arkansas can best be handled by administration, rather than being placed in a straitjacket. If there should develop such a situation that it was desired to change the policy, that could be done under the flexible provisions of the joint resolution.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I appreciate what the Senator says, and I thank him for his suggestion. I wish to emphasize that I am grateful to and compliment the Committee on Foreign Relations on the fine job it has done. It is such a contrast and such a departure from the policies and procedures of the past that it is a monument to the committee's credit. Many of the objections which I have urged are the same objections which I had with respect to UNRRA. Then I did not know how UNRRA would work. I could only anticipate, and it did work out and operate just as I thought it would. My reasons for opposing that measure in the form in which it passed have been fully vindicated.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. McCLELLAN. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. At the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York the United States delegation took the position that we would have nothing further to do with UNRRA, under the arrangement by which we paid 72 percent of all the expenditures and largely turned its administration over to foreign agencies. We discovered that in many countries the authorities would take over the administration of the money which was 70 percent ours, and create the impression among the recipients that it was another government altogether that was bringing them relief. So we determined later that whatever plan we adopted in the way of relief would be an American plan, under American control, financed by ourselves, and terminable at the will of the President, whenever conditions reached the point where we though it was necessary to discontinue relief. The joint resolution is hedged about with restrictions, limitations, and conditions. I think it is about as well prepared, as well considered, and as well drafted as an act of this kind could be. Of course there will be mistakes. There will probably be extravagances in some places. But on the whole, the control is wholly within the United States. If it fails, we shall be somewhat derelict in our administration of the act.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I am not predicting failure under this measure as it is now drawn. That is not what I am trying to emphasize. I am very much pleased that we have profited by the mistakes which were made in connection with UNRRA. We should not make them again. We propose to keep the control under our own authorities. We reserve the right to withdraw the aid if at any time a condition arises which warrants its withdrawal. This aid is not a perpetual or continuing commitment or obligation. We can withdraw it at any time, as I understand the joint resolution.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will. the Senator yield?

Mr. McCLELLAN. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I appreciate what the Senator has said about the action of the committee in going so far to meet the objections which he had expressed by way of his amendment. In view of what the committee has done, in view of the letter of the Secretary of State, the report of the committee, and the statement of the chairman, and in view of the understanding which all of us on the committee have, does not the Senator feel that he might be justified in not pressing his amendment, or withdrawing

Mr. McCLELLAN. I will say to the Senator that I am not pressing it now with the same vigor I would have pressed it had the joint resolution not been so well prepared by the committee. I do not believe that the need for my amendment is nearly as urgent as it might otherwise be. However, I wish to keep the record straight. I am opposed to this Government giving aid and assistance in any form to governments whose action, conduct, and policies make it necessary for us to provide military assistance to weaker nations upon which they would impose, and with respect to which they pursue policies of aggression and expansion that would undermine and destroy those weaker nations. Aid under such circumstances is incompatible and inconsistent with any sort of sound fiscal policy, if nothing else were involved.

I cannot vote for a measure which would give promise of funds for the assistance of governments which are pursuing that sort of policy. If it were a personal matter, I would contribute my own money to provide food or relief for suffering human beings, whether they were Hungarians, Poles, or Chinese. I would make no particular distinction by reason of nationalities. I know that that is the spirit which dominates the heart of Christian America. But there are times when we must be practical.

This Government does not have the resources or the capacity to completely rehabilitate the world at our expense. The line must be drawn somewhere. There are limits beyond which we are unable to go without inviting disaster to our own security and our own eco-

nomic welfare.

While I should like to support a smaller amount, I am willing to spend \$350,-000,000, if necessary. However, if we are to spend that much more than we have already expended, we can extend aid to countries whose governments are democratic and friendly to us, governments which grant the greatest measure of liberty and justice to their own people. On the other hand, we can spend the money in countries like Poland, which is under the domination of Russia, where there is no freedom, no liberty in the sense that we speak of it in America. Whenever we spend a dollar in such countries we simply enable them to continue to make expenditures in great amounts-greater than the amounts we are spending-for military purposes.

Every dollar we spend for the relief of those nations which are under the control and domination of Russia and communism is a direct aid to Russia and the further spread of communism. This simply makes it possible for Russia to spend that much more money for military purposes. I cannot vote for it, and I shall not do so. I would be willing to accept the resolution as it is and to vote for it with the assurances which have been given if those two countries, Poland and Hungary, were excluded as my amendment proposes to do. But I will not vote one dime of American taxpayers' money knowingly to aid communism or to assist Russia or any of her satellites while she spends \$13,000,000,000 per year for military purposes as she is doing this year.

I shall not take time to revert to the figures I have previously placed in the Record except to point out that the countries which are named in my amendment have received from this Government, or will have received by June 30 of this year, a total of more than \$1,800,000,000. Over \$1,800,000,000 in relief of one form or another has already been provided by our Government for those countries which are named in the amendment. That is too much already and I do not want to give them any more.

I do not think I shall call for a record vote on the amendment, but I want to keep the record straight. I cannot explain why we are pouring out money to buy military supplies and build military strength in Greece and Turkey, and at the same time, taking the taxpayers' money and helping to feed people on the other side of their borders in countries which are applying pressure against them. We should not arm one people to defend themselves and their government and at the same time give aid to the other side.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCLELLAN. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. As I understand, the able Senator from Arkansas is quite satisfied to have a viva-voce vote on his amendment?

Mr. McCLELLAN. I am perfectly satisfied, I will say to the Senator. I simply wanted to offer this amendment. I acknowledge, as I have said, that the need for it under the circumstances, as the joint resolution now stands, is not as great and urgent as it was at the time I said I would propose an amendment, but it should be adopted so that Poland and Hungary will be excluded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is the Senator offering his amendment at this time?

Mr. McCLELLAN. Yes; I offer it. I thought possibly it was the purpose of the Chair to let the amendments all lie on the desk and have them acted on after 2 o'clock.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I

think we had better proceed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is an amendment pending, which was offered by the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. Kem].

Mr. McCLELLAN. Yes. I understand that is the parliamentary situation. I am perfectly willing to have a vote on my amendment whenever the parliamentary situation will permit it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the amendment to the committee amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas? The Chair hears none. Therefore the question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas.

The clerk will state the amendment.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, between lines 13 and 14 in the committee amendment, it is proposed to insert the following:

(b) No relief assistance shall be provided under the authority of this joint resolution to the Governments or to the peoples of Russia, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, or Bulgaria, or to any other government or governments, or

to the peoples thereof, whom the President may hereafter determine to be under the political and/or economic domination or sphere of influence of Soviet Russia.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I simply want to say that in the viewpoint of the committee and from the standpoint of those who are responsible for this program, it would be a very serious mistake to undertake to write any identifications of countries, either pro or con, into the text of the resolution. On the one hand, we do not want to seem to create any rights or interests in behalf of any specific countries, and on the other hand, we do not want to seem to write any inhibitions or proscriptions into the law, in view of the fact that we can rely categorically upon the statement of the Secretary of State in his letter which is printed in the report and is part of the public record in respect to the places where expenditures are to be made.

So far as the general objective of the able Senator from Arkansas is concerned, I have a great deal of sympathy with what he said. I am happy to have him so generously acknowledge the fact that we have written precautions and protections into the resolution, so that there is really no possibility of exploitation in any such fashion as has been suffered heretofore. But, under the circumstances, I respectfully ask the Senate to reject the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arkansas to the committee amendment.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, I want to express my full agreement with the purpose of the amendment as expressed by the Senator from Arkansas. It is difficult for me to reconcile an appropriation of millions of dollars for military aid for the avowed purpose of stopping communism, and then to allow millions of dollars to be appropriated for Communist-dominated countries. I realize the difficulty of drawing a direct line of demarcation between relief and its general effects and the use of relief money for the building up of communism. America has traditionally been the most generous country in the world.

I shall vote for this appropriation for the needy of the world; but I say that unless there is a change of heart on the part of the State Department itself with respect to the administration of the food distribution organization, merely naming certain nations in the resolution is an idle gesture; it is a mere use of words, and I do not have much confidence that the State Department will implement the words. I hope they will, at least this is a step in the right direction. I trust that the able Senator from Michigan who heads the Committee on Foreign Relations and who has so valiantly supported these proposals, will be equally valiant in the effort to assure a proper dissemination of news so that we may know that we are not going down both sides of the street, but are taking a definite step to bring some good out of the disbursement of the great wealth of America under the theory that we may encourage someone somewhere to follow our example.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment to the committee amendment of-

fered by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan].

The amendment to the amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now recurs upon the amendment offered by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Kem].

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, I again advert to my remarks appearing in the Congressional Record on page 3844, on April 21, when I said that the objective of the American people, namely, perpetual peace and the elevation of the peoples of all nations to a standard of living comparable to ours, is clear and well defined.

One of the points I made in the course of my remarks at that time was that with two world wars under our belts in our generation, we have never yet in 30 years established an American policy, geared to our national economy, which makes sense and which can be carried forward without a continued undue drain upon the taxpayers and workers of the United States.

The Senate of the United States has not the moral right to abdicate the powers entrusted to it under the Constitution of the United States by continuing thoughtless gifts to foreign nations. Certainly it has no legal right to relinquish to the Executive its obligation to review in detail such expenditures.

In principle, I do not see how the Senate can abdicate its powers on any issue affecting the well-being of the American people, except under wartime emergency. Each individual Senator presumably is elected on the basis of a full exercise of these powers, which in our system of government are intended to operate as a check against the Executive power of the administration.

If it is represented that these are matters which must be decided on the spur of the moment and instantaneously, the representation presumes upon a fallacy, since the relief suggested is based upon long-continuing conditions, and is not due to some special act of God, such as an earthquake. Even in the latter event, the Senate should be permitted to exercise its powers, the assumption being that it is no rubber stamp Reichstag, but is the final authority on whose decisions the United States foreign policy is based.

If it is urged that there is no time to acquaint the Senate with the full facts of the case so as to allow for requisite debate, that is tantamount to saying that only the so-called experts empowered in the administration are capable of making the decision. Government by experts is precisely the definition of fascism or, for that matter, of the Communist style of government. It assumes an honesty on the part of the experts which does not always exist, and an infallibility which is more than questionable.

As we know, the record of the experts in reference to all of the propositions which have been stampeded through the American Congress has been an unsound one. Refer back to the claims made for the British loan, the United Nations, Bretton Woods, and so forth, and it is

seen that none of the basic assertions urged by the experts were correct.

The record of administration of UNRRA played directly into the hands of Tito in Yugoslavia.

So long as foreign relief can be utilized for political purposes, it constitutes a weapon by which the policy of the United States is and has been committed along definite lines. If the experts, for example, were to commit the policy of the United States to the relief of Poland and Yugoslavia, that would represent a shift in the present determination to wall the Communists off. It places immense power of decision in the hands of middlelevel officials whose judgment, in effect, would commit the entire policy of this Nation, not only along relief lines, but along military and political lines as well, because the unwise use of the first may lead to the second. It would allow the support of a dictator, as against the will of the people, by committing the opponents of their regime to starvation.

It seems to me that in the present crisis, only the Congress can determine these issues, and no one else. The abdication of its powers by the Congress, even in this comparatively small degree, is a frightening step backward, exactly as would be the recognition of the right of search and seizure without a warrant.

The whole system of stampede or panic politics by which, on one occasion after another, the Senate was urged to back a policy or a grant on which there was said to be no time for deliberation, discussion, and thought, is contrary to the entire spirit of this Government. In its own small way, it is uncomfortably similar to the means by which the Hitler regime secured a blank check for its policies from the Reichstag, allowing Hitler's government to carry on undisturbed its totalitarian policies with the legal cloak of the Weimar constitution and republic. The process now under way represents an invasion of the rights of Americans as a free and democratic people, as well as of the duties and privileges of their representatives.

The whole attitude, moreover, is one of reckless deficit spending without relation to the ultimate welfare of the Nation as it might be envisaged along sound conventional lines. This is a proposition which was current during the entire Roosevelt administration, namely, that deficit spending or piling up a huge national debt was an act of health, since it put people to work. Our foreign export is now operating at the rate of some \$8,000,000,000 a year. For each billion dollars, it is estimated that 1,000,000 Americans are employed. Since there is no floor to this export, and since it is not paid for in the usual way of conventional exchange of sound money and economics, but is being supported by American grants-in-aid to the importing countries, at some point it will have to stop. This point will be accelerated if the present threatened recession actually occurs this fall or in the near future, as is feared. The exports then will drop drastically, adding millions more to the unemployed lists which presumably will then exist.

No part of our plan seems to envisage placing the world on a sound economic

basis, but instead, represents the support of tottering monarchial or dictatorial regimes by hand-outs designed to operate as a brake against communism.

The only defense against communism will be a healthy and sound economic life in Europe and Asia, as well as other parts of the world. This will require a world plan on the part of the United States, which will have to be considered by the Senate, which envisages bringing the present crises affecting all countries to an ultimate conclusion by which those countries will be self-supporting and healthy enough to be proof against revolutionary doctrine. Anything else plays into the hands of the Soviets and constitutes a continuous drain upon the resources of the United States which will ultimately bankrupt us.

The present deficit spending is not too much different from the old plan of plowing under cotton or dumping into the sea our surplus of potatoes. It is up to the administration, it seems to me, to present to the Congress for approval a plan by which the Western World at least can be brought to ultimate economic and political health, by which it can produce the necessities of life and pay the debts it incurs. They can hire our engineers and economists, who can show them how to set up their own taxing districts, taxing their own people to pay the technicians and to pay their own wages to build their own projects.

Under such circumstances, the Congress can intelligently fund the plan, granting the required moneys in aid; and the individual Members of Congress will then be in a position to assure their constituents that the emergency is a temporary one, not a continuous one.

There is not even a rational plan in reference to the needs of the American economy in making a transition from a wartime to a peacetime base, the requirement for replacing obsolescent machinery and vehicles, housing, and so forth. Such a plan is desperately required if the American productive economy is expected to turn out vast quantities of materials to be sent abroad free.

The part played by British politics in this proposition, it seems to me, also should come under examination, since to date we have been committed to supporting an empire whose bankruptcy is self-evident, and whose continued operations will end in communism among all the peoples on whose back it functions.

Our resources are not limitless. We cannot play God to the rest of the world forever without having a clear concept of the ultimate goal and the ultimate outcome, as well as of the means by which it is to be secured.

Mr. President, at this point I should like to insert in the Record a statement by Jesse Jones in regard to subsidizing the British Empire. This statement appeared in the April 16, 1946, issue of the Houston Chronicle and Herald:

SUBSIDIZING THE BRITISH EMPIRE

(By Jesse H. Jones)

No money should be loaned to Britain for expenditure in other countries without proper security, particularly since the Britaish have substantial profitable investments and operations in the United States which could be used as collateral for a loan.

Approval of the proposed loan now before Congress—

Referring to the \$3,750,000,000 loan to Britain, at that time under consideration by the Congress—

would start the United States down a financial road that is likely to lead to disaster. Too much spending and lending and losing is a sure road to ruin. The Congress should not ignore the dangers that lie ahead.

Mr. President, I should also like to refer to a statement made by Marriner Eccles, before the Foreign Policy Association, at Philadelphia, on February 9, 1946. The statement was printed in the Federal Reserve Bulletin of March 1946, and in it Mr. Eccles gives several reasons for extending aid to foreign countries. I quote from his statement:

Against these reasons for our extending aid to foreign countries, we must weigh the pressures on our own domestic economy. We cannot ignore the fact that such aid through Government channels, necessitates an increase in public expenditures.

We must recognize also that the expenditure of the proceeds of the loans in this country cannot be entirely welcomed at the present time. Many of these purchases will be made for products of which we will have an adequate or even a surplus supply. But inevitably other purchases will be for goods that are, for the time being at least, in short supply and to that extent such purchases add to inflationary pressures.

Mr. President, these piecemeal handouts, especially as they relate to the support of foreign Marxist and semitotalitarian regimes, are a simple piece of folly which will leave this Nation poorer and weaker, not only materially, but in its relation to the world forces with which we are contending.

If the cause of this senseless behavior is fear of Soviet Russia, it would be better for us to have a show-down with Russia immediately, rather than to continue an irrational system of handouts which weaken our economy, destroy our trade, and makes us the ally of the small-time dictators and world cartelist exploiters whose very success will spell Russian opportunity and the collapse of the western system of free enterprise.

I do not object to extending relief as such to any country; but I do wish to see whatever assistance we can logically give other peoples, rendered upon a businesslike basis, and in accordance with a well-conceived and well-thought-out plan based upon the ability of our national economy to carry the load without injury to our own people.

Mr. President, I intend to vote for this loan, against my better judgment, merely because it is called a loan to make it possible to furnish food to the peoples mentioned. However, I serve notice now that the fight is only starting, unless in the future such proposals are made under a well-coordinated and well-thought-out plan.

Mr. President, I ask that there be printed in the Record in connection with my remarks an article entitled "Need Abroad Is Crux of Economic Trends," from Barron's National and Financial Weekly for May 12, 1947.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

How's Business?—Need Abroad Is Crux of Economic Trends

News of the worst famine conditions and industrial stagnation in most of Europe since the Thirty Years' War—when cases of cannibalism were reported—are gradually obtruding themselves on the national consciousness through the daily press. Instead of the reconstruction it seeks, the world faces an economic crisis of appalling scope.

Over the coming weeks and months the administration will make a major effort to bring the magnitude of the crisis home to the American people. Secretary of State Marshail began the campaign when, in his report on Moscow, he said the European patient is dying while the doctors debate. Undersecretary of State Acheson continued last week by spelling out "what Marshall meant" in terms of more exports, more foreign loans, and reconstruction of Germany and Japan so they could again become the international workshops they were in the past.

Two years of unspeakable suffering abroad have been accompanied by wastage of billions of our money diverted in part to strengthen our enemies and help them disrupt the world further. Even today Russia is feeding her troops in Rumania with the heip of the wheat we send there. Our efforts have been floated on veritable seas of sactimonious promises about the benefits of new global institutions and multilateral economic systems. But all this is now culminating in poverty, misery and starvation everywhere else in the world on a scale that threatens to engulf our own prosperity.

CAUSES

This crisis is the direct outcome of the faulty thinking and inadequate planning for the postwar world which so signally characterized the policies of our national Administration in the closing years of the war. The economic disaster that is smiting Europe and the Far East is but the natural sequel of three basic errors in our war and postwar strategy. These have gradually snowballed into an almost irretrievable collapse abroad of all the physical means of production and distribution which hold modern civilizations together.

The first of the errors of judgment was the prevention of Germany's surrender until the country was literally turned to rubble. It was made worse by the prevention of reconstruction of civilian life there through application of the incrediby ignorant and short-sighted "pastoralization" policies of the Morgenthau school. Now we are faced with the need of spending more dollars to rebuild what we wantonly destroyed at enormous expense in men, materials, and money.

A-LOSING GAMBLE

The second great error in judgment was that of proclaiming a new international order on the basis of superficially cordial contacts between a few individuals. The United States was committeed to a vast new symbolism, aithough lacking any common understanding with the Soviet Government as to practical interpretations of the symbols. Not only that, but we took absolutely no alternative precautions to enable us to enforce our interpretations where it was important to do so against nations, like Russia, that do not accept them.

Even after the catastrophic climax of the war in Germany, the disaster could have been mitigated if our victorious Russian ally had not made such a bitter farce of the aspirations of peoples regarding international amity and cooperation. The masters of the Kremlin maintained 5,000,000 men under arms, engineered fifth-column offenses in every European country, imposed quisling governments in every nation within their orbit, and incited civil war in China and tried to do so in Iran.

Thereby they created an international situation of such deadly totalitarian menace that the rest of the world is more intent on defense than on the reconstruction it needs so acutely. Nations which are desperately anxious to disarm and reintegrate their soldiers in peaceful rebuilding, are forced instead to carry truly staggering burdens of wasteful military expenditures. Thus, they are unable to organize civilian life on any rational basis.

VICTORIAN DREAM

The third great mistake was, in absolute disregard of the fatal economic consequences of our German and Russian policies, to try to base our postwar economic arrangements on the fiction that the world of Queen Victoria's England could be revived. In those days there were six or eight great powers with roughly equivalent strength, and many other genuinely independent countries. International trading among such sovereignties grew and prospered in a heaithy atmosphere of competition in which everyone had a chance.

That kind of thing is impossible today, when the United States alone possesses economic power of the same order of magnitude as that of the rest of the world put together, and when only this country and Canada have the surplus resources that can be exported for reconstruction. Yet, our State Department and Treasury still try to force other western nations into trade agreements which they are totally unable to make, but to which they nervously pay lip-service because of our overwhelming strength and their overwhelming needs.

CASSANDRA'S APOLOGY

It is because of such evidence of the continued hold of our wartime dreams for postwar happiness, that it seems necessary at this late date to harp upon the mistakes of the past. That the foregoing three major economic and political misconceptions either had to result in general collapse abroad or commit us to enormously expensive rescue operations seemed clear a great many months ago. In mid-1945 Barron's published gloomy comments on the probable consequences of Potsdam, and was chided for them by readers impressed with the propaganda of that day.

It seemed far more important to say ali these disagreeable things to readers than to dilate complacently on the high level of business activity or to advertise further the weil-advertised minor recession which persists in not making its appearance. Even so, it was difficult to demonstrate the error of the major policies of our administration at a time when the late President Roosevelt's magical gifts of suggestion and inspiration had stirred the public's hopes. It was also too early to explain on other than purely deductive grounds that this wonderful castie that was being built up before our eyes was nothing but a castie in the air. . This column was reduced to the unhappy necessity of trying to counter mere assertions which peofe liked, with equally bald assertions they didn't want to hear.

SHOW-DOWN

Now, however, the consequences are becoming clear and Washington is saying the same things as Barron's. The reason the consequences are getting so obvious is that the first reai post-war show-down is now so near. It is in the critical years 1947 and 1948 that we must decide the general framework of our future course. In doing so we have the advantage now of knowing what our mistakes have been and, therefore, what our new tack should be.

In simplest terms, the problem is as follows: Owing to the gratuitous prolongation of the war in 1944 and the Kremiin's sabotage of peacemaking from the very moment the fighting ended, world reconstruction has

made dishearteningly little progress. As stated earlier, only North America can supply the deficiencies of the rest of the world. But, the countries in need do not have the dollars with which to buy. Therefore, if the rest of the world is to be rebuilt so that it can operate without help, we shall have to lend many more billions in order to finance that reconstruction.

The problem is roughly similar to the medical one of the patient weakened by loss of blood to the point where his system cannot restore itself without outside aid. Transfusions will bridge that gap, until one day the recipient may himself be able to contribute blood to others.

TWO OPTIONS

Much of the world is in just such desperate straits today. Secretary Marshall's description of the vicious circle which shortage of coal imposes upon industries of all kinds, was a pale illustration of the much more vicious circle imposed by lack of food. When, as in Germany, there is not enough to eat to supply a theoretical ration which itself represents only about half the American daily food intake per person, not only is there no energy for production, but much time must be spent in the mere pursuit of nourishment.

These conditions exist even though we have given away a lot of money and made a number of untenable agreements. Whatever good we have done along such lines has not been sufficient to repair the previous errors. There are just two options for us and neither of them is very attractive. But the time has come to face the music. Face it we must, or the rest of the world will make us face it

INFLATION

One option is to give the necessary transfusions. Naturally, we cannot stand too many of them too close together. The billions we lend will be spent in the United States and the expenditures will be concentrated on all the scarcest lines. Therefore, there will be genuine danger of further inflation if we lend on the needed scale.

The second alternative is to wash our hands of the mess we helped to create and say that the danger of inflation is too great to permit added loans. The consequence of that would be a sharp decline in exports from the United States and a collapse of world commodity prices in free markets.

That this would affect us in a seriously deflationary manner here is quite clear. Although the long-heralded recession still refuses to take place except for occasional spotty declines which, often as not, are offset by rising activity elsewhere, there is no doubt that the upward-driving forces are much weaker now than last year. Replenishment of empty pipe lines can no longer be counted on in most fields, and the Government is collecting a big cash surplus almost every month. At this time a combination of declining commodity prices, with the inventory losses that would result, and a shutting off of our export markets, would make the business picture here look bad.

SOCIALISM

Furthermore, in every foreign country affected by our refusal to grant credits extremely drastic controls over all phases of national economic activity would have to be imposed. Thus, we would be converting the rest of the world to state socialism in one fell swoop. That Socialist world would hate us as the cause of its miseries, and its leader would be Russia.

While the errors of the past are irretrievable in some respects, it is not yet quite too late. We can still use our enormous power for the good of mankind. If we do not, the penalty will be that we shall have used it for our own ultimate destruction.

An important condition is that, learning from experience, we should not, when extending financial aid to foreign nations, burden

them with impossible economic conditions. We want engagements that actually can be fulfilled. The goal to strive for is a Commonwealth of United Nations, all believing in and strictly adhering to the same ideal that we serve—freedom from coercion for the individual. If Russia and her quislings will abide by this ideal as expressed in her own constitution, she will be a welcome member. If not, such a commonwealth still can be built.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. Kem] to the committee amendment.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I intend to support the pending joint resolution to provide \$350,000,000 for relief to the people of foreign countries devastated by war. Like most Americans, I have been trained all my life to contribute to worthy causes, I believe in giving. It is just as true today as in ancient times that it is more blessed to give than to receive. The experience of giving brings to us more satisfaction than almost anything else we can do. It does something for the man who gives just as for the recipient.

However, I must confess that I am voting for the joint resolution with the most profound misgivings. Personally, I am not at all satisfied with the precedent we are apparently establishing of meeting the needs of charity by gifts of Government money and material. The money we are now voting comes entirely from the American taxpayer, of course. It is his money, and he is ultimately the giver. Yet, this type of giving—through the Government-does not give the taxpayers any of that satisfaction they would certainly feel if each one made a voluntary gift of his proportionate share. The giver is not made happy by our gifts of his taxes. Anyone who has sat through hearings on a tax bill will testify to that.

I am almost ready to suggest that the Government go out of the relief business and return the operation of such programs into the hands of private groups where charity belongs-such as the American Red Cross. This fine organization has had tremendous experience in feeding the starving and helping the needy. I believe that a dollar spent by the Red Cross goes 50 percent farther than a dollar spent by the Government. During the last fiscal year alone, the American Red Cross spent almost \$150,-000,000 for foreign relief. Furthermore, they know how to spend it where it will do the most good.

In contrast, we have the unhappy experience with UNRRA as a sample of Government operation in this field. I realize that the framers of the pending measure have done their utmost to correct the tremendous waste and the other evils of UNRRA administration. have eliminated UNRRA, but I am not at all sure that we have gotten rid of the people who administered the UNRRA program. I suspect that the same people are lining up for jobs with the new agency and are being given jobs on the basis of their experience in the distribution of relief. I have had some correspondence myself with persons of that type who desire employment.

As I here said, I shall vote for the joint resolution. I do not know where it will lead, and I am fearful of the ultimate consequences of a program of giving and giving Government funds. I think we might do better by turning the money over to the Red Cross, which at least knows how to dispense relief on an economical and impartial basis. Although I am supporting the joint resolution, I hope it will not be necessary for me to cast a vote again for any measure giving Government funds for foreign relief, except through the Red Cross or some similar organization.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the pending amendment, submitted by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Kem], is of a major character, and its submission to a vote should probably await conclusion of the debate on the bill. It is my understanding that the able Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Ellender] has an amendment to submit which deals with the subject we canvassed at some length yesterday. The Senator has shown me his amendment, and, so far as I am concerned, I have no objection to it. I would suggest that the Senator present his amendment now.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, on

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Wherry], I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the consideration of the amendment submitted by the Senator from Louisiana? The Chair hears none, and the clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 11, line 20, after the semicolon, it is proposed to insert the following:

(h) Provision will be made for a control system so that all classes of people within such country will receive their fair share of essential supplies.

On page 11, line 21, it is proposed to strike out "(h)" and insert "(i)."

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, the amendment is very simple, and to my way of thinking it goes to the very heart of the problem we are seeking to solve. makes it possible for the supplies to be purchased by the huge sum authorized in the joint resolution to be fairly and equitably distributed among all of the people we are attempting to assist. In short, it authorizes a system of controls which assures the poorer people a fair share of the supplied needed by them to warrant the minimum diet suggested by the committee. I hope I said nothing yesterday, during the course of my remarks, which indicated that I was against the pending joint resolution. My sole and only object, I repeat, is to make it possible for all of the people of all of the countries which we intend to assist to obtain their just share of the supplies we expect to make available.

As was developed yesterday in the course of the debate, the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. Vandenberg] stated that 80 to 85 percent of the supplies would be distributed by sale, in accord with the custom and practice in the country receiving help. I stated then and I repeat now a system of price and rationing controls must be established so that the well-to-do will not be

in position to obtain more than their just share of the supplies that we allocate to the countries in need. In the committee report it is stated that the purpose of supplying these countries is to make it possible for all the inhabitants to be afforded at least 2,000 to 2,200 calories. I am in thorough agreement with all the conditions which have been placed in the joint resolution with reference to administration of the funds. My amendment simply adds another condition, which by all means should be adopted.

During a visit I made last year to China, Greece, Italy, and other countries we are seeking to assist, I found that in many places food was plentiful for those who had the money with which to buy it. For instance, in Shanghai one could get beefsteaks, chicken, and all kinds of food, if he had the money with which to buy. It was rather high in price. The same condition prevailed in Greece. In Athens, if one had the wherewithal, he could buy almost any kind of food he desired.

The amendment I propose is to be inserted on page 11, line 20, immediately after the condition imposed under subdivision (g), and it reads as follows:

Provision will be made for a control system so that all classes of people within such country will receive their fair share of essential supplies.

Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Michigan stated yesterday that from 15 to 20 percent of the supplies will be made available to the indigent, those who cannot afford to purchase food, and that 80 to 85 percent of the huge amount of supplies will be distributed in the countries in accord with whatever system of distribution now prevails in those countries.

In most of the countries there is a system somewhat similar to what we have in our own country. There are the wholesalers and there are the retailers who distribute the supplies to the consuming public.

If the supplies are placed in the hands of the retailers without restrictions, it is my view that those who are better able to pay will be in a position to obtain more of the supplies than those who are really in need and thereby defeat the purpose of supplying a minimum of 2,000 to 2,200 calories per person.

In conclusion, may I say I am glad the distinguished Senator from Michigan has no objection to the proposed amendment.

I desire to read a paragraph from the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, page 9:

If the relief program contemplated in the resolution is put into effect the United States would negotiate agreements with each of the recipient governments. These agreements would include the various conditions specified in the resolution and would outline the general procedures and controls which would be established with respect to the procurement and shipment of supplies.

Then follows the provision which I want to emphasize:

Provisions would also be made for a ration and price-control system so that all classes of people within a country would receive a fair share of essential supplies. The purpose of the amendment is simply to carry out the recommendation of the committee, which I contended for in a colloquy with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG].

I cannot understand why it is that the committee failed to adopt the language I am now proposing, since it was understood that a requirement such as the one proposed was to be made and incorporated in all agreements with the countries entitled to relief.

Mr. President, I do not propose to go into further details and I am hopeful that the amendment will be adopted so as to insure, I repeat, a fair distribution of all the supplies that we will make available to all classes of people we are seeking to assist in the countries selected for that purpose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment submitted by the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I will say again that the amendment merely writes into the joint resolution the obvious purpose of the measure as stated in the report, and I have no objection to acceptance of the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Louisiana to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now recurs on agreeing to the amendment offered by the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. Kem].

Mr. KEM. I ask for the yeas and nays. Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum is suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their

Aiken	Hatch	Morse
Ball	Hawkes	Murray
Barkley	Hayden	Myers
Brewster	Hickenlooper	O'Conor
Bricker	Hill	O'Daniel
Bridges	Hoey	O'Mahoney
Brooks	Holland	Pepper
Buck	Ives	Reed
Bushfield	Jenner	Robertson, Va.
Butler	Johnson, Colo.	Robertson, Wyo
Byrd	Johnston, S. C.	Russell
Cain	Kem	Saltonstall
Capper	Kilgore	Smith
Chavez	Knowland	Sparkman
Connally	Lodge	Taft
Cooper	Lucas	Taylor
Cordon	McCarthy	Thomas, Okla.
Donnell	McClellan	Thye
Downey	McFarland	Tydings
Dworshak	McGrath -	Umstead
Eastland	McKellar,	Vandenberg
Ecton	McMahon	Watkins
Ellender	Magnuson	Wherry
Ferguson	Malone	White
Fulbright	Martin	Wiley
George	Maybank	Williams
Green	Millikin	Wilson
Gurney	Moore	Young

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eightyfour Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, if the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Kem] wishes to resubmit his request for a yea-and-nay vote on his amendment I

shall be glad to have him do so, and then I wish to say a word about the amendment.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered. VANDENBERG. Mr. President. very earnestly I want to say a word to the Senate about the pending amendment. The able Senator from Missouri has offered an amendment to reduce the over-all authorization in the joint resolution from \$350,000,000 to \$200,000,000. I can quite understand the feelings of the able Senator from Missouri as he has stated them in connection with his presentation of the amendment, but I very respectfully submit that this is a situation which does not yield itself to the ordinary considerations of economy which we all have very definitely upon our minds at such a time as this.

I suggest that Senators remember, first, that the united authorities, not only of the United Nations, but of our own Government, have set the utter minimum necessity in these identified countries between now and New Year's at a minimum of \$600,000,000, in human need for the utterly elemental things which are defined in the joint resolution.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. I wish to ask the Senator from Michigan if any other countries have already contributed their share of the money. It is understood, I believe, that the amount carried in the joint resolution represents about 58 percent of the need.

VANDENBERG. The Senator Mr. from Nevada is quite correct in the allocation of the percentages. Our share of the fund is 58 percent, which we have accepted, and we have accepted it with a clear understanding that there may be some difficulty in raising the remainder of the fund. Unfortunately, the raising of the remainder has been postponed due to the delays here in Congress in the passage of the legislation. I may say to the Senator from Nevada only this, that up to date the British Government has made certain direct promises to one or two of the countries concerned, amounting, my recollection is, to \$40,000,000. Denmark has made certain specific commitments. I think Norway has made certain specific commitments. The development of the remainder of the program has been awaiting our action.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Has any of the money actually been contributed?

Mr. VANDENBERG. No money has been contributed because the fund cannot be set up until the United States has taken action.

Mr. President, our share, I repeat, is \$350,000,000. We had accepted that as a matter of good faith in the General Assembly of the United Nations, not binding, I agree, legally or in any other way upon the judgment of the Senate if the Senate's judgment is otherwise, but accepted at least on the theory that we are

the authors of this alternative plan under which we advance our own funds and take our own responsibility for the administration of those funds so as to avoid all the scandals and the mismanagement and the maladministration of UNRRA in days gone by. Our share, I repeat, is \$350,000,000. That sum, allocated to the seven countries which are listed, is an absolute minimum by way of meeting the challenge of this situation. If the amount is reduced to \$200,000,000, as proposed by the able Senator from Missouri, there will not be a sufficient fund even to meet the basic needs in Greece, Italy, and Austria, the three basic countries where we cannot possibly escape the challenge which we confront in respect to this relief matter.

I submit to the Senate that when we confront a necessity for \$350,000,000 in connection with a task of this nature, if it is cut arbitrarily to \$200,000,000 we are placed in the same position as we would be in if we stood on the dock and threw a 10-foot rope to a man who was drown-

ing 15 feet off shore.

Mr. President, so far as I am concerned, the joint resolution itself had better be defeated than to have the basic authorization cut down at this particular moment by the Senate. I shall give some further reasons why I make that statement. In the course of its consideration of the measure the House voted to reduce the figure to \$200,000,000.

I think it is fair to say that in the view of most of us who have had an opportunity to examine the House record, it is clear that the House decision was made on the basis of a misunderstanding of the facts. At any rate, the \$200,000,000 figure proposed by the able Senator from Missouri will confront the conference. I am asking, and the committee is asking, that we leave the Senate committee amendment at what is deemed to be the utter minimum of necessity, \$350,000,000, so that the two figures can go to conference. If the amendment of the able Senator from Missouri were adopted there would be but one figure in conference, an utterly inadequate figure, and even from the standpoint of the able Senator from Missouri, I am sure he would be willing to give the conferees at least that much opportunity to resurvey the situation to determine whether or not we would be making a desperately serious error if the reduction were made.

Furthermore, I remind the Senate that this is only an authorization, and that the ultimate appropriations under the act will come when the actual requests for appropriations are made.

I beg the Senate to reject the amendment, at least until such time as the conference can bring forth a final report on this legislation.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. KEM. May I ask the Senator if the decision of the House was reached after extensive public hearings?

Mr. VANDENBERG. There is no doubt in the world about it.

Mr. KEM. Are those the only public hearings that have been held on the question?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct. Mr. KEM. May I ask the Senator if he can give the Senate any estimate as to additional demands of the same character which are likely to be made upon us in the near future?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I know of none, if the Senator is talking about relief funds, except as the Senator may refer to the proposed children's fund.

That is another reason why I am asking the Senate to give us this leeway when we go to conference. Under the provisions of the House language it is proposed to meet the suggestion regarding a supplementary children's fund by using some of the authorization in thejoint resolution to meet the obligation contemplated under the children's fund. Except as we can have the full authorization in conference, it will be impossible for us even to consider the possibility of including the children's fund within this appropriation. I am not at all sure that there will be a children's fund anyway, under the circumstances. So far as I know, the consideration of the supplementary children's fund is the only proposal that is pending, in addition to the proposal on the desks of Senators at the present time.

Mr. KEM. If I correctly understood the able Senator from Michigan yesterday, he put us on notice that there would likely be in the immediate future a request for a children's fund, in addition to the present proposal.

Mr. VANDENBERG. As usual, I was trying to be completely frank with the Senate. One `thing above everything else that I cherish is the confidence of the Senate in what I say to it in respect to matters of this nature.

Mr. KEM. The Senator certainly has the confidence of the Senate.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thank the Senator. I wanted to be completely fair about the discussion of the children's fund. It is exceedingly difficult for me to be specific, because the suggestion-in respect to the children's fund has not yet even been sent to Congress. It is a supplementary sort of undertaking which was born at New York in the General Assembly of the United Nations, when it was discovered that there was a little fund of \$550,000 left in Mr. LaGuardia's control as the trustee of UNRRA when it was going out of business. It was proposed to use that little nucleus by way of building up a supplementary fund exclusively to combat the malnutrition of children in certain areas in Europe, as a specialty, a fund to which private contributions could be made, a fund which at that time, I am very frank to say, contemplated no such magnitude as is discussed downtown at the present time in connection with this fund.

The Senator from Michigan does not attach himself to any promises in respect to the children's fund, because so far as the Senator from Michigan is concerned, he feels that basic relief is the primary challenge here. If it is possible to develop a children's fund supplementarily, I shall be very happy to participate in the effort; but so far as a further substantial demand upon Congress is concerned this year in respect to the children's fund, let me say that at the

maximum we would not confront a request for more than ten or fifteen million dollars; and so far as the Senator from Michigan is concerned, he is not even committed to that.

Mr. KEM. I thank the Senator. At the risk of being tedious, I should like to ask the Senator two further questions.

First, in its deliberations, did the Committee on Foreign Relations give any attention to how far the American economy will stand drafts of this nature?

Mr. VANDENBERG. No. The Senator is quite justified, and so are all other Senators who speak in terms of a demand, that we should survey our own resources in total to see to what extent we can deal in enterprises such as the one now before us.

In respect to this relief, it is imminent and unavoidably necessary if body and soul are to be kept together in the areas of liberated Europe betwen now and harvest time. It is so obviously apparent that except as body and soul can be kept together in this fashion, the forces of physical, mental, moral, social, and political disintegration will have complete right-of-way in those areas between now and harvest time, that I would say it was unnecessary for the committee, and it is now unnecessary for the Senate, to await any domestic survey in order to make up our minds that this limited challenge is one to which we dare not, on any basis of intelligent American self-interest, turn a deaf ear.

Mr. KEM. Would the Senator place that challenge ahead of the challenge that we should see, first and foremost, that we are maintaining America as a bulwark of free institutions?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I would put the challenge which the Senator now defines at the base of every consideration in the world, because except as we can keep a solvent, healthy America in existence, there is no hope whatever, not only for us but for anyone else on this earth.

Mr. KEM. I agree with the Senator. Without some consideration of the effect of this and similar drafts upon our economy, how can we be sure that we can withstand them?

Mr. VANDENBERG. In the opinion of the Senator from Michigan we should be making the precise studies which the Senator from Missouri is discussing; but I submit to the Senator that even with that fundamental, overriding requirement, which ought to be a constant challenge to our attention, it is impossible to plead that that necessity must suspend this relief appropriation, upon the immediate effects of which depends almost every hope we have, not only in respect to humanities around this earth, but in respect to stabilities.

Mr. KEM. Would the Senator from Michigan be willing to join me and other Senators who think as I do in suggesting that the amount be reduced to \$200,000,000 pending an investigation as to the effect upon the economy of the United States?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I wish it were possible to agree to a proposal of that sort; but upon second thought the Senator himself must realize that the purpose of this measure primarily deals with

a crisis between now and harvest time in the liberated areas of Europe. The major expenditures for relief under the joint resolution involve situations that are already critical and will become increasingly critical up to a climax not more than 90 days hence. So it is quite impossible, I am sure the Senator, upon second thought, will concede, for us to suspend our attention to that imminent challenge for the purpose of making such a study as the Senator contemplates; but I would happily join with the Senator in setting up some sort of a system under which we shall make a total inventory of our available American resources and look in sum total squarely into the over-all possibilities within which America must live.

Mr. KEM. Does the Senator from Michigan join me in some impatience in viewing these constantly recurring crises emanating from the other end of Penn-

sylvania Avenue?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I not only join in the Senator's impatience, but I join in wishing that it were not my constant assignment to have to present these situations to the Senate. I think the best proof of the fact that I consider it unavoidable is that although they come from an Executive and a State Department downtown, which are under the general control of a party to which I am not attached, nevertheless I consider it to be my duty and the duty of my party in connection with matters of this nature to present a united front.

Mr. KEM. Will the Senator, on the

next occasion of this kind-

Mr. VANDENBERG. Does the Sena-

tor mean, the next crisis?

Mr. KEM. Yes. Will the Senator be kind enough to convey to the Chief Executive the wish of a very inconspicuous Member of this body that an opportunity be given for careful deliberation?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I shall be glad to

carry the Senator's message.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I will yield in a moment. I want to be sure to yield to

the Senator from Texas [Mr. Connally] before my time expires.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to say to the Senator from Michigan, in order to make it plain, with reference to the answer to an inquiry which I made yesterday afternoon, that the Senate is not committed to the definite amount of \$350,000,000.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am glad the Senator has brought that up again. The Senator is totally correct. It is up to \$350,000,000, if, as, and when the necessities are demonstrated to the Appropri-

ations Committee of this body.

Mr. WHERRY. It is upon that theory that I suggest to the distinguished Senator from Missouri, for whom I have the highest respect, that what the Senate does, if it agrees to this joint resolution, is in reality to place a maximum ceiling above which we cannot go, but the justification has to be made to the Appropriations Committee to make the appropritions which that committee feels are justified, and then the question comes to

the Senate for its vote. Am I correct? Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is

entirely correct.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. If I still have the floor I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. KEM. I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan this question: In addition to the crisis technique with which we have become so familiar, is this also a blank check?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not consider it to be a blank check, because, upon the insistence of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the destination of the funds is spelled out in the committee report over the signature of the Secretary of State, with the direct statement from him that it is a categorical commitment.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I will yield once more. I must yield the floor to the able Senator from Texas.

Mr. MALONE. I want to ask the able Senator from Michigan if there is any record of any part of an appropriation made for any purpose in the crises which have been referred to by the Senator from Missouri, having been turned back into the Treasury or having remained

unexpended?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I would not know whether there is or not: and it would not make the slightest difference in my judgment respecting the vote which I have to cast here. I should like to call the attention of the able Senator from Nevada to the fact that under the textual terms of the joint resolution upon which he is now asked to vote it is required that all the funds obtained in local currencies abroad as the result of the distribution of this relief-and there will be very substantial funds obtainedshall be deposited in trust funds under the control of the Government of the United States, and the final disposition of the balance is at the command, textually, of the Congress of the United States. I submit to the Senator that that is a very far advance, he will at least be happy to agree with me, upon the techniques from which we have suffered heretofore.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. I merely addressed the inquiry to the able Senator for the reason that the junior Senator from Nebraska stated that the pending measure was merely an enabling act to enable the Government to spend up to the amount of \$350,000,000.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I now yield to the Senator from Texas. I

am very happy to do so.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I feel it is hardly necessary for me to make any remarks on the pending measure, for, in view of the state of the record and of the able presentation by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relatiòns, I cannot conceive that the Senate would refuse to grant this authorization. At that point I want to emphasize the fact that this is not an appropriation; it is simply an authorization. There will not be a dollar expended under this resolution until the Congress specifically appropriates funds within the authorization.

I very much hope that the Senate will not adopt an amendment, such as that suggested by the Senator from Missouri, which would substantially reduce the amount of the funds. If we undertake this work at all, let us do it completely; let us not do only half of it.

It has been estimated by those in authority in the Department of State that \$600,000,000 will be required to meet the relief needs of the countries involved. and that our portion of it will be approximately \$350,000,000.

I want also to emphasize the fact that this resolution is limited to relief. Under this measure rehabilitation and reconversion are not considered. We do not even send agricultural machinery. Seed, insecticides, and things of that kind are to be sent to devasted countries whose people are in distress, as well as food and clothing and the elementary necessities of human life.

The war has left us with tremendous responsibilities, some of which are implied from the war and some of which we are assuming ourselves. Of course we are all concerned with the economic conditions in our own country. Of course, we feel the necessity of preserving the economic status of the United States. We do not want to waste the resources of the United States. We do not want to dissipate the elements of our strength. But what are we to do? We are a part of the world. We are not all of it. But whatever happens in Europe in the field of politics or government or economy, has its repercussions in the United States, regardless of our will or regardless of our attitudes. We want a peaceful world; we want a prosperous world. We want, insofar as we can, to banish the terrible conditions existing in the devastated countries of Europe.

Mr. President, the Senate is well-advised about this measure. I do not wish to consume much time at this point: but I feel that I should say a few words, in view of the many reasons that are being urged by Senators in regard to amendments and other matters.

I have often heard it said, "That people " in Europe do not appreciate what we are doing for them." Mr. President, under UNRRA there was substantial complaint, which was justified, that UNRRA was extending aid in the form of food and raiment to countries that were, in turn, expending their own resources for the maintenance of large armies. It was justly complained that UNRRA was feeding the civilian populations, whereas the governments themselves were expending their resources in the maintenance of armies and in preparation for military action. But that will not be the case under this joint resolution; we have safeguarded against that.

It is true that many of the residents of Europe do not appreciate what we have done. Many of them never even knew that we were contributors to UNRRA. They were misled; they were misinformed; they were misguided; they were under the delusion that the aid which we granted under UNRRA was coming from some of the governments of Europe with which we are not in very great sympathy.

But, Mr. President, regardless of whether they are grateful or are not grateful, we, the people of the United States, have a high obligation in this respect. Our obligation is not simply a matter of charity, but we have an obligation to try to resurrect the world, so that we shall have peace in the future, instead of chaos and misery and suffering, which constitute a rich breeding ground for war and international discord.

Mr. KEM rose.

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield to the Senator from Missouri, if he wishes me to yield.

Mr. KEM. I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from Texas, as the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, about a request for \$200,000,000 for Korea, which appears to have been announced today from the White House, according to newspapers which have come to the Senate Chamber. They indicate that such a request has been made. Will the Senator from Texas give us some information in regard to that matter?

Mr. CONNALLY. Yes; I shall. I shall say-although the Senator from Missouri is probably as well-informed about that matter as I am-that at this moment there have been newspaper stories and reports that the United States, in carrying out its agreements with Russia in undertaking to establish a stable government in Korea, is adopting the attitude that all elements in the population of Korea should be consulted, and that we should set up a really democratic system of government there; and, of course, funds will be required for that purpose. So I assume that we shall be called upon to provide such funds. I do not know what the amount will be, but I assume that it is true that we shall be called upon to provide such funds.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Sen-

ator further yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I shall yield, although I wish to leave some time to the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG].

Mr. KEM. I should like to place in the RECORD-

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, this is a bad time to have matters placed in the Record, because we are operating under a very limited time schedule. Certainly the Senator has all afternoon to place matters in the RECORD, after the approaching vote is taken.

Mr. KEM. I ask unanimous consent to place in the Record an article appearing in today's Washington News, entitled "Korea Needs Only \$200,000,000." The article begins with the statement:

The administration today rushed plans for a \$200,000,000 economic aid program for southern Korea as Senator STYLES BRIDGES, Republican, of New Hampshire, demanded Congress be told how much is planned for foreign spending instead of being asked for money in "dribs and drabs."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KOREA NEEDS ONLY \$200,000,000

The administration today rushed plans for a \$200,000,000 economic aid program for

southern Korea as Senator STYLES BRIDGES, Republican of New Hampshire, demanded Congress be told how much is planned for foreign spending instead of being asked for money in "dribs and drabs."

It was reported the Korean program would be presented Congress very soon. Its purpose would be rehabilitation of railways, textile mills, and other industries destroyed by the Japs.

The Korean aid plan will be pushed despite an American-Soviet agreement to reopen talks on Korean unification in Seoul

Senator Bridges in asking for some estimate of the over-all anticipated cost of the Truman doctrine charged the Administration had given no indication of what the final total—estimated unofficially at possibly billions of dollars-might be.

Thus far Congress has been asked specifically for \$400,000,000 for Greece and Turkey and \$350,000,000 for general foreign relief. The Greco-Turkish fund has been authorized but no money has been appropriated. The general foreign relief fund is up for Senate vote today.

The State Department admitted the Admisistration now faces a handicap of its own making in further implementation of the Truman doctrine.

Congress approved the Greco-Turkish grant in response to Mr. Truman's appeals which stressed urgent military dangers involved.

Now, however, the State Department wants to put the emphasis on the economic implications of its program, particularly in getting Congress to approve wide expenditures to prop up western European economies.

State Department difficulty with Congress over its foreign broadcast proaganda program continued. Representative Karl MUNDT, Republican of South Dakota, pro-KARL posed to read scripts of the Voice of America program in Foreign Affairs subcommittee hearings to determine whether criticism directed at the programs was justified.

The Italian political crisis appeared to be moving toward solution. Premier Alcide de Gasperi was expected to broaden his government by adding right-wige elements while retaining Communists and left-wing social-

The United Nations General Assembly prepared today to approve a broad investigation of Palestine to open the way for specific UN action next autumn.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I do not object to having the Senator put the article in the RECORD. The good old RECORD is the repository of a great deal of material which is rarely ever read by anyone who keeps up with information from reliable sources.

Suppose such funds are requested for Korea, what is the Senate going to do? Shall we say to Korea, "No; we are not interested in Korea; we do not care what kind of government exists there; we do not care whether Russia gobbles up Korea"; and if I am asked what I am going to do about that, am I to say, "I have before me an article from the Washington News which seems to be against the proposal, and therefore I will vote against it"?

Mr. President, of course, Senators will not vote against it.

Mr. MALONE. I should like to say to the Senator from Texas-

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada will please address the Chair.

Mr. CONNALLY. Let the Senator make his peace with the Chair, and then I shall yield to him. [Laughter.]

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, I wish to say that I will do as I have done on two former occasions: I will ask for a comprehensive plan, geared to our national economy and our ability to carry out such a program. But without such a plan, in the debate on this floor, I shall oppose the granting of further requests; I shall stand against them as long as I

Mr. CONNALLY. I am sure the Senator will stand as long as he can, Mr. President. He has already served notice on us in regard to what he will do. He did so in a speech he made earlier today.

Mr. President, let me say that even the countries which do not appreciate what we are doing, will appreciate it in the years to come. We are here to discharge our responsibilities. We are here to meet our obligations and to do our duty. I would hate to have history record that in this hour of trial and distress, when the nations that have been liberated are in sore need, we did not do the handsome and the generous thing.

Mr. President, we poured out probably \$300,000,000,000 in an effort to arrest aggression and to preserve the liberties and the freedoms of the very nations for which the proposed aid is intended. Shall we now take the position that, after spending \$300,000,000,000 in that effort, which indirectly, through the opposition of the enemy, resulted in the killing of the citizens and in bringing about the collapse of those nations, now that they are in dire need of assistance, the United States Government will say "No"?

Mr. President, now that the necessity exists for us to help them the United States Government will not say "No," nor will we be deterred by the fact that within some of those countries there are people who are ungrateful or lacking in appreciation. But, Mr. President, when the historians come to record the transactions of this period the noble part played by the United States will be written in bright and livid letters on an honored page.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. - The question is on the amendment submitted by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. KEM] to the committee amendment. On this question the ayes and nays have been ordered.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, several Senators have entered the Chamber since the amendment was read. I ask that it be read again at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment to the committee amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. In the committee amendment, on page 8, in line 17, it is proposed to strike out "\$350,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$200,000,000."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN] is absent because of illness. If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut would vote "nay."

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPE-HART], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Flanders], and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Langer] are absent by leave of the Senate. If present and voting, the Senator from Vermont would vote "nay."

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Tobey] is absent because of illness in his family. If present and voting, he would vote "nay."

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. REVERCOMB] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED], who is unavoidably detained on official business, has a general pair with the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]. If present and voting, the Senator from Kansas would vote "nay."

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCarran], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Stewart] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas] and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner] has a general pair with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Reed]. If present, the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

I announce further that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCarran], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas] would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 19, nays 64, as follows:

VEAS-19

Moore O'Daniel Robertson, Va. Russell Williams

O'Conor O'Mahoney

NAYS—64 Aiken Hawkes Ball Hayden Barkley Hickenlooper

Hatch

Pepper Robertson, Wyo. Bricker Bridges Hill Hoev Saltonstall Bushfield Holland Smith Sparkman Taft Cain Tyes Capper Jenner Taylor Thomas, Okla. Chavez Johnston, S. C. Connally Cooper Cordon Donnell Kilgore Knowland Lodge Thye Tydings Lucas Umstead Downey Eastland - McFariand Vandenberg McGrath McMahon Watkins Ellender Wherry Magnuson Maybank Millikin Ferguson White Wiley Wilson Fulbright George Green Gurney Young Murray

NOT VOTING-12

Baldwin Capehart Flanders	McCarran Overton Reed	Stewart Thomas, Utah Tobey
Langer	Revercomb	Wagner

So Mr. Kem's amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, further debate is prohibited. Although amendments may yet be offered, no debate can be had thereon. Are there any further amendments to be offered? If not, the question is on agreeing to the committee amendment as amended.

Mr. MORSE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WHERRY (when Mr. Baldwin's name was called). The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Baldwin] is absent because of illness. If he were present and permitted to vote, he would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Flanders], and the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Langer] are absent by leave of the Senate. If present and voting the Senator from Vermont would vote "yea."

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Tobey] is absent because of illness in his family. If present and voting he would vote "yea."

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Revercome] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. Reed], who is unavoidably detained on official business, has a general pair with the Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner]. If present and voting the Senator from Kansas would vote "yea."

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCarran], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Stewart] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas] and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New York [Mr. Wagner] has a general pair with the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Reed]. If present, the Senator from New York would vote "yea."

I announce further that if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCarran], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Overton], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Stewart], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. Thomas] would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 79, nays 4, as follows:

YEAS-79

Aiken	Hatch	Morse
	Hawkes	Murray
Barkley	Hayden	Myers
		O'Conor
Brewster	Hickenlooper	
Bricker	Hill	O'Mahoney
Bridges	Ноеу	Pepper
Brooks	Holland	Robertson, Va.
Buck	Ives	Robertson, Wyo
Butler	Jenner	Russell
Byrd	Johnson, Colo.	
Cain	Johnston, S.C.	Smith
Capper	Kem	Sparkman
Chavez	Kilgore	Taft
Connally	Knowland	Taylor
Cooper	Lodge	Thomas, Okla.
Cordon	Lucas	Thye
Donnell	McCarthy	Tydings
Downey	McFarland	Umstead
Dworshak	McGrath	Vandenberg
Eastland	McKellar	Watkins
Ecton	McMahon	Wherry
Ellender	Magnuson	White
Ferguson	Malone	Wiley .
Fulbright	Martin	Wilson
George	Maybank	
Green	Millikin	Young
Gurney	Moore	

NAYS-4

Bushfield O'Daniel Williams McClellan

NOT VOTING-12

Baldwin McCarran
Capehart Overton
Flanders Reed
Langer Revercomb

Stewart Thomas, Utah Tobey Wagner So the committee amendment as amended was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question now is on the engrossment of the amendment and the third reading of the joint resolution.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed, and the joint resolution to be read a third time.

The joint resolution was read the third time and passed.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendment, ask for a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. Vandenberg, Mr. Wiley, Mr. Smith, Mr. Connally, and Mr. George conferees on the part of the Senate.

Senate.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be absent from the Senate tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, consent is granted.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3020) to prescribe fair and equitable rules of conduct to be observed by labor and management in their relations with one another which affect commerce, to protect the rights of individual workers in their relations with labor organizations whose activities affect commerce, to recognize the paramount public interest in labor disputes affecting commerce that endanger the public health, safety, or welfare, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. HART-LEY, Mr. LANDIS, Mr. HOFFMAN, Mr. LESINGKI, and Mr. BAHDEN were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 76, Senate bill 526, to promote the progress of science; to advance the national health, prosperity, and welfate; to secure the national defense; and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 526), to promote the progress of science; to advance the national health, prosperity, and welfare; to secure the national defense; and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, with amendments.

COORDINATION FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

Mr. ROBERTSON of Wyoming. Mr. President, our forefathers, at the founding of this great Nation, were rightly suspicious of granting too much authority to that necessary adjunct of a sovereign State, the armed forces. In their wisdom, they wrote into the Constitution definite provisions which they be-

Mr. STEFAN. No; I am not trying to impress on you anything of the kind.

Mr. REES. I know the gentleman

wants to be fair.

Mr. STEFAN. I am trying to impress upon you that it has been the custom, since we have been sending missions to foreign countries, to have prestige allow-

Mr. REES. They call them prestige allowances and, therefore, we proceed to spend money to buy liquor and we use that as a means of trying to get along with foreign countries. That is the whole sum and substance of it.

Mr. STEFAN. Does not the gentleman feel that this has been cut con-

siderably?

Mr. REES. I feel the gentleman has done a splendid job in cutting from over \$1,000,000 to \$500,000, but to me it is perfectly silly that anybody would ever have the nerve to come in and ask for this money. I will warrant that General Marshall did not come before the gentleman's committee and ask for this \$1,000,000. He did not ask for \$500,000. He did not even ask for \$250,000. Some representative of the State Department must have come down here to take care of this allowance, and I will warrant that even though I was not present, that I am sure is the way it happoned. It was not any of the top-flight men who came and asked for this money, you can be sure of that.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, I wish

Mr. STEFAN. Mw. Chairman, I wish to call to the attention of the Members that the hearings on Department of State appropriations, are available to all the Members of Congress, and the hearings are complete insofar as the representation allowances are concerned.

Mr. REES. The hearings are avail-

Mr. REES. The hearings are available, but the items for which this money is spent are not available to the Members of Congress, are there.

bers of Congress, are they?

Mr. STEFAN. I am sure that I would be very happy to give the gentleman all the information that I have in my possession.

Mr. REES. I would certainly be happy to have it and look over it.

Mr. STEPAN. The gentleman would be very enlightened and surprised.

Mr. REES. And I would be surprised, am sure.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. Rees].

The duestion was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. Rees) there were—ayes 32, noes 69.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, in order that the House may receive a message, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.
Accordingly the Committee rose; and
the Speaker having resumed the chair,
Mr. Curtis, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of
the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the
bill H. R. 3311, had come to no resolution

FURTHER MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

thereon.

A further message from the Senate by Mr. Carrell, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed, with an amendment in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H. J. Res. 153. Joint resolution providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the foregoing joint resolution, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. Vandenberg, Mr. Wiley, Mr. Smith, Mr. Connally, and Mr. George to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. D'ALESANDRO asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the Record as of May 16, 1947. ASSISTANCE TO PEOPLE OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table House Joint Resolution 153, providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, with Senate amendments, disagree to the Senate amendments and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the resolu-

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Eaton]. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Mr. Eaton, Mr. Vorys, Mr. Mundt, Mr. Bloom, and Mr. Kep.

DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, AND THE JUDICIARY AP-PROPRIATION BILL, 1948

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 3311) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the judiciary, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 3311, with Mr. Curtis in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman,
I move to strike out the last word.

[Mr. SMITH of Ohio addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I probably could criticize these appropriations as well as anyone in the Committee but I wish to direct my remarks to the information and cultural program of the State Department in this section of the bill. I concur in the statement of the chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. Stefan] in expressing confidence not only in Secretary of State Marshall but also in his Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Peurifoy. I think it was very unfortunate that General Mar-

shall had to go to Moscow so shortly after taking office.

I repeat, I probably could criticize the State Department as well as anybody, and I propose to show where it should be criticized.

It was very unfortunate that, by Presidential directive, so many people who were Communist and pro-Soviet in their thinking were transferred from the OSS, the OIC, the OIAA, and various agencies to the State Department.

Mr. Chairman, I have given considerable time and study to the activities and composition of the Cultural and Information Division of the State Department. Therefore I wish to take a little time to discuss this matter which is at present under consideration by the Congress.

Let no one assume that my attitude is one of heatility toward a constant.

one of hostility toward a constructive program of international information in behalf of the United States. Such a program is an urgent need, in the light of the propagand; barrage emanating from the Soviet Union and its Communist agents all over the world, attacking the United States as a war-mongering tool of the monopolists seeking world conquest, oppressing its own people, lynching Negroes, and guilty of every crime in the calendar of human sins. But the activities of the Cultural and Information Division of the State Department must not be confused with a sound program. As carried on today, they are a monstrosity costing the Nation millions of dollars. and serving no constructive purpose for the United States. Conducted by a group of pro-Communist fellow travelers and muddle heads, they fill the ether and tons of paper with a combination of material favorable to the Soviet Union and the Communists, or just plain twaddle.

Let me give you some idea of the personnel conducting the present program. Top-flight assistant to Mr. William Benton is William Treadwell Stone, Director of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. Here is his record:

Member of the editorial board of Amerasia from 1937 through November 1941. Chairman of this board was Frederick Vanderbilt Field, now a regular columnist for the Daily Worker and a member of the Communist Party. Managing editor was Philip Jacob Jaffe, indicted and fined for the possession of confidential Government documents, charged by Hon. George A. Dondero on November 28, 1945, with being in close touch with Earl Browder, until recently head of the Communist Party, United States of America, and Tung Pi Wu, Chinese Communist delegate to the San Francisco Conference. Mr. Stone's membership on the editorial board of Amerasia covers the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact during which this magazine described the war in Europe as imperialistic, declaring that—

Germany, industrially powerful but poor in resources and weak financially, is attempting to take by force what Great Britain pos-

Jaffe's Communist alias was J.W. Phillips—Washington Daily News, June 7, 1945, page 1. Mr. Field was executive secretary of the American Peace Mobilization, a Communist front which picket.

ed the White House during the period of

the Stalin-Hitler Pact.
Writing in Amerasia of August 1937, together with such well-known defenders of Soviet foreign policy as Frederick V. Field, Edgar Snow, and Harriet Moore, Mr. Stone comments as follows on relations with Japan:

Nevertheless, the case against invoking the Nevertheless, the case against invoking the Neutrallty Act, as presented by the State Department and a considerable section of the press, is not altogether convincing * * * on the other hand, in the events at Shanghai have precipitated a general war, as seems likely, a policy of drift which allows munitions shipments and trade in war materials to continue would not advance the cause of peace or reduce the dangers of American Involvement. * * * Furthernore, the possibilities of collective action under neutralsibilities of collective action under neutrallty have apparently not been explored by Washington (p. 293).

This statement should be compared with the official line of the Communist Party, U. S. A., at the time as expressed by Earl Browder, its spokesman in an NBC broadcast on August 28, 1936, as follows:

How long will the American people, who have so convincingly shown their unmistakable desire for peace, continue to hold aloof from collective efforts for peace which alone can check the war plans of the Japanese milltarists in the Far East and of their ally, Hit-ler, in Europe? * * * President Roose--hangs on to a policy of so-called neutrality or isolation which in practice has encouraged the Fascist aggressors. * was this Ineffective method which embold-ened the Japanese militarists to advance their war plans against China and the United States.

The following article—quoted in partis taken from Amerasia of October 1940 published under joint editorship of Mr. Stone, Mr. Jaffe, Mr. Field, and others, apparently with their full knowledge and approval. The article is entitled "American Far Eastern Policy; For Democracy or Imperalism?" by Frederick V. Field and reads in part as follows:

Our Government is, as it has repeatedly stated, interested in the imperalist status quo. * * * Finally, it may be said that I am expressing an isolated, private view.

* * .Over the Labor Day week end more
than 22,000 men and women, of whom 6,000 were delegates, met at the Emergency Feace Mobilization in Chicago. * * * Two thousand went on to Washington to lobby and demonstrate against the conscription bill. * * * Because to them the building up of a great milltary machine for the purpose of begreat military machine for the purpose of becoming a partner in a war of rival imperialisms is not consistent with true national defense. I say, therefore, that the views I have
expressed are not those of an isolated individual. Rather, they are the views, springing
from deep convictions of millions and millions of Americans who refuse to be duped
into war or into an American form of dictatorship and fascier. torship and fascism.

No statement appeared in Amerasia to challenge this viewpoint, by Mr. Stone or anyone elses

Again, under the joint editorship of Mr. Stone, with Messrs. Jaffe, Field, and others, there appeared in the January 1940 Assue of Amerasia an article by Harriet Moore entitled "Two Wars or One," from which the following excerpt is quoted:

The United States-

should exert its influence to stop the European conflict as soon as, possible by means of negotiated balance-of-power peace.

No statement appeared to challenge this viewpoint.

Mr. Stone was formerly with the Budget Bureau as administrative consultant at \$9,800. He is said to have drawn up the plan for the Cultural Division of the State Department.

He has been in charge of selection of personnel for foreign broadcasting.

He is reported to have appointed George Shaw Wheeler, while Stone was in London for the Board of Economic Warfare. Wheeler has a long record of Communist affiliations and activities. Because of this record. Wheeler was removed by the Civil Service Commission and later reinstated as a result of leftwing pressure.

Next we have Haldore E. Hanson, Assistant Secretary of the Office of Information and Culture. Here is his

Assistant Secretary and the official lobbyist for the Office of Information and Culture.

Mr. Hanson has spent most of his adult life since leaving school as a freelance writer in China. He wanted to

study, but as he says:

When the school year drew to a close, I decided to join a group of professors and journalists in Peiping headed by Edgar Snow 1 and his wife, 2 who were organizing a new political magazine.

He held other positions which some of his superiors considered so important that he was excused from military service. One of these positions was in the Department of Agriculture.

A further indication of the varied and colorful background which he brought to the Department is in an article written about him—Review of Reviews, February 1937, page 95-in which he is referred to as smuggler, soldier, and diplomat. In view of the fact that his military service was not with the United States armed forces, it would be well to learn with whom and for what he fought.

Mr. Hanson can best be judged, however, by his own writings: A. The People Behind the Chinese Guerrillas, published in Pacific Affairs, September 1938:

In this article, he shows that he enjoyed the complete confidence of the Chinese Communists—and that they do not tolerate anyone who is not completely on their side-the official Communist position.

First. Page 285:

To assess the strength of the self-defense governments and the mass movement supporting the guerrillas, I spent 2 weeks traveling through guerrilla territory in central Hopei in March 1938 and brought back copies of nearly all of the official documents of the government in addition to my own observa-

That is, he was given official documents by the Communists, and given safe conduct through their lines.

A prominent pro-Soviet writer on China. ² Under the pen name of Nym Wales, wrote extensively in support of Soviet policy

⁸ Page 30, Humane Endeavor, by H. Hanson.

Second. He shows that the central Hopei mass movement with which he was identified was definitely a part of the official Communist plan.

Third. Mr. Hanson, apparently himself a well-grounded student of the writings of Marx and Lenin could judge the actual knowledge of Marx which the Chinese Communists had.

Page 290:

Naturally the political leaders trained in the anti-Japanese academy are famillar with the writings of Marx and Lenin and have not abandoned their hopes for a socialist republic.

Page 303:

MAO TZE-TUNG'S LONG VIEW

China has the second largest Communist Party in the world. The leader of the party lives at Yenan. Next to Stalin he is the most powerful Marxian thinker and leader in world politics today. I asked for an interview with the Mao Tze-tung. (From Human Endeavor, p. 303.)

Fourth. Mr. Hanson, further, proudlyalmost boastfully—shows how completely the Communists accepted him into their confidence. He states:

(a) The guerrillas do not tolerate neutral-A man is either for or against them (p. 296).

Mr. Hanson was at all times given safe conduct through the Communist lines.

I have traveled in the commander in chief's motor car.

(b) I spent 4 months at the close of 1938 with the north China guerrillas. (The Nation, April 8, 1939, p. 401.)

Page 254:

(c) Thirty miles south of Wut'ai I came upon two Canadian doctors. One was Dr. Norman Bethune, a surgeon from Toronto who was sent to China by the American Committee for Medical Aid to China.

Fifth. Mr. Hanson, with more enthusiasm than objectivity, tells of the aims and achievements of the Chinese Communists.

Page 296:

The Communist agents frankly tell their visitors that they hope the present war will produce a democratic government in China, which will be only one step toward the ulti-mate goal of a socialist state. * * * This goal was asserted by Mr. Huang Ching, the Communist representative at the Fuping conference when he stated: "The Communist Party is determined to support the formation of a democratic republic and to execute the duties laid upon it by this new political power."

Page 298:

Despite this continued vision of a future Chinese Sovlet the qualities of leadership at the Central Hopei headquarters would seem to indicate that the Communists will not fight any more civil wars. * * This Red leadership is characterized by a buildog attitude toward the ultimate goal, a flexibility of methods, an attitude of self-critical cism toward all present work, a willingness of experiment, and a complete absence (so far as I could see) of personal ambition. The

¹ After the death of Dr. Bethune, the Daily Worker told that he had been a member of the Communist Party. The Worker further told that Dr. Bethune had served with the Spanish Communist's Army In the medical corps, and that he had played the hero role in a Soviet picture, Spaln in Flames.

may 20

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DIGEST OF

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE Division of Logislative Reports (For Department staff only)

Issued For actions of

May 21, 1947 May 20, 1947 SOth-lst, No. 95

CONTENTS

	Health	
C.C. &	Lands, reclamation14,20	Research1
	Livestock and meat8 Nomination4	
Crop insurance22	Organization, executive26	Taxation6
	Personnel	

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate passed Science Foundation bill. Sen. Bushfield criticized proposal for conference on farm-land prices. Sen. Capper introduced CCC charter bill. Sen. McCarthy introduced and discussed bill to decontrol sugar. Sen. Murray introduced and discussed, and Rep. Dingell introduced, health-program bills. Rep. Hope inserted compromise amendment to wool bill; House to debate bill today. Reps.Potts and Boggs criticized handling of potato surplus. Rep. Lare criticized wool bill. Rep. Gillie inserted BAI answer to criticisms of Mexico foot-and-mouth disease campaign.

SENATE

- 1. RESEARCH. Passed, 79-8, with amendments S. 526, creating a National Science Foundation (pp. 5632, 5636-53). Rejected, 23-52, an amendment by Sen. Kilgore, Va., to provide for an Administrator appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, with an advisory board (p. 5644). Agreed to an amendment by Sen. O'Mahoney, Wyo., to provide that nothing in the bill shall be construed to authorize the Foundation to alter or modify any law regarding patents (p.5644). Agreed, 42-41, to an amendment by Sen. Magnuson, Wash., to provide for appointment of the Director by the President, with Senate confirmation, but to make him subject to supervision by the executive committee (p. 5649). Rejected, 23-63, an amendment by Sen. Fulbright, Ark., to provide for a Division of Social Sciences (p. 5650). The bill, as passed, was printed (pp. 5650-2).
- 2. FARM-LAND PRICES. Sen. Bushfield, S. Dak., said the President's proposal to call a conference on this subject is "ill-conceived" and that "there is no substantial inflation...in farm-land prices" (p. 5653).
- 3. SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM. Received a Calif. Legislature memorial urging continuation of this program without reduction (p. 5631).
- 4. NOMINATION of R. A. Lovett to be <u>Under Secretary of State</u> was favorably reported by the Foreign Relations Committee (p. 5632).
- 5. NATIONAL FORESTS. At the request of Chairman Capper of the Agriculture and Forestry Committee, the proposed bill providing for sale of certain timber in the Tongass National Forest was transferred from that Committee to the Fublic Lands Committee (p. 5632).
- FAXATION. H. R. 1, the tax-reduction bill, was made the unfinished business (p. 5660),

HOUSE

- 7. WOOL. Rep. Lanc. Mass., spoke in opposition to S. 814, the wool price-support bill, claiming that it "means the nationalization of the raw-wool industry" and that "The woolen and worsted industry cannot survive the drastic penalties imposed by S. 814" (pp. 5698-5700).

 S. 814 is to be taken up by the House Wed., May 21 (p. D272).
- 8. FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE. Rep. Gillie, Ind., inserted a letter from Dr. Simms,
 BAI, answering criticisms of the conduct of the campaign to eradicate the footand-mouth disease in Mexico (p. 5670).
- 9. POTATOES. Rep. Buck, Del., criticized the Government's potato-surplus policies, asking "do you know of any sound reason why potatoes should at this time be destroyed as surplus when there exists so great a need for them for consumption" (p. 5664).
- 10. FOREIGN RELIEF. Received the conference report on H.J.Res. 153, authorizing appropriations of \$350,000,000 for relief of war-devastated countries, with a provision authorizing RFC to advance \$75,000,000 until an appropriation is made (pp. 5661-4).
- 11. SECOND DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1947. Reps. Taber, Wigglesworth, Engel, Stefan, Case, Keefe, Cannon, Kerr, and Mahon were appointed conferees on this bill (p. 5664). Senate conferees appointed May 16.
- 12. SUGAR. Rep. Hall, N.Y., claimed that "the warehouses of this country are bulging with sugar" and stated that "This food should be made available to our
 housewives so that the American diet may be improved" (pp. 5670-1)
- 13. NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILL, 1948. Passed with amendment this bill H.R. 3493 (pp. 5681-98).
- 14. RECLAMATION. The Public Lands Committee reported without amendment H.R. 1274, to extend the reclamation laws to the State of Arkansas (H.Rept.399)(p. 5700).

 The Public Lands Committee reported without amendment H.R. 3348, to declare the policy of the U.S. with respect to the allocation of costs of construction of the Coachella Division of the All-American Canal irrigation project, Calif. (H.Rept. 404) (p. 5700).
- 15. SCHOOL-LUNCH PROGRAM. Received a Calif. Legislature memorial favoring the continuation of this program (p. 5701).

BILLS INTRODUCED

- 16. SUGAR. S. 1321, by Sen. McCarthy, Wis. (for himself and others), to decontrol sugar. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 5632.) Sen. McCarthy criticized USDA's sugar-rationing program, discussed surplus sugar supplies, and inserted J.H. Marshall's (Dir., Sugar Branch, PMA) letter explaining the sugar situation (pp. 5653-4).
- 17. HEALTH. S. 1320, by Sen. Murray, Mont. (for himself and others), and H.R. 3546, by Rep. Dingell, Mich., to provide a national health insurance and public-health program. To Senate Labor and Public Welfare and House Ways and Means Committees, respectively. (pp. 5632, 5701). Remarks of Sen. Murray (pp. 5654-60).
- 18. C.C.C. CHARTER. S. 1332, by Sen. Capper, Kans., to provide a Federal charter for CCC. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (p. 5632).

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

May 20, 1947.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. Eaton, from the committee of conference, submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany H. J. Res. 153]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$350,000,000 for the provision of relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed: Provided, That from the funds authorized under this section the President shall make contributions to the International Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations for the special care and feeding of children, and such contributions shall not be subject to the limitations and requirements provided in this joint resolution, but after \$15,000,000 has been so contributed, no further contributions shall be made which would cause the aggregate amount so contributed by the United States (1) to constitute more than 57 per centum of the aggregate amount contributed to said fund by all governments not receiving assistance from said fund, including the United States; or (2) to exceed \$40,000,000, whichever is the lesser.

There shall be established and maintained, out of the funds authorized under this joint resolution, a relief distribution mission for each of the countries receiving aid under this joint resolution. Such missions shall be comprised solely of American citizens who shall have been investigated as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Such

missions shall have direct supervision and control, in each country, of relicf supplies furnished or otherwise made available under this joint resolution, and, when it is deemed desirable by the field administrator provided for in section 4, such missions shall be empowered to retain possession of such supplies up to the city or local community where such supplies are actually made available to the ultimate consumers.

Not more than \$15,000,000 of the funds authorized under this joint resolution shall be available for relief in any countries or territories other than Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Trieste, and China. This provision shall not imply any obligation to give relief to any of the

countries mentioned.

Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$75,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine. From appropriations authorized under this section, there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation

the advances made by it under the authority contained herein.

Sec. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and on such terms as the President may determine; except that no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made after June 30, 1948, and except that not more than 6 per centum of the amount herein authorized shall be used for the procurement of supplies outside the United States and its Territories and possessions.

(b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds authorized herein may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance, including expenses of or incident to the procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits established under subsection (a).

(c) Funds authorized under this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the purposes of this joint resolution to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government and such sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in accordance with the laws governing obligations and expenditures of the department, agency, or independent establishment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and title 31, sec. 529).

(d) Such additional civilian employees as may be required by the War Department in connection with the furnishing of procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment services under this joint resolution and which services are paid for from funds herein authorized, shall not be counted as civilian employees within the meaning of section 607 of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945, as amended by section 14 of the

Federal Employees Pay Act of 1946.

(e) When any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government receives request from the government of any country for which credits have been established under subsection (a) and receives, from credits so established, advancements or reimbursements for the cost and necessary expenses, it may furnish, or procure and furnish (if advancements are made), supplies within the category of relief assistance as defined in section 1 and may use sums so received for the purposes set forth in subsection (b) of this section. When any such reimbursement is

made it shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, either to the appropriation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation, or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which is current at the time of such reimbursement.

(f) In order to supplement the general relief assistance made available under the terms of section 1 and to effect the economical and expanded use of American voluntary relief contributions, tunds authorized under this joint resolution, not to exceed \$5,000,000, may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the ocean transportation of supplies donated to or purchased by American voluntary and nonprofit relief agencies, and in such quantities and kinds and for such purposes as the President may determine to be essential supplements to the supplies provided for such general relief assistance.

(g) The relief supplies provided under the terms of this joint resolution shall be procured and furnished by the appropriate United States procure-

ment agencies unless the President shall determine otherwise.

SEC. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any country unless the government of such country has given assurance satisfactory to the President that (a) the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the people of such country without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief; (b) representatives of the Government of the United States and of the press and radio of the United States will be permitted to observe freely and to report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts and progress of the United States relief program carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution; (d) if food, medical supplies, fertilizer, or seed is transferred or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will be exported or removed from such country while need therefor for relief purposes continues; (c) such country has taken or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, it will furnish promptly information concerning the production, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such country; (g) representatives of the Government of the United States will be permitted to supervise the distribution among the people of such country of the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution; (h) provision will be made for a control system so that all classes of people within such country will receive their fair share of essential supplies; and (i) all supplies transferred pursuant to this joint resolution or acquired through the use of credits established pursuant to this joint resolution and any articles processed from such supplies, or the containers of such supplies or articles, will, to the extent practicable, be marked, stamped, branded, or labeled in a conspicuous place as legibly, indelibly, and permanently as the nature of such supplies, articles, or containers will permit in such manner as to indicate to the ultimate consumer in such country that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance; or if such supplies, articles, or containers are incapable of being so marked, stamped, branded, or labeled, that all practicable steps will be taken to inform the ultimate consumers thereof that such supplies or articles have been furnished by

the United States of America for relief assistance.

SEC. 4. When supplies are transferred or otherwise made available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution, the President shall cause representatives of the Government of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution of such supplies among the people of such country, (2) to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of the assurances given to the President pursuant to section 3, and (3) to seek arrangements that reparations payable from current production by any such country to any other country by treaty be postponed during the period of such relief.

With respect to the furnishing of relief assistance pursuant to this joint resolution, the President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. a field administrator who shall direct the supervision of such relief assistance. Such administrator shall receive compensation at a rate not to exceed \$12,000 per annum, and any necessary expenses, as the President shall determine. He shall act in accordance with the instruc-

tions of the President.

The authority of the President under sections 2 and 3 and under this section may, to the extent the President directs, be exercised by the Secre-

tary of State.

Sec. 5. (a) The President shall promptly terminate the provision of relief assistance to the people of any country whenever he determines (1) that, by reason of changed conditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2) that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out, (3) that an excessive amount of any supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the maintenance of armed forces in such country, or (4) that supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed from such country.

(b) Relief assistance to the people of any country, under this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated whenever such termination is directed by concurrent resolution of the two

Houses of the Congress.

Sec. 6. To the extent that relief supplies procured with funds authorized under this joint resolution are not furnished on terms of repayment in dollars, they shall be furnished only upon condition that the government of the receiving country agree that when it sells such relief supplies for local currency (a) the amounts of such local currency will be deposited by it in a special account; (b) such account will be used within such country, as a revolving fund, until June 30, 1948, only upon the approval of the duly authorized representative of the United States, for relief and work relief purposes, including local currency expenses of the United States incident to the furnishing of relief; and (c) any unencumbered balance remaining in such account on June 30, 1948, will be disposed of within such country for such purposes as the United States Government, pursuant to Act or joint resolution of the Congress, may determine.

S_{EC}. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under authority of this joint resolution. And the Senate agree to the same.

CHARLES A. EATON,
KARL E. MUNDT,
SOL BLOOM,
JOHN KEE,
Managers on the Part of the House.
A. H. VANDENBERG,
ALEXANDER WILEY,
H. ALEXANDER SMITH.

A. H. VANDENBERG,
ALEXANDER WILEY,
H. ALEXANDER SMITH,
TOM CONNALLY,
WALTER F. GEORGE,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT OF THE MANAGERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

Except for clerical and minor clarifying changes, the differences between the joint resolution as passed by the House and the substitute

agreed to in conference are explained below.

AUTHORIZATION FOR APPROPRIATION

By the first section of the joint resolution as passed by the House, the appropriation of not more than \$200,000,000 was authorized for relief assistance. This section also provided that from the sums appropriated the President could make contributions to the International Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations for the special care and feeding of children (contributions for such purpose not to be subject to the limitations and requirements contained in the joint resolution with respect to funds used for relief assistance), and that after \$15,000,000 had been so contributed no further contributions should be made which would cause the aggregate United States contribution (1) to constitute more than 57 percent of the aggregate amount contributed to such fund by all governments, including the United States, or (2) to exceed \$50,000,000, whichever was the lesser.

The Senate amendment authorized an appropriation of \$350,000,000 for the provision of relief assistance and contained no provision with

respect to contributions to the Children's Emergency Fund.

The conference substitute authorizes the appropriation of not to exceed \$350,000,000 for relief assistance, and includes a provision with respect to contributions to the Children's Emergency Fund, similar to the House provision, except that for the purpose of making mandatory the contribution of \$15,000,000, the permissive phrase "may make contributions" has been changed to "shall make contributions"; and the clauses prescribing the maximum aggregate United States contribution to the fund have been amended to read as follows:

* * * which would cause the aggregate amount so contributed by the United States (1) to constitute more than 57 per centum of the aggregate amount contributed to said fund by all governments not receiving assistance from said fund, including the United States; or (2) to exceed \$40,000,000, whichever is the lesser.

It is not intended that there be set aside indefinitely amounts sufficient to cover the maximum possible United States contribution to the fund determined on the basis of contributions made by other countries. It is understood that if the President determines, at a reasonable time prior to the termination of the relief assistance

program, that there is no reasonable expectation that other governments will make contributions which will result in an increase in the aggregate amount to be contributed by the United States, he may utilize for the relief assistance program the amounts which have not been contributed to the Children's Emergency Fund.

ADVANCES BY RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

There has been included in the first section of the conference substitute a provision, taken from the Senate amendment, authorizing and directing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make advances, not to exceed an aggregate of \$75,000,000, to carry out the provisions of the joint resolution, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine. Provision is made for repayment to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation when appropriations are made pursuant to the joint resolution.

RELIEF-DISTRIBUTION MISSIONS

The joint resolution as passed by the House contained a provision that none of the funds authorized should be used for relief assistance in those countries whose governments are dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics unless the governments of such countries agreed to a requirement which by the joint resolution was declared to be applicable to every country receiving aid under the provisions of the joint resolution. The requirement referred to, which was incorporated in the joint resolution, was that the State Department should establish and maintain a relief-distribution mission for each country receiving aid. This provision required that each such mission should be comprised solely of American citizens approved as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It further provided that such missions should have direct supervision and control of relief supplies in each country and, when deemed desirable by the American authorities administering the provisions of the joint resolution, such missions should be empowered to retain possession of our relief supplies up to the city or local community where such supplies were actually made available to the ultimate

The Senate amendment contained no provisions of the character

above referred to.

The provision as to the establishment of relief-distribution missions has been included in the conference substitute, with minor modifications, and since it will apply to all countries to which relief assistance is extended, the provision making specific reference to governments dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has not been retained. The principal changes which the conference substitute makes are to eliminate the reference to the State Department, to provide that the members of such missions shall be "investigated" rather than "approved" as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and to change the reference to "American authorities" to "the field administrator provided for by section 4".

The requirements as to American citizenship and investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation are intended to apply to all persons exercising the responsibilities with which each mission is entrusted; but there will be attached to the mission custodial and service personnel, recruited in foreign countries, as to which compliance with these requirements will not be practicable. It is not contemplated that any position of importance or influence will be filled by any person other than an American citizen who has been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

COUNTRIES TO RECEIVE RELIEF ASSISTANCE

The provision in the House joint resolution specifying the countries for which relief assistance may be made available, under the joint resolution, has been modified in the conference substitute. As modified it reads as follows:

Not more than \$15,000,000 of the funds authorized under this joint resolution shall be available for relief in any countries or territories other than Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Trieste, and China. This provision shall not imply any obligation to give relief to any of the countries mentioned.

The House provision differed from the provision above quoted in that the specification of the countries was stated affirmatively rather than negatively; and Trieste was not included among the countries listed. The last sentence of the above-quoted provision was not contained in the House joint resolution.

PROCUREMENT OF SUPPLIES OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

The House joint resolution provided that not more than 10 percent of the appropriations authorized should be expended for the procurement of relief supplies in countries other than the United States. A similar provision is included in the conference substitute, taken from the Senate amendment. Under this provision not more than 6 percent of the amount authorized by the joint resolution may be used for the procurement of supplies outside of the United States and its Territories and possessions.

EMPLOYEE CEILING

The conference substitute contains a provision to the effect that additional civilian employees required by the War Department in connection with the furnishing of procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment services paid for from funds authorized by the joint resolution shall not be counted as civilian employees within the meaning of section 607 of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945, as amended by section 14 of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1946. This is based on a Senate provision which applied to any department, agency, or independent establishment.

SUPPLIES MADE AVAILABLE BY AMERICAN RELIEF AGENCIES

There is included in section 2 of the conference substitute a provision taken from the Senate amendment, reading as follows:

(f) In order to supplement the general relief assistance made available under the terms of section 1 and to effect the economical and expanded use of American voluntary relief contributions, funds authorized under this joint resolution, not to exceed \$5,000,000, may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the ocean transportation of supplies donated to or purchased by American voluntary and nonprofit relief agencies, and in such quantities and kinds and for such purposes as the President may determine to be essential supplements to the supplies provided for such general relief assistance.

ASSURANCES GIVEN BY RECIPIENT COUNTRIES

In section 3 of the conference substitute, providing that relief assistance shall not be granted to the people of any country unless its government has given certain assurances satisfactory to the President, two new clauses taken from the Senate amendment have been added.

One of these, clause (h), requires that assurance must be given that provision will be made for a control system so that all classes of people within the recipient country will receive their fair share of essential supplies. The other of these clauses, clause (i), reads as follows:

(i) all supplies transferred pursuant to this joint resolution or acquired through the use of credits established pursuant to this joint resolution and any articles processed from such supplies, or the containers of such supplies or articles, will, to the extent practicable, be marked, stamped, branded, or labeled in a conspicuous place as legibly, indelibly, and permanently as the nature of such supplies, articles, or containers will permit in such manner as to indicate to the ultimate consumer in such country that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance; or if such supplies, articles, or containers are incapable of being so marked, stamped, branded, or labeled, that all practicable steps will be taken to inform the ultimate consumers thereof that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance.

There was included in this section of the House joint resolution a clause (h), requiring assurance that when relief supplies procured with funds authorized by the joint resolution were sold by a receiving government for local currency the amounts of such local currency should be deposited by the recipient government in a special account and should be used only for relief and rehabilitation purposes with the approval of the duly authorized representative of the United States. In the conference substitute this provision has been omitted, but there has been included as section 6 of the conference substitute a similar and more comprehensive provision, taken from the Senate amendment, which reads as follows:

Sec. 6. To the extent that relicf supplies procured with funds authorized under this joint resolution are not furnished on terms of repayment in dollars, they shall be furnished only upon condition that the government of the receiving country agree that when it sells such relief supplies for local currency (a) the amounts of such local currency will be deposited by it in a special account; (b) such account will be used within such country, as a revolving fund, until June 30, 1948, only upon the approval of the duly authorized representative of the United States, for relief and work relief purposes, including local currency expenses of the United States incident to the furnishing of relief; and (c) any unencumbered balance remaining in such account on June 30, 1948, will be disposed of within such country for such purposes as the United States Government, pursuant to Act or joint resolution of the Congress, may determine.

ADMINISTRATION

The House joint resolution provided for the appointment by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, of a relief administrator to perform such functions, relating to the administration of the joint resolution, as the President might prescribe. Such administrator was to receive such salary and have such staff as the President should determine.

A provision in the Senate amendment would have provided for an administrator to direct the supervision of relief assistance only in Europe. This provision provided for a salary of not to exceed \$12,000 per annum, and any necessary expenses, as the President should determine.

The conference substitute, in section 4, provides for a field administrator, who is to direct the supervision of relief assistance under the joint resolution, such field administrator to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. As to salary and expenses this provision follows the Senate amendment. Such administrator is to act in accordance with the instructions of the President.

A provision from the Senate amendment has been included in section 4, providing that the authority of the President under that section and under sections 2 and 3 may, to the extent the President directs, be exercised by the Secretary of State.

PROVISION RELATING TO REPARATIONS

Section 4 of the House joint resolution provided that when supplies were transferred or otherwise made available to any country the President should cause representatives of the Government of the United States, among other things, to—

make certain that reparations payable by any such country to any other country by treaty have been postponed during the period of such relief.

The Senate amendment contained no similar provision.

In the conference substitute this provision of section 4 has been modified so that, when relief assistance has been so made available, the President is to cause representatives of the Government of the United States—

to seek arrangements that reparations payable from current production by any such country to any other country by treaty be postponed during the period of such relief.

CHARLES A. EATON,
KARL E. MUNDT,
SOL BLOOM,
JOHN KEE,
Managers on the Part of the House.

House of Representatives

TUESDAY, MAY 20, 1947

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the follow

ing prayer:

O Thou immortal, invisible, and eternal one, who alone is God, unto Thee be glory and honor for ever and ever. With all our manifold weaknesses and with the consciousness of our transgressions we come to Thee. We thank Thee that Thy strength is for human weakness, that Thy purity is for human sin, and Thy mercy is for human resentment. Fill us with Thy love, the love which springs from a pure heart, from a clear conscience, and from a sincere faith. Enable us not to deviate from these and lose our way in empty reasoning. We would accept and make Thee the outward and unselfish aim of our lives, knowing that the grace of our Lord is more than abundant. Clothe us with a deep sense of our responsibility that we may faithfully and wisely fuffill the mission Thou hast given us.

Hear our prayer for the sake of our Saviour. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 3245. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to the foregoing bill, requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. Bridges, Mr. Brooks, Mr. Gurney, Mr. Ball, Mr. McKellar, Mr. Hayden, and Mr. Tydings to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the President pro tempore has appointed Mr. LANGER and Mr. CHAVEZ members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following departments and agencies:

- 1. Department of Agriculture.
- 2. Department of the Navy.
- Department of the Treasury.
 Department of War.
- 5. National Archives.
- 6. Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.
 - 7 Federal Security Agency. National Housing Agency.

9. Office of Temporary Controls. 10. Office of Scientific Research and Development.

11. Selective Service System.

12. Veterans' Administration

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 30

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New

There was no objection.

ASSISTANCE TO PEOPLE OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR.

Mr. EATON submitted the following conference report and statement on the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war:

CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following:

"That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$350,-000,000 for the provision of relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed: Provided, That from the funds authorized under this section the President shall make contributions to the International Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations for the special care and feeding of children, and such contributions shall not be subject to the limitations and requirements provided in this joint resolution, but after \$15,000,000 has been so contributed, no further contributions shall be made which would cause the aggregate amount so contributed by the United States (1) to constitute more than 57 percent of the aggregate amount contributed to said fund by all governments not receiving assistance from said fund, including the United States; or (2) to exceed \$40,000,000, whichever is the lesser.

"There shall be established and maintained, out of the funds authorized under. this joint resolution, a relief distribution mission for each of the countries receiving aid under this joint resolution. Such missions shall be comprised solely of American citizens who shall have been investigated as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Such missions shall have

direct supervision and control, in each country, of relief supplies furnished or otherwise made available under this joint resolution, and, when it is deemed desirable by the field administrator provided for in section 4, such missions shall'be empowered to retain possession of such supplies up to the city or local community where such supplies are actually made available to the ultimate consumers.

"Not more than \$15,000,000 of the funds authorized under this joint resolution shall be available for relief in any countries or territories other than Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Trieste, and China. This

provision shall not imply any obligation to give relief to any of the countries mentioned.

"Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$75,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine. From appropriations authorized under this section, there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the advances made by

it under the authority contained herein.
"Sec. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and on such terms as the President may determine; except that no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made after June 30, 1948, and except that not more than 6 per centum of the amount herein authorized shall be used for the procurement of supplies outside the United States and its Territories and possessions.

"(b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds authorized herein may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance, including expenses of or incident to the procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits established under subsection (a).

(c) Funds authorized under this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the purposes of this joint resolution to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government and such sums shall be available for obligation and ex-penditure in accordance with the laws governing obligations and expenditures of the department, agency, or independent estab-lishment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and title 31, sec. 529)

"(d) Such additional civilian employees as may be required by the War Department in connection with the furnishing of procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment services under this joint resolution and which services are paid for from funds herein authorized, shall not be counted as civilian employees within the meaning of section 607 of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945, as amended by section 14 of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1946.

"(e) When any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government receives request from the government of any country for which credits have been estabduring the period of such relief". The Senate amendment contained no similar provision.

In the conference substitute this provision of section 4 has been modified so that, when relief assistance has been so made available, the President is to cause representatives of the Government of the United States "to seek arrangements that reparations payable from current production by any such country to any other country by treaty be postponed during the period of such relief".

CHARLES A. EATON,
KARL E. MUNDT,
SOL BLOOM,
JOHN KEE,
Managers on the Part of the House.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WOODRUFF asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record in two instances and include extraneous matter.

SECOND DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1947

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 3245) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947, and for other purposes, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate

ence asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. Taber, Wiggles-Worth, Engel of Michigan, Stefan, Case of South Dakota, Keefe, Cannon, Kerr, and Mahon.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. BOGGS of Delaware. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Delaware?

There was no objection.

THE POTATO MARKET

Mr. BOGGS of Delaware. Mr. Speaker, I am to speak on a subject which should be approached in a very calm and collected manner, and it is my hope to be calm, but I want to tell you this whole business makes my blood boil.

I hold here in my hand a picture which appeared in the Washington Sunday Star, May 18. It is an Associated Press The picture shows a mountain picture. of surplus potatoes, some 50 tons, which were dumped by the Government of the United States on Friday, May 16, because, it is alleged, of a glutted market. Here let me interpolate briefly to point out that the market which is said to be glutted is not the consumer market—for if an adequate supply was permitted to flow, prices would be reduced. The caption under the picture indicates that kerosene was poured over these potatoes to make them unfit for consumption. There is something lacking to make this picture complete. This picture would be complete if on the top of this mountain of surplus potatoes there appeared such

famous advisers as Paul Porter, Chester Bowles, Leon Henderson, Robert Nathan, and Henry Wallace with the Voice of America microphone.

Keep this picture in mind as I show you a sales slip, dated May 12, 1947, indicating that 10 pounds of white potatoes sold for 97 cents right here in Washington. This means that potatoes are selling to the consumer today for nearly \$6 a bushel at the retail level.

Now, gentlemen, these 50 tons of surplus potatoes—and I hesitate to think of how many more tons at other times and places—were bought and paid for by the Government with our taxpayers' money. The kerosene which was poured over them to make them unfit for consumption was poured over them by orders of our Government. Potatoes, as we all know, are one of the most important basic food items in the United States and throughout the world. With this in mind, I want to know how in good conscience and sincerity can any representative or spokesman for the present administration even so much as mention the high cost of living?

As we think of these tons of life-giving food being destroyed here in the United States, thus preventing this food from getting into the hands of people who need it, I am wondering how the administration's experts and economists justify our Government's action in view of the starvation situation throughout the world and the heavy demand on our own taxpayers to provide funds to keep body and soul together in many foreign lands?

How can the administration attempt to justify the spending of our taxpayer's money with one hand to destroy food and at the same time with the other hand ask our people to provide millions to feed a starving world?

Yes, let us keep in our mind's eye the picture of these tons of surplus potatoes being destroyed right here in our own country in order to prevent this food from reaching the consumers' market, as we think of the \$31,000,000 being asked to tell a wrecked and starving world about America. Would you like the Voice of America to tell a weak, despairing, and starving people the truth about what we are doing here in the United States? I hope if we have a Voice of America, the voice will be able to tell the truth and not just propaganda. The the truth and not just propaganda. world is fed up with propaganda. What the world wants is something to eat. Let us give the starving peoples food instead of propaganda. I think the psychological effect of food would be worth a billion dollars of propaganda. Let us convince the world that we really have a great and free system of government here in the United States by reestablishing good American common sense and humanity in the administration of our Government.

There is a lot of talk about communism in the United States. Our taxpayers are being called upon for millions of dollars, and probably as yet undisclosed billions of dollars, for use throughout the world to prevent the spread of communism. On the other hand, the administration of our Government is spending the taxpayers' money to de-

stroy food which hungry peoples need and which many low-income people in our own country are having great difficulty in buying. It would seem to me that such action as the administration has taken is driving prices still further up by destroying potatoes which are the very essence of life, and creates a most fertile and receptive attitude for the growth of communism.

The farmer wants and is entitled to a full and proper price for his products, and every reasonable person in the United States wants the farmer to have full and proper prices for his products. Think for a minute, however, how the farmers must feel who put their labor and sweat into raising these potatoes only to have them destroyed by their own Government with their own tax money.

This particular incident is just one example of the type of government manipulation which fosters our high cost of living and which compelled me to introduce sometime ago a resolution calling for an over-all study of the cost of living. I am fully convinced now of the urgency and necessity of studying this problem with a view to overhauling the administration of our Government in order that it might in deed as well as in word aid toward the recovery in both the domestic and foreign situations.

I ask the Members of this House if in light of the high cost of living, in light of a starving world, in view of the tremendous tax burden on our people, in view of our fight against communism, in view of the Administration's verbal attacks on the high cost of living, do you know of any sound reason why potatoes should at this time be destroyed as surplus when there exists so great a need for them for consumption?

I hope in view of this situation that our Appropriations Committee and all other committees of this Congress will renew vigorous efforts to reestablish good, old American common sense and humanity in the administration of our Government.

(Mr. BOGGS of Delaware asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. POTTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

THE CONDITION OF THE CAPITOL DOME

Mr. POTTS. Mr. Speaker, some friends of mine came down from New York on a visit not so long ago and climbed the steps to the Capitol dome. They told me that what they saw up there is not pleasant to hear about. So a few days ago I climbed those same steps myself all the way up to the dome of the Capitol. I realize what I found up there is the accumulation of many past years but it should be corrected. There are all kinds of comments written and scribbled on the walls in red paint, lipstick, pensil marks, pens, knife markings, and other ways, indicating various things and also

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DIGEST

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE Division of Legislative Reports (For Department staff only)

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CONTENTS

Appropriations 4,13 Budgeting 23 C.C.C. 4	Foreign affairs2,9 Forests and forestry19 Labor, farm14 Lands21 Marketing26	Prices, parity25,26 Prices, support1,8 Soil conservation29
Economic report23 Education5,9,31 Farm program26 Federal aid5,31	Minerals	Taxation

HIGHLIGHTS: House Rules Committee cleared comprenies woel bill; to be debated today. House received conference report on 2nd deficiency appropriation bill; farm labor reduced to \$5,000,000; CCC-notes item in technical disagreement. Both Houses agreed to conference report authorizing \$350,000,000 for relief in war-devastated areas. Rep. Clevenger said he had asked Secretary Anderson for trade-agreement item of benefit to farmers but had not received one. Rep. Andresen strengly criticized potato destruction in connection with price supports. Senate committee reported on GAO audit of FCIC. Sens. Aiken and McClellan introduced bill to amend Crop Insurance Act. House Committee reported information and educational exchange bill. Rep. Hope introduced measure to authorize USDA to sell timber in Tongass Forest. Rep. Hoffman introduced measure against Reorganization Plan 1, which includes ARA item.

- 1. WOOF PRICE-SUPPORTS. The Rules Committee reported a resolution providing for consideration of S. 814, the wool bill, and the amendment on p. A2516 of the Congressional Record of May 20, without intervention of any point of order (p. 5759). The bill is to be debated today(p. D277).
- 2. FOREIGN RELIEF. Agreed, 288-86, to the conference report on H. J. Res. 153, to authorize appropriation of \$350,000,000 for relief in war-devastated areas, including food, etc. (pp. 5760-9). Rejected, 170-205, the Jonkman motion to recommit the measure to conference with instructions to the House conferees to insist on an authorization of \$200,000,000 (pp. 5767-8). The Senate also agreed to the conference report on this measure (pp. 5744-6). The joint resolution will now be sent to the President.
- 3. WILDLIFE CONSERVATION. H. R. 2472, providing for cooperation and assistance to Federal and State agencies in promoting wildlife conservation through sound land use practices, was re-referred from the Agriculture Committee to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee (p. 5760).
- 4. SECOND DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL. Received the conference report on this bill, H. R. 3245 (pp. 5769-70). The conferees agreed to the farm-labor item but reduced the amount to \$5,000,000. They reported the provision regarding cancellation of CCC notes in disagreement, but the House conferees plan to ask the House to agree to the item. For other items of interest to the Department see Digest 93.
- 5. EDUCATION. Mr. W. R. Ogg, of the Farm Bureau, testified before the Education and Labor Committee favoring Federal aid to education (p. D 278).
- The Daily Direct stated that "There is no opposition by the

committee to Plan No. 1" regarding ARA (p. D273).

- 7. TRADE AGREEMENTS. Rep. Reed, N. Y., criticized the handling of the tradeagreements program (pp. 5771-4). Rep. Clevenger, Ohio, stated that he had
 asked the Secretary of Agriculture for "one item that would show a definite
 gain for America or American agriculture" in connection with this program and
 that "I have been promised, but I have never received one single item" (pp.
 5773-4).
- 8. POTATO PRICE-SUPPORTS. Rep. Andresen, Minn., criticized the handling of the program, stating, "I call upon Secretary Anderson to halt the Department of Agriculture's wanton destruction of potatoes" (pp. 5775-6).

It was incorrectly stated in Digest 95 (Item 9) that "Rop. Buck, Del." criticized the Government's potato-surplus policies. These comments were made by Rep. Boggs, Dal.

- 9. FOREIGN AFFAIRS: EDUCATION. The Foreign Affairs Committee reported with amend ment H.R. 3342, to enable the U.S. Government more effectively to carry on it foreign relations by means of promotion of the interchange of persons, knowledge, and skills between the people of the U.S. and other countries (H.Rept. 416) (p. 5776).
- 10. POSTAL SERVICE. The Post Office and Civil Service Committee reported without amendment H.R. 3519, to provide for permanent postage rates (H.Rcpt. 410) (p. 5776).
- 11. SUGAR. Received an Elmwood (Nebr.) citizens' petition asking for canning sugar in order to avoid waste of fresh fruit (p. 5777).
- 12. FLOOD CONTROL. Received a War Department report of preliminary examination and survey of Big Sandy River, and Tug and Levisa Forks, Ky., W. Va., and Va., for flood control (H. Doc. 264) (p. 5776).
- 13. APPROPRIATIONS. Received from the President (Nay 19) a supplemental appropriation estimate of \$1,000,000 for GAO for carrying out previsions of Public Law 601 (79th Cong.) authorizing analyses of agency expenditures (H.Doc.260).

SENATE

- 14. ACCOUNTING. The Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee submitted report and recommendations on the GAO audit of FCIC (S.Aspt.196) (p. 5704).
- 15. VETERANS' BEMEFITS. Received a Calif. Legislature resolution urging legislation to extend the benefits of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act (p. 5704).
- 16. TAXATION. Continued debate on H.R. 1, the individual income tax-reduction bill (pp. 5707-44, 5746-60).
- 17. MINERALS. Received a Calif. Legislature resolution urging development of U.S. mineral-ore denosits (p. 5704).

BILLS INTRODUCED

18. CROP INSURANCE. S. 1326, by Sen. Aiken, Vt. (for himself and Son. McClellan, Ark.), "to amend the Federal Crop Insurance Act." To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (p. 5705.)

000,000 over the protest of the present Secretary of the Treasury.

The Secretary of the Treasury having been wrong both times previously when he made an estimate and asked for the passage of a tax reduction bill, and having been mistaken anywhere from \$200,000,000 to \$300,000,000 it is reasonable to assume that he is wrong this time. He is merely guessing now, as he guessed twice before. (Congressional Record, vol. 67, 69th Cong., 1st sess., p. 2882.)

So that it is not new for a Secretary of the Treasury apparently not to possess infallibility in his estimates. We have seen the variance in the estimates under the present Secretary of the Treasury, by billions of dollars in the developments of recent months.

Coming down to the later date of 1932, we have a distinguished sponsor of a distinctly different ideological point of view in Representative Fiorello LaGuardia. I think it may be of some significance. because I think certain of Mr. LaGuardia's comrades have been most critical of any attempts at tax reduction at this time.

Speaking on March 18, 1932, in the House debate regarding the revenue bill of 1932, Mr. LaGuardia said:

There seems to have been a rather deliberate attempt to confuse the membership on anticipated revenues for the year 1931. Of course the revenue from income of 1931 at its best can be only an estimate. Whether or not these estimates were officially considered by the Committee on Ways and Means, of course I do not know, but I do know that a very conservative estimate has been made-

I think that certainly applies to the figures of the very conservative chairman of the Finance Committee, the Senator from Colorado, today—

and that the information was known and available to the membership of the committee. They are based on a most drastic reduction from the last available returns after proper comparisons were made. The estimate. is most conservative.

There followed a comparison of income in 1930, based on returns filed August 31, 1931, and estimates for 1932. Representative LaGuardia then continued:

Surely all must admit that sufficient allowance has been made for reduced incomes

That is from the Congression Record of March 18, 1932, volume 77, part 6, page 6468, the Seventy-second Congress, first session.

I come down to 1935; and again I call to the witness stand the distinguished chairman of the Finance Committee at that time, the Honorable Pat Harrison, of Mississippi, who, in reporting the Revenue Act of 1935, explained the changes made in the House version of the bill. Throughout his explanation runs the admission that the amounts reported are based on estimates by Treasury experts and committee experts. He spoke as fol-

It is quite interesting to note that according to the estimates of both the Treasury experts and the committee experts, by virtue of the increase in surtaxes in the Finance Committee proposal only \$4,000,000 will be derived from those very great increases. That answers some of the questions as to how much money we can get for the Government by drastic increase of rates on incomes in the higher brackets.

The excess-profits-tax provisions of the House bill, it is estimated, should provide \$100,000,000; but in the Senate committee bill we made the tax milder and more liberal, so that we propose to raise only \$10,-000,000 of increased revenue from excess profits.

In lieu of the inheritance tax the Committee on Finance has recommended an increase of the rates in the present estate-tax structure. From that source there should be derived approximately the same amount which it is estimated would be obtained from the inheritance tax carried by the House bill; that is, the Senate committee proposal would raise \$80,000,000 of increased revenue.

From the gift tax, which is a corollary to the increased inheritance tax of the House bill, or to the estate tax in the Senate committee proposal, we should receive \$24,000,-000 under the House bill from the increased rates on gift taxes, while under the Senate committee proposal the increase, it is estimated, would be \$21,000,000. (Congressional Record, vol. 79, pt. 12, 74th Cong., 11, 12, 13041.)

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President— The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DONNELL in the chair). Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Sepator from Colorado

Mr. BREWSTER. I am fery happy to yield to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. MILLIAIN. On the subject of erroneous estimates, may I invite the attention of the distinguished Senator to page 158 of the hearings before the com-mittee. Mr. Lawton was the witness. He was the acting Assistant Director of

the Budget. He was asked:

The Charman. How much did you miss your budget estimate for the fitcal year 1947?

Mr. Layron. From the origina?

The Charman. Comparing the original with what you now believe will be the results at the end of the year, how much will you have missed your budget estimate?

Mr. Lawron. The original estimate for the fiscal year 1947 which was contained in the budget document in January 1946 was 31.5 The present estimate is 42.5.

I might say that that estimate had been revised in connection with the budget summation last year, last August, and it was revised in the January budget.

The CHAIRMAN. What will your surplus be at the end of this fiscal year?

Mr. LAWTON. \$1,250,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$1,250,000,000?

Mr. Lawton, Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And what was your predicted deficit?

Mr. LAWTON. The original estimate was 4.5 billion?

The CHAIRMAN. And the original estimate you predicted a deficit for the fiscal 1947 of 4.5 billion?

Mr. LAWTON. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you will wind up with

a surplus of \$1,250,000,000.

Mr. Lawron. Yes. Those estimates have been revised twice in the intervening period.

The Chairman. As of the present time, from the time of your first estimate, you have missed it \$5,750,000,000; is that correct?

Mr. Lawron. That is the difference be-tween expenditures and receipts; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A total miss of \$5,750,000,-000; is that right?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

That throws an interesting perspect tive, I suggest, on all the quarreling they

used to have over a \$300,000,000 miss.

Mr. BREWSTER. I think it is very revealing as indicating the very great difference in our fiscal situation, as they used to be most meticulous over a few million dollars or a hundred million dollars, and now they miss by \$5,000,000,000 and are very complacent about the situation.

Mr. President, the matter of estimates seems to be a source of some perturbation to our friends on the other side of the aisle.

I come now to 1936, and again to a distinguished Democrat, Representative Samuel B. Hill, Democrat, of Washington, who has this to say in discussing tax bill procedures on April 23, 1936:

It has been the practice of the Ways and Means Committee as far back as I know anything of its procedure, first, to get the in-10 mation through study and through hearings, and then write the bill. I recall in 1932 * * * with hearings on a tax bill before the Ways and Means Committee. * * * The Ways and Means Committee regardless of partisanship, undertook to meet the revenue requirements as outlined by the * * * Secretary of the Treasury. Not only did the Secretary of the Treasury not bring a bill already prepared for the Ways and Means Committee but he came back repeatedly revising his estimates and asking for more money and asking the Committee on Ways and Means to find sources of additional revenue.

In every revenue bill since that time the same procedure has been followed. I am advised that the same procedure was followed prior to that time.

I am not criticizing * * * but simply pointing out this is the practice of the Republican Members when they are in control and it is the practice of the Democratic Members when they are in control, especially when they have been forewarned that the minority Members are opposed to every part of the measure and every part of the proposed legislation.

It is true that we rely upon the (committee) experts, including the drafting service; and we have, I think, as able men in this service as can be found, and we are glad to rely upon them.

This statement is to be found in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 80, part 6. Seventy-fourth Congress, second session, April 23, 1936, at page 3998.

I come now to the statement of Representative Allen T. Treadway, Republican, of Massachusetts, on the same revenue bill:

The Treasury itself has not furnished a definite estimate of what the bill is expected to produce in the way of revenue, and even if it did the estimate would be no more than a guess. The Federal revenue is actually jeopardized by the bill when it abandons an assured collection of \$1,132,000,000 from corporations in favor of a yield which at most is pure conjecture and which will undoubtedly be disappointing in amount. (Congressional RECORD, vol. 80, pt. 6, 74th Cong., 2d sess., April 23, 1936, p. 5990.)

That was when a Republican was questioning the Democratic step in that direction.

Coming to 1936, Senator King, Democrat, of Utah, in presenting the Senate version of the Revenue Act of 1936, spoke as follows:

I wish to say something about the estimates of the bill. Conservative estimates indicate that the committee bill will yield about \$829,000,000 as compared with the yield of \$803,000,000 claimed under the House bill.

In reaching the conclusions respecting the revenue yield, due consideration was given to the Treasury estimates. The committee also kave consideration to the estimates submitted by its own experts. * * * In the report submitted by the committee the Senators will find a statement based upon the Treasury estimates indicating that they were made in an abundance of caution, and that reasonably we may expect, if the Senate bill shall be enacted into law, that the full amount of at least \$829,000,000 will be raised in addition to the existing revenue.

We now come to the Revenue Act of 1937; and again we find estimates. Representative Thomas E. Jenkins, of Ohio, a Republican, had this to say in discussing the bill:

I expect to vote for this bill because I think it will call a halt on the tendency of a few wealthy people who are not fair and square with the Government and who do not want to assume to pay the tixes which they realiy should pay under the law. * * As to the amount of money this bill will produce even the experts who testified before the Ways and Means Committee, of which I am a member, were not able to make any definite estimate. The best they could do was to offer a gues? These guesses ran all the way from \$40,000,000 to \$100,000,000 per year. Probably \$60,000,000 or \$70,000,000 would represent a fail average between them and would probably represent the amount that will be saved to the Government by this legislation. This amount of money in these days of terrific spending is weil worth going after. I repeat that I expect to vote for this bill for this reason. (Congressional Record, vol. 81, pt. 8, 75th Cong., 1st sess., August 16, 1937 p. 9020.)

In connection with the Revenue Act of 1938, Representative Clarence Cannon, Democrat, of Missouri, acting chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, in extending his remarks on the total of appropriations, Seventy-fifth Congress, third session, declared:

It is impossible to say now with certainty what the situation with respect to Federal expenditures and revenues will be for the next fiscal year. (Congressional Record, vol. 83, pt. 11, 75th Cong., 3d sess., June 16, 1938, Appendix, p. 3106.)

I come now to the Senate discussion of the excess-profits tax estimates of 1940. On September 13, 1940, Hon. Pat Harrison, Democrat, of Mississippi, had this to say:

Mr. Harrison. The Senator, of course, recalls that the chief of our staff, in presenting the estimates for 1941 under the Senate bill, estimated the amount of revenue at \$882,-500,000.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Ycs; I think the Senator is correct.

Mr. Harrison. And the Senator recalls that when the Treasury experts were asked for an estimate they said they did not have the figures, but could only give us those for this year, in which we all know we could not raise much—the amount of \$355,000,000—I belive—but that in that instance Mr. Stam said that he estimated the revenue for 1940 at 3482,00,000." (Congressional Record, vol. 26, pt. 11, September 13, 1940, p. 12062.)

Mr. Stam is still the expert of the Finance Committee.

I add that there is a wide difference in the estimates obtained from various sources on the revenue the excess-profits tax would provide. Nevertheless estimates, and only estimates, were used as the basis for the tax.

Again, in 1940, Senator Harrison, in presenting the excess-profits tax bill, said:

All estimates are guesses to some extent; but if the Senator will look into the guesses made by the experts of the Treasury and those made by the experts of the joint committee, he will find that our experts have been in some instances nore correct than the Treasury experts. (Congressional Record, vol. 86, pt. II, September 13, 1940, p. 12062.)

That was the comment of a distinguished and most experienced Democratic Senator in dealing with this very situation in 1940.

The 1942 tax bill which inaugurated pay-as-you-go taxes was the largest single piece of revenue legislation ever undertaken by our Government. Introducing the bill into the House on July 16, 1942, Mr. Doughton, Democrat, of North Cirolina, outlined the various estimates used by the Treasury and the Ways and Means Committee in framing the bill. He stated:

Tre sury actuaries estimate the bill will produce about \$6,000,000,000 of additional revenue. This estimate from certain studies I have made, is in my opinion too conservative. From many years of experience with tax legislation and observing and comparing the results of estimates with actual tax collections, I am willing to venture an estimate of my own, although, of course, I do not pretend to compare myself with the actuaries of the Treasury Department

There were two revenue acts, as you will remember, in 1940, which were estimated at the time to yield about \$2,000,000,000 of added revenue annually. Then followed the Revenue act of 1941, estimated then to produce more than \$3,500,000,000 of additional revenue. Thus, while these three bills were estimated at the time of their enactment to produce about \$6,000,000,000 annually, our revenues since 1939 have actually increased by \$11,500,000,000—that is, from \$5,500,000,000 in 1939 to \$17,000,000,000, which the existing law is yielding currently. (Congressional Record vol. 83, pt. 5, July 16, 1942, p. 6262.)

That was a pretty decisive demonstration, within the past 4 years, of how widely the estimates have departed from the results.

I again quote Representative Doughton, who for a long time was chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee who stated, in reporting the revenue bill of 1942:

I feel safe in predicting that this bill, under present business conditions, will yield in excess of \$7,000,000,000 annually. I say "under present business conditions," because no one can tell with certainty what any bill will produce, not knowing what business conditions the future may bring about.

I give the Senate this record of 20 years of tax legislation, demonstrating that without a single exception our tax bills have always been passed upon the basis of estimates by the Treasury, of estimates of experts on business, or,

finally, on conclusions of members of the Senate Committee on Finance and the Members of the Senate as to what it is estimated the future may hold, and that if any tax reduction is to occur or July 1, 1947, it is absolutely imperative in the light of all the conditions, figures, and estimates which have been accumulated in the studies of the past months and in the light of the business experience of recent months, that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of this matter. I hope that every Member of the Senate will bear in mind that if it be deemed advisable to accomplish this tax reduction at the beginning of the fiscal year 1948—and there is much to be said for our carrying it out within the period of 12 months which is the period of time for which we make the appropriations, as well as the estimates—it is absolutely essential that we proceed forthwith to its consideration, and that in doing so we shall simply be following the course charted by every committee and every Congress throughout the entire history of the Government of the United States.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

RELIEF ASSISTANCE FOR COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the House has adopted the conference report on the European relief bill. The bill is in practically the form in which it passed the Senate. The only substantial difference is that out of the \$350,000,000 figure in the Senate bill a portion, running from \$15,000,000 to \$40,000,000, is earmarked for the children's fund in the event the President exercises an option to use it for that purpose.

I think the only other important difference is that the conference bill yields to the House's desire to identify the countries to which the relief is to go, the identification being precisely the same as that which was presented to the Senate in the letter from the Secretary of State.

The conference report is signed by all the Senate conferees, and I think there is no disagreement whatever about it. Under the circumstances, I feel that it is appropriate for me to ask that the conference report be now considered.

I submit the conference report on House Joint Resolution 153 providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Don-NELL in the chair). The conference report will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the report, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the joint reso-

lution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the Senate amendment insert the following: "That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$350,000,000 for the provision of relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed: Provided, That from the funds authorized under this section the President shall make contributions to the International Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations for the special care and feeding of children, and such contributions shall not be subject to the limitations and requirements provided in this joint resolution, but after \$15,000,000 has been so contributed, no further contributions shall be made which would cause the aggregate amount so contributed by the United States (1) to constitute more than 57 per centum of the aggregate amount contributed to said fund by all governments not receiving assistance from said fund, including the United States; or (2) to exceed \$40,000,000, whichever is the

"There shall be established and maintained, out of the funds authorized under this joint resolution, a relief distribution mission for each of the countries receiving aid under this joint resolution. Such missions shall be comprised solely of American citizens who shall have been investigated as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Such missions shall have direct supervision and control, in each country, of relief supplies furnished or otherwise made available under this joint resolution, and, when it is deemed desirable by the field administrator provided for in section 4, such missions shall be empowered to retain possession of such supplies up to the city or local community where such supplies are actually made available to the ultimate consumers.

"Not more than \$15,000,000 of the funds authorized under this joint resolution shall be available for relief in any countries or territories other than Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Trieste, and China. provision shall not imply any obligation to give relief to any of the countries mentioned.

'Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$75,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine. From appropriations authorized under this section, there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the advances made by it under the authority contained herein.

"SEC. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits subject to the control of the Pres ident, in such quantities and on such terms as the President may determine; except that no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made after June 30, 1948, and except that not more than 6 per centum of the amount herein authorized shall be used for the procurement of sup-plies outside the United States and its Territories and possessions.

"(b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds authorized herein may be used to pay

necessary expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance, including expenses of or incident to the procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits established under subsection (a).

(c) Funds authorized under this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the purposes of this joint resolution to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government and such sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in accordance with the laws governing obligations and expenditures of the department, agency, or independent establishment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without regard to, sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and title 31, sec. 529).

"(d) Such additional civilian employees as may be required by the War Department in connection with the furnishing of procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment services under this joint resolution and which services are paid for from funds herein authorized, shall not be counted as civilian employees within the meaning of section 607 of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945, as amended by section 14 of the Federal

Employees Pay Act of 1946.

"(e) When any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government receives request from the government of any country for which credits have been established under subsection (a) and receives, from credits so established, advancements or reimbursements for the cost and necessary expenses, it may furnish, or procure and furnish (if advancements are made), supplies within the category of relief assistance as defined in section 1 and may use sums so received for the purposes set forth in subsection (b) of this section. When any such reimbursement is made it shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, either to the appropriation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation, or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which is current at the time of such reimburse-

ment.
"(f) In order to supplement the general relief assistance made available under the terms of section 1 and to effect the economical and expanded use of American voluntary relief contributions, funds authorized under this joint resolution, not to exceed \$5,000,000, may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the ocean transportation of supplies donated to or purchased by American voluntary and nonprofit relief agencies, and in such quantities and kinds and for such purposes as the President may determine to be essential supplements to the supplies provided for such general relief assistance.

"(g) The relief supplies provided under the terms of this joint resolution shall be procured and furnished by the appropriate United States procurement agencies unless the President shall determine otherwise.

"SEC. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any country unless the government of such country has given assurance satisfactory to the President that (a) the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the people of such country without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief; (b) representatives of the Government of the United States and of the press and radio of the United States will be permitted to observe freely and to report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts and progress of the United States relief program carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution: (d) if food. medical supplies, fertilizer, or seed is trans-ferred or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will be exported or removed from such country while need therefor for relief purposes continues; (e) such country has taken or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, it will furnish promptly information concerning the production, use, distribution, importation, exportation of any supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such country; (g) representatives of the Government of the United States will be permitted to supervise the distribution among the people of such country of the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution; (h) provision will be made for a control system so that all classes of people within such country will receive their fair share of essential supplies; and (i) all supplies transferred pursuant to this joint resolution or acquired through the use of credits established pursuant to this joint resolution and any articles processed from such supplies, or the containers of such supplies or articles, will, to the extent practicable, be marked, stamped, branded, or labeled in a conspicuous place as legibly, indelibly, and permanently as the nature of such supplies, articles, or containers will permit in such manner as to indicate to the ultimate consumer in such country that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance; or if such supplies, articles, or containers are incapable of being so marked, stamped, branded, or labeled, that all practicable steps will be taken to inform the ultimate consumers thereof that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance.

"SEC. 4. When supplies are transferred or otherwise made available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution, the President shall cause representatives of the Government of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution of such supplies among the people of such country, (2) to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of the assurances given to the President suant to section 3, and (3) to seek arrangements that reparations payable from current production by any such country to any other country by treaty be postponed during the period of such relief.

"With respect to the furnishing of relief assistance pursuant to this joint resolution, the President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a field administrator who shall direct the supervision of such relief assistance. Such administrator shall receive compensation at a rate not to exceed \$12,000 per annum, and any necessary expenses, as the President shall determine. He shall act in accordance with the instructions of the President.

"The authority of the President under sections 2 and 3 and under this section may, to the extent the President directs, be exercised by the Secretary of State.

"SEC. 5. (a) The President shall promptly terminate the provision of relief assistance to the people of any country whenever he determines (1) that, by reason of changed conditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2) that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out, (3) that an excessive amount of any supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the maintenance of armed forces in such country, or (4) that supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed from such country.

exported or removed from such country.

"(b) Relief assistance to the people of any country, under this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated whenever such termination is directed by concurrent resolution of the two

Houses of the Congress.

"SEC. 6. To the extent that relief supplies procured with funds authorized under this joint resolution are not furnished on terms of repayment in dollars, they shall be furmished only upon condition that the govern-ment of the receiving country agree that when it sells such relief supplies for local currency (a) the amounts of such local currency will be deposited by it in a special account; (b) such account will be used within such country, as a revolving fund, until June.30, 1948, only upon the approval of the duly authorized representative of the United States, for relief and work relief purposes, including local currency expenses of the United States incident to the furnishing of relief; and (c) any unencumbered balance remaining in such account on June 30, 1948, will be disposed of within such country for such purposes as the United States Government, pursuant to Act or joint resolution of the Congress, may determine.

"SEC. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under authority of this joint

resolution."

And the Senate agree to the same.

A. H. VANDENBERG,
ALEXANDER WILEY,
H. ALEXANDER SMITH,
TOM CONNALLY,
WALTER F. GEORGE,

WALTER F. GEORGE,
Managers on the Part of the Senate.

CHARLES-A. EATON, KARL E. MUNDT, SOL BLOOM, JOHN KEE,

JOHN KEE,
Managers on the Part of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the conference report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the conference report.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a question?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I have learned, by rumor only, that the amount of money which is contained in the relief bill is also contained in the President's estimated budget which was sent to Congress. I have also learned that it is not contained in the budget. I wonder whether or not the Senator from Michigan could give me information on that subject.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I hesitate to answer the question. My impression is that it is in the budget, but I am not able

to underwrite that statement.

Mr. LUCAS. I thought perhaps the Senator might know.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That question never arose, of course, in connection with our consideration of the matter.

Mr. LUCAS. I had occasion to learn about that, and it seemed to be rather important in view of the subject we are discussing here today. I shall take the time to look it up and consult the proper department.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Are these funds to be administered in conjunction with similar funds contributed from any other countries?

Mr. VANDENBERG. There is a coordinating group in the United Nations set up under order of the General Assembly to coordinate the independent contributions which are made by various countries which are cooperating. But each country, as indicated in great detail in the debate itself, is in control of its own contributions.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. PEPPER. Are we using any of the UNRRA personnel—I am speaking only, of course, of American personnel associated with UNRRA—in the administration of these funds in any of the countries where they are to be distributed?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The organization to administer the new relief bill has not yet been fully developed. Indeed, the Administrator himself has not yet been appointed, because it is only this afternoon that we have been on our way to have the fund available. It is my understanding that there is a new Administrator contemplated, and if the one expected to be chosen shall be actually selected, he will be an administrator of very wide experience in the international administration of Red Cross affairs during the past 20 years.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the

Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Will the administrator in charge of the administration of these funds be a distinct person from the administrator who will be in charge of the administration of the Greek relief?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Oh, entirely and totally distinct. There is no relationship between the two administrations at all, except, of course, that a portion of the relief fund is earmarked for expenditure in Greece.

Mr. PEPPER. That is what I was going to ask. Would the \$50,000,000 that is earmarked in the relief bill for expenditure in Greece be administered by the administrator of the \$300,000,000 provided for Greece under the Greco-Turkish loan measure?

Mr. VANDENBERG. No; the two are to be separately administered.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. I should like to inquire of the Senator whether the provision that was adopted in the House for investigation of the personnel by the FBI appears in the conference report?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is in the conference report with the verb changed. The House required approval by the FBI. The conference report requires investigation by the FBI and approval by the President and the State Department.

Mr. McMAHON. That is a very important change.

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is a very important change.

Mr. McMaHON. I congratulate the Senator on having brought it about.

I should like to ask a further question. In view of the present heavy burden which the FBI has to carry, will the necessity for investigation by the FBI slow up, in the Senator's opinion, the process of getting this relief work under way?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think not, because it is applied only to policy-makers at the top level. That point is specifically explained in the statement of the House and Senate conferees. Clerical help, custodial help, and personal service at the lower levels are not included.

Mr. McMAHON. In other words, it may mean an investigation of from 25

to 50 persons?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not know the number, but the formula is practical. Mr. McMAHON. The number will be manageable.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I may supplement the reply to the question of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lucas] regarding the allowance in the budget, as I have the budget in my hands. There is an item of \$3,510,000,000 for international affairs and finance. I do not, of course, know the break-down, but that is a great deal of money, and I hope it may include the item to which the Senator has modestly referred.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That was the basis of my response to the Senator from Illinois. I know that there is an overall figure in the President's budget in excess of \$3,000,000,000 covering all these

various enterprises.

Mr. BREWSTER. Three billion five . hundred and ten million dollars.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I cannot say categorically that this item is included, but I think it is.

REDUCTION OF INDIVIDUAL INCOME-TAX PAYMENTS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H. R. 1), to reduce individual income tax payments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. George] to postpone consideration of the pending bill, House bill No. 1, until June 10, 1947,

bill No. 1, until June 10, 1947,
Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, I suggest
the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Cordon

Donnell

Downey Dworshak Ecton

Ellender

Ferguson

Fulbrlght

Flanders

George Green

Gurney Hatch

Hawkes Hayden

Hlckenlooper Hlll

Alken
Baldwin
Ball
Barkley
Brewster
Bricker
Bridges
Brooks
Bushfield
Butler
Byrd
Caln
Capper
Capper
Chavez
Connally
Cooper

Hoey
Holland
Ives
Jenner
Johnson, Colo.
Johnston, S. C.
Kem
Kllgore
Knowland
Lodge
Lucas
McCarthy
McClellan
McFarland
McGrath

McKellar McMahon

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I know that the Members who do not already know it will be very glad to hear that on tomorrow the Committee on Rules will hear H. R. 246, a bill introduced by the gentleman from New York [Mr. Kearney] to raise the ceilings of on-the-job training. This bill was reported unanimously by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. We hope that a rule will be brought in, because many of the veterans already have had to give up their training because they could not get along on the \$175 ceiling a month for single men and \$200 ceiling for married men. Many of the employers have given up their training program. It is vital that the rule be granted promptly and the bill pass. I hope the Members of the House will join with us in asking the Committee on Rules to grant the rule. I have no doubt but what the rule will be granted, but support and interest will help secure a rule promptly when the bill comes to the House, I believe there will not be a vote against it.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include the approval of the Voice of America program by the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Mr. VAN ZANDT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD concerning Operation Naval Re-

serve.

Mr. HARNESS of Indiana asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include a statement by one of his constituents on the 1947 position of agriculture.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include certain excerpts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

ZIONIST ATTACKS ON GREAT BRITAIN

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, Great Britain is protesting against the attacks now being made on her by the aleged Zionists in this country. It is about time that somebody in the American Congress let the British people know that this outfit does not represent the American people.

Last week they published a full-page advertisement in the New York Times, and yesterday the New York Times carried on its front page an excerpt from that advertisement. I want to read you just a short portion of that excerpt. Listen to this It says, now, speaking to these Zionests:

Every time you blow up a British arsenal, or wreck a British jail, or send a British railroad train sky high, or rob a British bank or let go with your guns and bombs at the British betrayers and invaders of your homeland, the Jews of America make a little holiday in their hearts.

Mr. Speaker, that vicious statement does not represent the views of the de-

cent high-class law-abiding Jews of America, as you will find in reading the memoirs of Henry Morgenthau, Sr., concerning this outfit. It does not represent decent Americans of any kind.

It is time we put a stop to these vicious inflammable attacks on Great Britain, a friendly nation.

Hon. Henry A. Morgenthau, Sr., one of the great Jews of America, is quoted as saying in his autobiography:

Zionism is the most stupendous fallacy in Jewish history. I assert that it is wrong in principle and impossible of realization; that it is unsound in its economics, fantastical in its politics, and sterile in its spiritual ideals. Where it is not pathetically visionary, it is a cruel playing with the hopes of a people blindly seeking their way out of age-long miseries. These are bold and sweeping assertions, but in this chapter I shall under-

take to make them good.

The very fervor of my feeling for the oppressed of every race and every land, especially for the Jews, those of my own blood and faith, to whom I am bound by every tender tie, impels me to fight with all the greater force against this scheme, which my intelligence tells me can only lead them deeper into the mire of the past, while it professes to be leading them to the height.

Zionism is a surrender, not a solution. It is retrogression into the blackest error and not progress toward the light. I will go further, and say that it is a betrayal; it is an eastern European proposal, fathered in this country by American Jews, which, if it were to succeed, would cost the Jews of America most that they have gained of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Therefore, as I said, this group of radical Zionists do not represent the better element of American Jews. Nor do they represent the sentiments of a vast majority of the American people.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

SUPPORT FOR WOOL

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following privileged resolution (H. Res. 214, Rept. No. 409), which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for consideration of the bill S. 814, to provide support for wool, and for other purposes, and all points of order against said bill are hereby waived. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 3 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider without the intervention of any point of order the amendments recommended by the Committee on Agriculture now printed in the bill; and it shall also be in order to consider without the intervention of any point of order as a substitute for the committee amendment beginning in line 14, page 3, and ending on page 6, line 11, the language appearing in the Congressional Record on May 20, 1947, page A2516. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the same to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Obviously a guorum is not present.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 59]

Elsaeser Mitchell Morrison Bender Flanhagan Futer Cathings Gearhart Bennett, Mich. Norrell Norton Bland Bonner Bradley, Mich. Brown, Ohio Patman Pfeifer Gifford Buckley Bulwinkle Poage Powell Gregory Gross Busbey
Byrne, N. Y.
Celler
Chapman Hagen Price, Fla. Hartley Sasscer Heffernan Scott, Hardie Hoeven Scott. Clark Clements Jarman Hugh D., Jr. Shafer Keefe Cole, Kans. Courtney Kilburn Simpson, Ill. Klein Smathers Kunkel Somers McGarvey Thom
Mansfield, Tex.
Meade, Md.
Wood Teague Thomas, N. J. Crow Dawson, Ill. D'Ewart Domengeaux Wood Doughton Miller, Nebr.

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 367 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

FILING OF REPORT

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have until midnight tonight to file a report on the bill H. R. 3342.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include a statement by our distinguished Secretary of State on World Trade Week, and further to extend my remarks and include a similar statement by our equally distinguished Secretary of Commerce on World Trade Week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. PATTERSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. BREHM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject of Will the conferees nullify labor legislation?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an article appearing in the Lowell Sun of Thursday, May 15, on the question of unification of the armed forces. Mr. CLASON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include a statement.

Mr. BATTLE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a speech he made before the House Committee on Education and Labor on Federal aid to education.

Mr. FEIGHAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a resolution.

RECORD and include a resolution.

Mr. SADOWSKI asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the

Mr. HOFFMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances and include newspaper articles.

Mr. WOODRUFF asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an article.

REFERENCE OF A BILL

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Speaker, Lask unanimous consent that the Committee on Agriculture be discharged from the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2472 and that the bill be referred to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio? There was no objection.

RELIEF ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF COUNTRIES DEVASTATED BY WAR

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of May 20, 1947.)

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Eaton] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman].

(Mr. JONKMAN asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, when this bill was up for debate in the House, I called attention to the fact that its provisions were intended only for residual relief after termination of UNRRA. UNRRA has now been in existence for nearly 3 years, in which time, of course, Europe has had two crop periods, and is approaching another one. When we passed the first UNRRA authorization, we were told that the purpose of UNRRA and its scope was to bring the wardevastated countries through one crop period. Now, I repeat, we have had two full crop periods, and nearly 3 years of UNRRA, and this bill was intended only as a cleaning up, or mopping up process, in other words, to finish what was nearly done.

For this reason the 1947 budget included \$100,000,000 for this purpose. In the debate on the bill under question, vour attention was further called to the fact that resident Truman, in his message, said that help would be needed only through 1947; that the United Nations Organization recommended help until this year's crops were harvested; that ex-President Herbert Hoover recommended help through this year's crop period; that every representative of the State Department, Under Secretaries Acheson and Clayton, Deputy Under Secretary Tyler Wood, all agreed that no help would be needed in 1948, with the possible exception of some limited help in Austria. In fact, all the authoritative sources were agreed that help was needed only from March 31, 1947, through the crop period of 1947.

Your attention was called to the fact that there was a sense of proportion in the job to be done before the next crop harvest and the \$100,000,000 in the budget with which that job was to be done.

Your attention was further called to the fact that in upping the amount to \$350,000,000, the administration had admitted that this amount was partly based on judgment and partly grabbed out of the air. The evidence, of course, is overwhelming that the extension of the term of relief for 6 months, to June 30, 1948, was also grabbed out of the air. These two changes have all the earmarks of changing residual relief into continuous and permanent relief by bureaucratic boondogglers.

I now want to give you some facts which I think would justify cutting this amount to \$100,000,000, and to prove to you that when we authorize \$200,000,000, it is a very liberal authorization.

I hold in my hand the President's tenth quarterly report to Congress on the operations of UNRRA. This came to our desks last Saturday, May 17. This tenth quarterly report is not for the first quarter of 1947, although it was received 47 days after the ending of that quarter. Had it been for that quarter, we might have had some useful information to help our judgment on the pending bill. It is in fact a report for the last quarter of 1946, and it was kept confidential and secret, and not to be relased until May 15, 1947.

It contains some rather interesting information, but is more intriguing for its lack of information. On page 34 of that report, we find that total contributions to UNRRA, paid or available, were \$3,688,395,736. On pages 24 and 25 we find a double-check statement that total shipments to December 31, 1946, were \$2,311,225,000. According to these figures, there was available on January 1, 1947, \$1,377,170,736.

Now, I do not mean to say that that amount was available the 1st of January, but the accounting does not preclude such an assumption. It does not show what happened to it, or how much of it is available at the present time.

To get any idea of what was available, we can turn to the President's letter

of transmittal on page 1, the third paragraph, where he says:

The approximate value of supplies remaining to be shipped on January 1, 1947, was a world total of \$660,000,000.

Where the President gets this figure, I do not know. Perhaps they keep two sets of books. I was unable to find this statement, or any basis for it, in the report itself.

Then on page 38 the report states that the balance available for commitment amounts to \$165,379,746. Now these two items put together, supplies remaining to be shipped and balance available for commitment, amount to \$825,379,746. That was the amount available, apparently, on January 1, 1947, and leaves \$551,790,990 unaccounted for. Perhaps, by a long process of deduction and elimination, one could ascertain that this went for shipping charges and administrative expenses, but the report does not show this. It could just as well represent contributions not yet "paid" but "available."

When we made the second appropriation for UNRRA last year, a balance of \$180,000,000 of the contribution of the United Kingdom was so listed as available. Upon investigation, it was found that it was not really available; that the United Kingdom was unable to furnish supplies for that amount, and had made \$180,000,000 in sterling available until such time as supplies could be bought within the United Kingdom. We know that the United Kingdom has not been in any better position to furnish supplies than it was at that time, and unless they were able to pay it out of the \$3,750,000,000 loan, this might account for the difference of \$550,000,000 unaccounted for.

This is not said in disparagement or criticism of the United Kingdom, for it is a matter of common knowledge that she needs relief, and is probably using the \$3,750,000,000 to support her own people.

However, we do know, if the President's figures are correct, that the amount of \$825,379,746 was available on January 1, 1947. Now, if we spent \$2,-311,225,000 in the first 30 months of UNRRA, that will average about \$77,-000,000 per month. So that if they spent at the same rate in 1947 that they did in the preceding $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, they would have sufficient supplies and funds at \$77,-000,000 a month to run them for 103/4 months, or into the latter part of November 1947, without \$1 of the \$350,090,-000 we are considering at the present time. And remember, this is residual relief in a few countries. We are not pouring it into Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and other countries, as we did in those 30 months.

We can double check this from another angle. Page 3 of the report, paragraph 3, states:

During the quarter September 30 to December 31, 1946, UNRRA shipped supplies worth \$253,795,000 to the receiving countries.

Now, if we divide \$253,000,000 by three, that will amount to about eighty-four or eighty-five million a month. To be sure, in the next paragraph they immediately

apologize for this low amount with the following statement:

Although shipments in October at \$52,000,000, in November valued at \$92,000,000, and in December valued at \$109,000,000, fell below the previous average of \$149,367,000 per month, which had been maintained during the first 8 months of 1946, the drop was largely due to the accumulated effects of shipping and coal strikes.

Here, again, we have an example of the shovel-and-pitchfork method of UNRRA. According to this statement, a year has only 11 months. After giving us the amounts for October, November, and December, they give a higher figure for the first 8 months, which should be 9 months. In other words, they take the balance spent outside of October, November, and December, and divide it by 8, which makes \$149,000,-000, when they should divide it by 9, which makes only \$132,000,000 per month. Quite some difference. And these people, who forget that a year has 12 months, give us bills we must pass with hardly the privilege of dotting an "i" or crossing a "t."

When we take into consideration that this average was during 1946 after the first crop period, with many more countries receiving relief, and we are now dealing with the period after the second crop period, with much less countries needing relief, and which is to be only residual relief, and for which they had at least \$825,000,000 at the beginning of the year, we can understand why at first, and in harmony with all the other testimony, only \$100,000,000 was provided in the budget. We can also have some idea as to why this amount would amply take care of the situation. Why, then, was the amount of \$100,000,000 upped to \$350,000,000, and the term of relief extended from, we will say, December 1947 to June 30, 1948?

It seems to me that the fact that Paul Porter went to Greece on January 16, 1947, to make a survey may be an element in the changed picture. It is true that he headed a mission to Greece, but this was before the administration had knowledge that the United Kingdom was pulling out of Greece, and I think the relief bill is part of a pattern.

Now, Paul Porter is one of the triumvirate of Porter, Henderson, and Bowles, who, according to the newspapers, through ADA, last week advised the people of the United States that they must increase wages and cut prices to avoid a depression. In my opinion, there is no swifter or surer way to destroy our free enterprise and economy. I do not know how the Members like that philosophy, but I do not subscribe to it. Paul Porter, as we know, succeeded Chester Bowles as OPA Administrator, and the night that he took that office he made a speech in Washington in which he said:

I want it emphatically understood that OPA is not a receivership; and that I am not a liquidator. OPA is a going concern, composed of loyal men and women who have done much for the country and are going to do much more.

The American people, as we know, thought otherwise.

It seems to me that Paul Porter went over there to perpetuate his going concern. At least it must be admitted that it was about that time that we changed from a residual relief concept to a continued, if not perpetual relief, by extending the term to June 30, 1948, instead of at the end of the next crop harvest, or let us say after the first of the year, and upping the expense to \$350,000,000.

Let us take a paragraph on the report of the American Economic Mission to Greece, which is as follows:

The psychology of certain elements in Greece has operated as a serious impediment to recovery. There has been a sense of helplessness, and in some quarters a feeling that because Greece suffered so much during the war, it is now entitled to the care of its richer allies. There is the widely held view that external factors in Greek problems are so large that individual efforts are futile. The lack of confidence among government officials and the people in the ability of Greece to save itself financially and the belief that it must depend on aid from abroad has contributed to an appalling inertia.

I think most of us will agree that this is the psychology in other countries, and that the more of our substance we pour into these countries, the more they will look for help. This was the psychology even in our own country, and most of us remember how difficult it was to get rid of the relief agencies. Having abolished them here, we should not now begin them on an international scale.

The foregoing reasoning, it seems to me, is fortified by the fact that although it is now almost 2 months past March 31, we have heard little complaint of the gap between UNRRA and this proposed relief. And yet, the question may be asked, how did the people in these six countries get along during the period of this gap? Of course, the figures I just gave you on UNRRA supply the answer. Nevertheless, one of the members of the conference was quoted in the newspapers as saying when the \$150,000,000 cut was restored by the conferees:

Recent reports from Europe helped influence the result. Reports in the last few days indicate relief pressure in Europe was greater than was contemplated when the figure of \$350,000,000 was set. There was a feeling the situation cannot be met with any smaller amount.

Interesting that this report should come in the last few days. The same few days in which the bill was in danger of the \$150,000,000 cut, but never before that.

It has been said on the other end of the Capitol that this is only an authorization, and that the Appropriations Committee can keep the amount down to \$200,000,000. The answer is that on an authorization of this nature, the camel gets its nose under the tent for the whole amount, and it will be most difficult for the Appropriations Committee to cut it down once a foreign relief mission has made commitments, even though they may not be urgently needed.

I believe in the bipartisan foreign policy, and in our precarious situation, a bipartisan domestic policy, for that matter. But it is not a sound bipartisan foreign policy when we agree merely to achieve agreement with the administration on the proposed reckless and unfounded spending policy.

It is my belief that the House should insist on reducing the amount in the bill to \$200,000,000; that this will be ample together with the \$825,000,000 that was available at the beginning of the year, to carry these countries through the next harvest and up to the first of the year. and even considerable by ond that. It seems to me, in the meantime, a thorough investigation should be made as to the real situation in regard to UNRRA funds available, and then in the January session we can review the situation and act with some degree of intelligence, instead of throwing away the taxpayers' money with reckless abandon and without knowledge of the facts.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

Mr. JONKMAN. I am now going to say a word about the \$15,000,000, for the children's fund and I think if you will examine you will find that the report is very ambiguous. It is said they are in effect cutting this authorization by \$15,-000,000 which is given to the Children's Relief Agency. They say it may amount to \$40,000,000 and may eventually cut this authorization in effect by \$40,000,-000. But in my opinion all that they are going to get for the children's fund from us or anybody else is the \$15,000,000 for there will not be any additional contributions to this children's fund until the other countries provide for their 43-percent assessment.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired..

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman two additional minutes.

Mr. BLOOM. According to the House bill, the children's fund did not get anything. It was only permissive for the President to give it to them. In this bill, as the gentleman will know if he reads the conference report, it is mandatory to give the children's fund at least \$15,000,000, and then the other 57 percent up to the \$40,000,000 depends upon the amount of money that is received from the other United Nations. Now, the other \$25,000,000 depends upon the proportionate share of what the other United Nations spend. In doing it that way it allows us to try to get the other United Nations to spend their amount of money so that we will get the \$25,000,000, but the \$40,000,000 is given in here, and it was originally provided up to November 30 to earmark that added \$25,000,000.

Mr. JONKMAN. I agree with the gentleman. We absolutely give \$15,000,000, and then the other countries have to make up 43 percent, which amounts to \$11,300,000, and the total will be \$26,300,000, representing 57 percent of our money and 43 percent of their money. But, are you going to ask the other nations to give their contributions all to the children's fund? How much do you expect to get from the other nations?

Mr. BLOOM. I will say this to the gentleman: It allows us to go to the children's fund of the United Nations and get them to appropriate their amount of money so that we can give our amount of money, and it is in our

favor to do it this way rather than

another way.

Mr. JONKMAN. I am telling the gentleman from New York it will be one of the sore spots when you expect to get \$26,000,000 and you have to work on that 43 percent from the United Nations for their contribution. You will have to ask them to contribute first to the children's fund to get the \$40,000,000. They will have something to say about that, too.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman has

reached an erroneous conclusion.
The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack].

(Mr. McCORMACK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ant to congratulate the conference committee in adjusting the differences that existed between both branches, and it is a pleasure to me to not only vote for the conference report but to urge that my colleagues vote for and adopt it.

My purpose in rising on this occasion is to make some suggestions to those who will administer this law on the part of

our Government.

I notice in the conference report the establishment of a joint relief mission for each of the countries receiving aid under this joint resolution. I think that is a mighty fine idea. I also note the provision that the members of the mission shall be investigated as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I think that is a wise provision, certainly one that nobody can object to as we consider world conditions today and the purpose for which this money will be used. I also note with great pleasure that such mission shall have direct supervision and control, in each country, of relief supplies furnished.

I hope the selection of the members of the various missions and other employees will be made with great care. I hope the benefits flowing to the unfortunate people of the countries that will receive the benefits will go to the people, and that the intent of Congress will be carried out by those administering the relief that will flow as a result of the passage of this bill.

While I voted for UNRRA, I state frankly that I never enthusiastically favored the idea, but the relief of human beings was the thing that was uppermost, and to try to propose some other method at that time would have interfered with the call of humanity. I did not like this inernational agency with its complex personnel and the complicated results that I could visualize would flow therefrom. I felt and always have felt that America's response to the call of humanity should be as direct as possible, and that not only should we do it directly but try to benefit the people who needed it in other countries in such a manner that there would be an appreciation of the fact that the Government of America, the people of America, were their friends.

I have said on the floor of this House repeatedly that in the world of tomorrow we need all the friends we can have.

even the people of little Liberia, using that as an illustration. This bill gives an opportunity, with the right kind of administration, to bring about the maximum results as far as relief is concerned, and the maximum results as far as the cementing for countless generations to come of friendship between the people of America and the people of the countries that will benefit, if the relief is administered in the right way and as the Congress intended in the passage of this

It is not my purpose to suggest the names of the men who should be selected, but it is within my prerogative to suggest the type of men who should be selected. For example, I think those selections should fit into the people of the nations receiving relief and be persons who understand their problems and their background. In Poland, for instance, Americans of Polish blood should be on the mission, and in Italy Americans of Italian blood, but I think those Americans should have been born here.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the

gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. Does the gentleman believe the Communist government in Poland should have anything to do with the distribution of this fund?

Mr. McCORMACK. Absolutely not.

I am coming to that.

Mr. RANKIN. I thank the gentleman. Mr. McCORMACK. The language of the bill is, "Such mission shall have direct supervision and control." means that we should not have it administered in such a manner that a political party would benefit, and in the countries behind the iron curtain there is only one political party permitted to exist. We are making this appropriation to help unfortunate human beings, and those carrying out this law on the part of America should see that the intent of Congress is faithfully carried out, that those human beings benefit, that the people of those countries are resuscitated as much as possible, and that the political parties in the Communist-controlled governments shall not be permitted to use this relief to strengthen themselves in those countries of which they have temporary control.

The type of persons appointed to administer this program, or employed in connection with it, is of vital importance in carrying out the intent of Congress and in the success of this undertaking.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys]:

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, I am the only conferee who did not sign this report. I regret to find myself in disagreement with my colleagues on this, just as I regret that I disapproved of many provisions of the bill as it was reported from our committee to the House. I proposed or supported eight amendments on the House floor, seven of these were adopted.

In my judgment, the bill as reflected in the report is in many respects a great improvement over the original bill. Of the nine amendments which were incorporated into the bill on the floor of

the House, five are now in the bill in substantially the same form, two are in modified form, and two have been

The difficulty with this relief measure is that it is only a partial proposition. Let us bear in mind that the State Department said that the figure of \$350,-000,000 was picked out of the air. No one is contending that the full \$350,-000,000 will meet the relief problem in Europe because the State Department contends that \$550,000,000 is the absolute minimum need there. So that, no one contends that this \$350,000,000 will solve the whole relief problem. As President Hoover said, no mortal man knows the relative relief needs in Europe and our ability to supply them this fall until the harvests are made here and in Europe.

Unquestionably, \$200,000,000 is sufficient to carry us up to that time.

I thought the way to handle this uncertainty was to have a joint congressional committee review the needs and our ability to fill them in the fall. The House did not agree with that viewpoint. I was in conference willing to split the difference between the House and the Senate and have the conferees pick a figure out of the air of \$315,000,000, which involved a general relief figure of \$275,000,000 and adding \$40,000,000 for the children's fund. The other conferees felt it was necessary to hold rigidly to this \$350,000,000 figure that had been picked out of the air by the State Department.

We know that the State Department has a survey going on all over the world to find out what the relief and reconstruction needs are so as to measure our ability to meet these needs. It seems to me that we could well act on some-thing less than the full program requested in this bill until we get some such report back and study it. We know that from now on, since we cannot relieve all of the needs of the world, we have to help our friends and we have to keep our economy in shape so that we can help our friends.

One other provision concerns me, and that was the change made with reference to reparations. The House provided that the President should make certain that reparations payable by any country to another country by treaty be postponed during the period we furnish relief. The conference report merely says the President shall seek arrangements to postpone reparations while we furnish relief. We are looking forward to treaty reparations. The House provision permitted reparations required or demanded by Russia under armistice agreements to go out and relief to go into those countries at the same time, but attempted to stop future treaty reparations which will necessitate relief from us.

The hearings show that \$23,000,000 is required from Hungary in reparations which cause that country to require relief. I am deeply conscious of the position of Hungary and I want to see Hungary given some help, but I do not like to see our country take the position that we are going to approve a treaty which will require reparations which will require relief from us and thus have us paying the reparations. I am opposed to our paying Russian treaty reparations, directly or indirectly. That is exactly what ratification of those treaties will mean, under this bill as the conferees amended it.

This report says the President shall seek arrangements to postpone these treaty reparations after we have approved them? Who do you think the President will contact to seek arrangements like this? Why, Joe Stalin, for the country demanding reparations under such circumstances is Russia. And how much attention will Stalin pay to our plea to postpone reparations in a treaty we have just approved? I think the conferees could have done better with that particular section. I think the conferees could have done better on the amount. It should be more than \$200,-000,000. It does not need to be \$350,-000,000. While I know that we must have a relief bill, and I know we shall, I think the conferees should try again, and therefore I am not going to support the conference report.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] has ex-

pired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

(Mr. JAVITS asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, there are two factors involved in whether or not the House should support its conferees, which I strongly urge upon the House.

The first is a question of principle, the

second, a question of figures.

On the question of principle, I think we have made our views very clearly known. Certainly one thing must distinguish the people of this country and the Congress of this country—a sense of responsibility. The Congress by overwhelmingly passing a program for assistance to Greece and Turkey has not made an idle gesture, but has undertaken a definite responsibility in the world. It is that responsibility which we are, in part, called upon to discharge today. It is quite footless to defend Greece and Turkey against forces or social systems that threaten their national integrity and their national security, and at the same time to let millions of people in other European countries, including Greece, starve. By undertaking the Greek-Turkish assistance program we have agreed with the world that we will pull our oar in the boat: and we have recognized that the security of the United States is not. safeguarded along the borders of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans of the continental United States, but is safeguarded in the Pindus Mountains of Greece and on the Black Sea coasts of Turkey. `Now we are called upon by this relief bill to say also that it is safeguarded in the hearts and minds and physical and spiritual integrity of the peoples of Italy, Austria, Hungary, Greece, and Poland as well.

The argument was made that a number of those countries are Communist-dominated. That question was thrashed out in the House very thoroughly before.

The basic issue is this: If they are Communist-dominated now, do you want to surrender them forever, or do you still want to try to win their adherence to our kind of life by showing that it is the United States and its type of society which has the great heart, and that it is another type of society which does not; or do you just want to give up these peoples and let them go down the drain forever? For these peoples know very well that in a Communist society a man's right to eat depends on his politics. Do we want them to conclude that we, too, have taken this path?

We come now to the question of fact. What are the facts about this situation? A very distinguished member of our committee, takes the report of UNRRA and analyzes it; analyzes a good many bookkeeping figures in order to try to draw certain conclusions. As I have taken notes of what he said, he comes to two conclusions. Either UNRRA was spending \$140,000,000 a month or it was spending \$77,000,000 a month, and therefore it could go on for either 10 months or 5 months. But that makes a very great difference, for either its whole program is finished this month or it is not, and we know that it is finished. The difference, of course, is a very real one, too, because we are not talking just a lot of bookkeeping figures and trying to prove a dialectical case; we are trying to feed people. Words uttered here and analyses made here are not going to feed them if they do not have the food. Former President Hoover, in whom many of the Mcmbers of this House have great confidence and who went into this thing in very great detail and studied it thoroughly, said he is for this bill. He is for this bill for \$350,000,000. I am confident he looked into the UNRRA situation as well. and would have drawn attention to any such circumstance as might enable UNRRA to carry on.

Finally, let us look at the record on this question of adequacy of the funds provided. Is the \$310,000,000, for relief to the countries to be aided, which is now contained in the conference report, necessary, and how is it reconciled with the proposition that the general fund for relief may not get contributions from other nations? The record on that is very clear. I call the attention of the Members to page 107; it says that \$180,000,000 is necessary for grains alone to take care of just 1947 for the six principal countries under consideration.

The remainder, the difference between \$180,000,000 and a total of \$296,000,000 needed for food alone, or \$116,000,000, is needed for fats, meat, pulses, and dairy products—all foods. Therefore, your \$296,000,000 is the minimum food figure. It compares with a base figure of \$290,000,000 provided in the bill. That leaves out medical supplies, materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, and other items in this bill. This food to sustain a diet of 2,000 to 2,100 calories per day compares with average United States consumption of 3,400 calories per day.

If the House approves this conference report, therefore, you will be enabling the United States at least to fill out the elementary basic food needs of these peoples.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Lodge].

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Speaker, I hope the House will adopt the conference report.

I believe that those members of this body who opposed UNRRA have a very good reason for supporting this method of providing relief, because this is what might be called the unilateral method.

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman], pointed out that at the beginning of this year there were some \$825,000,000 left in UNRRA. I would say that that was probably known to the United Nations Expert Committee and to the State Department when they requested the amount of \$350,000,000, and that the mere fact that there has been some delay in furnishing relief under UNRRA is no reason for cutting down the relief now. To my knowledge the need still exists.

Furthermore, I am reliably informed that the relief needs of Italy alone between now and the end of the year are \$120,000,000. Italy is suffering tremendously from the ravages of war and is continually on the verge of communistic upheaval.

I would point out also that this relief bill is a part of our foreign policy. It is as much a part of our foreign policy as the Greek-Turkish bill. We upheld the Greek-Turkish bill in this House; we should uphold this conference report now.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Connecticut has expired.

(Mr. LODGE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. CASE].

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, it strikes me that to a certain extent this debate on the amount of the authorization is a little beside the point. During the original debate on the bill I asked the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom] whether or not this was an appropriation bill or an authorization bill. He said it was merely a customary authorization bill. In other words, the final decision and the time when the House will have a chance to make the real decision on the amount will come when the appropriations are being considered. So, I do not think it is important to limit the authorization at this time because the real decision will come when the appropriations are made.

I want to say one other thing. It is this.

Personally I believe we ought not to approach this relief and rehabilitation matter on a piecemeal basis. We have now pending before the War Department subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee a \$725,000,000 budget estimate for occupied countries. Then there is the \$400,000,000 for Greece and Turkey. There is the \$350,000,000 under this bill for war devastated countries. And another proposal is coming up, we

understand, for \$78,000,000 for Korea. Then perhaps some other amounts for the IRO, as successor to UNRRA.

My own belief is that these things should be brought up in one appropriation bill and that the Appropriations Committee should consider them all at one time, taking a look at the amount of available supplies we can export, the amount of material we can devote to rehabilitation, the amount of money that the United States Government can afford to spend in other parts of the world, and present the whole picture to the House at one time.

This piecemeal attack on our overseas commitments is fundamentally wrong.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gen-tleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. KEE].

(Mr. KEE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, we have heard it repeatedly said upon the floor of the House that the figure of \$350,000,000 has been picked out of the air. That is quite a current expression. You frequently hear it. However, that is not the case in this instance, because the figure was definitely not picked out of the air.

The \$350,000,000 was arrived at from the fact that the United Nations Security Council after a careful and very extensive investigation of the relief needs of the countries for which this relief is intended fixed a figure of \$610,000,000 as being the amount absolutely necessary for the relief of these people during the current The \$610,000,000 figure fixed by the Security Council is the amount absolutely necessary in the current calendar year for the relief of these people. The amount allocated to be donated by the United States Government for that purpose is 57 percent or \$350,000,000, which amount was inserted in the bill.

When the bill came before the House for consideration an amendment was offered which allocated and earmarked \$50,000,000 for the children's relief fund. Of that amount \$15,000,000 was to be paid at the instance or discretion of the President at once and the other \$35,000,000 deferred until it was ascertained whether or not the other nations made their contributions to the fund. conferees retained that fund in the bill, reducing it however, to \$40,000,000. We made the payment of \$15,000,000 mandatory on the part of the President so that it reduced the fund provided in the measure for relief purposes by \$15,000,000. We leave \$25,000,000 earmarked for the children's relief fund providing the other nations contribute, which they will likely do, and this will further reduce the amount allowed by this bill to \$310,000,-000, leaving that amount alone for carrying the burden of \$350,000,000 for relief.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] said a moment ago that we all agree \$350,000,000 will not relieve the situation in Europe. Of course, we all agree with that statement. The statement is verified by the fact that the Security Council after its investigation fixed the amount absolutely necessary at \$610,-Therefore this \$350,000,000, after reducing it approximately \$40,- 000,000 by the children's fund, will be just a drop in the bucket toward relieving the situation in the countries of Europe for which it is intended, and if we reduce it, as is suggested by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman], to \$200,000,000, you leave only \$160,000,000 to meet a very desperate situation.

Mr. Speaker, during the last meeting of our conference committee, just before we adjourned, we had a telegram from Europe read to us stating that conditions in the countries over there, in Austria and in Italy especially, were growing worse every day; that not only had there been a partial and very heavy crop failure but that there was promised a complete crop failure, and that this relief was needed and needed instantly.

Mr. Speaker, I heartily approve the conference report, and I hope it will be approved by this body.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Fulton].

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, the statement has been made here that the figure of \$350,000,000 was simply picked out of the air. I rise as a member of the committee to refute that statement. The United Nations has investigated this particular situation in Europe.

The American Government has investigated the situation through the United States embassies. The Department of Agriculture has investigated it as to food requirements. The Department of State has had its own people there looking into the situation. The Food and Agricultural Survey Mission of the United Nations has checked the situation. The United Nations Committee of Experts on the needs for 1947 has investigated. They have said that it would take \$583,000,000 for relief, exclusive of China, and it will be noted that this bill authorizes only \$350,000,000.

Also the data obtained by the subcommittee of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has entered into this finding of \$350,000,000 as necessary. I would like to point out to this economy-minded Congress that under the United Nations relief we were taking 72 percent of the burden and now we are only going to take 57 percent of the burden. We have reduced the figure. This relief is not for just giving away of money and materials. It is chiefly for food to prevent starvation. This relief is to raise these people to the absolute minimum beyond which they would starve. Even the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN], admits that this fund is not sufficient to keep them from starving.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. JONKMAN. Did the gentleman say I admitted that this fund was not enough to keep them from starving?

Mr. FULTON. The gentleman feels, I take it from his statement, that this fund itself will not keep these people from starving.

Mr. JONKMAN. I, on the contrary, claim to have demonstrated that they cannot spend the fund that they have judiciously. They can spend and they can waste, but a billion dollars is a lot

of money to spend.
Mr. FULTON. May I say this, that the gentleman from Michigan did not bring you up to date on the figures; that the last shipment of UNRRA relief which we were to provide has now been sent from these shores. May I point out that Senator VANDENBERG testified, page 5305 of the Congressional Record, in that respect. So, the gentleman from Michigan is incorrect in his statement that this money, and the goods and the food purchased, are unexpended, because Senator VANDENBERG himself on the Senate floor said categorically that the last shipment has already left our shores.

As long ago as last January Secretary of State Marshall said that this was No. 1 on his list of 27 foreign-affairs measures that we should have for the peace of the world. I believe I will stand with General Marshall and with Senator VANDEN-

Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentle-

man from New Jersey.
Mr. MATHEWS. There is obviously a discrepancy between the first five lines of the bill and page 1 of the report.

Mr. FULTON. Would the gentleman ask his question directly.

Mr. MATHEWS. Subsection (b) of section 2 on the second page. What I want to ask the gentleman is this: Can we be given assurance that out of the \$350,000,000 authorized to be appropriated will be included the salaries of the missions and the commission and all persons connected with it?

Mr. FULTON. I will assure the gentleman, as a member of the committee, that all expenses for administration. traveling, and expenses of all the missions in each of the countries are included in the authorization of the \$350,-000,000 specifically.

Mr. MATHEWS. I thank the gentle-

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. LODGE. I just want to point out something in connection with the change made in conference in the clause that was in the House bill which provided that reparations payable by treaty by any country receiving relief to any other country must be postponed during the period of such relief. It was my intention, as the author of that amendment, to protect the American taxpayer against having to make payments both for relief and for reparations. It was my intention to protect the Hungarians against the burden of treaty reparations and if that was not possible to obtain a postponement of reparations payments. It was not my intention that the Hungarians, for instance, should be deprived of relief after the other body by ratifying the treaty had decided that they should pay reparations. It does not seem to me fair to the Hungarians or to the Italians—insofar as they might be affected—just because the other body decides to ratify these treaties, that they

should be deprived of relief. It just so happens that I believe that ratification of these treaties should be withheld. However, since the Foreign Relations Committee of the other body has ratified these treaties, I believe that the change that was made in conference was entirely right. The President will seek a postponement of reparations payments and if he does not succeed the Hungarians will nevertheless receive relief.

Mr. FULTON. I believe the gentleman has made a very excellent statement, that we did not want in any way to find that the relief we send over goes into reparations to any country, instead of to these people that are intended to get the relief. We have taken great care to see that the assistance will simply go in as relief to prevent starvation.

May I cite Senator Vandenberg as to

the necessity for this \$350,000,000? I believe he has served the Republican Party well as our senatorial leader on foreign policy. I ask the Republican side particularly to listen to what Senator VAN-DENBERG has to say on the necessity for \$350,000,000:

Without this measure there is no use in trying to save Greece, as both Houses of Congress have voted overwhelmingly to do, because this relief is specifically at the base of our Greek plan.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM].

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, the statement read on UNRRA is the statement of the United States participation in UNRRA. UNRRA is an international What we are trying to do here is something the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Eaton] and I started in New York City at the United Nations last We are doing something here on which we have the handle in our own We are doing it. We have the control of this thing completely. If you reduce this from \$350,000,000, which is 57 percent of the \$610,000,000, which we went over very carefully in New York City, not in a minute or a day or a week, for it took months to do this thing-if you reduce that \$350,000,000 to \$200,-000,000, then you are automatically reducing the contributions of the other United Nations to the \$610,000,000, which we figured at that time was the lowest amount, the smallest amount we could possibly try to do the job for in Europe.

It is a fact that since we started the hearings on this legislation and before we had it on the floor of the House we received word from all over Europe and the different countries that the situation there today is much worse, much worse than it was when we had this bill here for consideration. There is no question about that.

We have given \$40,000,000 for the children, and that will be given to the children. A promise has been made that that will be given. I think I had something to do with that as far as the other nations are concerned. Then we will give them \$5,000,000 to defray the expenses of sending food that is contributed to this fund by different organizations, for nothing. So that is \$45,000,000 taken off, which leaves only \$305,000,000.

As was said here, this is an authorization, and we can find out what is necessary to be done to see that proper relief is given. This figure has not been taken out of the air. This figure has been calculated and figured out very carefully. The total sum is \$610,000,000.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I am strongly in favor of adopting this bill as reported by the conference committee; first, because we have had assurances that we will have no further relief demands in the near future, and, second, because of the tremendous need and the starvation among the suffering people in Europe as compared with the almost unlimited supply and variety of food available to all Americans.

I believe this bill expresses the innate desire of the American people to do, as they have always done, go to the rescue of our starving neighbors across the sea.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield. Mr. RICH. What assurances have you that this is the last bill that we will be asked to act upon to authorize and appropriate money for relief?

Mr. EATON. The best assurance I have is the announcement made by the gentleman's leader, Mr. VANDENBERG.

Mr. RICH. He is not my leader; I want you to understand that.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, I compliment the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Rich].

Mr. EATON. It would seem that no one individual can lead Republicans any more. It would appear that our Republican army is composed now entirely of

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. JUDD. Would not the gentleman agree that the less satisfactory our experience has been in handling relief on a jointly managed basis under UNRRA, the more responsible we are for doing our share under this program where we can do it ourselves in our own American way and carry the food under our own supervision, right down to the ultimate village, if necessary?

Mr. EATON. I am in full accord with the gentleman's view, and I thank him for introducing that flash of intelligence into what I have to say.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield for a further flicker, if not a flash?

Mr. EATON. I yield. Mr. JUDD. Does not the gentleman agree that the more opposed many of us have been to the sort of program heretofore carried on, the more we should support the program which is before us today.- The very people who voted against UNRRA because so many of those who spent our money were from other countries are under a greater obligation, it seems to me, to carry on this program under Americans, everyone of them cleared by the FBI. I say that as one who very strongly criticized UNRRA. This authorizes only one-eighth of the total amount that we have already given under UNRRA. If we can finish all or most of the job with one-eighth of what we have already given, much of which was wasted, surely we ought to do so, both for humanitarian reasons and for reasons of intelligent long-term selfinterest.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlemen for their assistance.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN].

Mr. RANKIN. They have made two crops in Europe since the war ended, and are now stripping the people of Europe and taking the funds to build up armies while asking us to continue to feed the people of Europe who are being dominated by those Communist armies or regimes.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to myself.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield. Mr. JUDD. I should like to answer the gentleman from Mississippi by asking him to read section 5 where it says, "The President shall promptly terminate the provision of relief assistance to the people of any country whenever he determines," among other things, "that an excessive amount of any supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the maintenance of armed forces in such country.'

Mr. RANKIN. You do not need anythink like that to tell the people of Europe how to make a crop. The substance of the people of Europe is being taken over by these Communist organizations maintaining large armies, large military forces, and they are asking us to feed the people that they are supposed to feed.

I live in a country that lost a war once. Our brave Confederate soldiers came home, went to work and fed their own people while rebuilding the devastated South.

If we are going to feed the peoples of the rest of the world at the expense of the American taxpayers while their crops are used to feed useless standing armies; then there will be no end to the appropriations we will be called upon to make.

The peoples of these countries have had time to make two crops since the war closed. Never in the history of Europe have we seen a demand to feed starving people before except when there was some kind of a crop failure. There have been no such failures in this instance. We had better make a contribution to the Red Cross and let them feed the hungry children. The Red Cross will not make such a farce of it as was made in the case of UNRRA.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, this bill appropriates \$350,000,000. It leaves only \$290,000,000 of actual money to be invested in the salvation of the starving people. The rest goes to the children's fund or for expenses. Fifteen million dollars is to be held in escrow for use in other countries as the necessity may arise.

I hope and pray we will carry this bill through today with a very handsome and substantial majority.

Mr. Speaker, I yield the remainder of the time to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] is recognized for 11½ minutes.

(Mr. MUNDT asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his re-

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, this problem of participating in relief for foreign countries is not a new one before this body. I want to take you back a few years to the first UNRRA bill and to the subsequent UNRRA bills, because we have appropriated and spent \$2,700,000,000 through UNRRA to help relieve the people of distressed war areas.

A vast majority of the Members of this body voted for that legislation, but they voted for it, many of them, as I voted for it, and as the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack] today indicated he voted for it, with their tongues in their cheeks, and reluctantly, because UNRRA did not seem to be an efficient set-up for handling the difficult relief problems abroad. It was argued that it should have been an American enterprise. We have before us today such an American enterprise in this conference report.

The second criticism made of UNRRA was that it should have been administered by Americans instead of by foreigners. This bill provides that. It provides for the administration of this relief by Americans who have been screened by the FBI; so we have made progress in that direction.

The third criticism about UNRRA was that we should have provided relief which was identified as American relief. This bill provides that. The relief is to carry labels and identification marks and trademarks as American products right down to the ultimate consumers.

The fourth criticism of UNRRA was that the supplies were not publicized abroad or at home and the press and radio were not permitted to follow through and report on the disposition made of UNRRA supplies. This proposal corrects that shortcoming. It provides that there shall be adequate and complete publication of the information about this relief, not only in America but in the countries receiving the relief.

The fifth criticism made of UNRRA was that it was an extravagant outfit; that it did not get the result it should have out of the \$2,700,000,000. We are asking you today to appropriate only \$350,000,000, a considerably smaller amount than any other we have been asked to provide, to aid legitimately distressed people in war-stricken areas. With the numerous safeguards written into this new program, I am confident this \$350,000,000 will feed more people who are actually in need and in want than would be true of several times this amount if handled through UNRRA.

Now, let me go to the figures of this conference report. As you know, when it left the House, the over-all figure was \$200,000,000. The over-all figure now before you is \$350,000,000, but that does not mean that the House conferees re-

ceded entirely from the position which we took in the House because actually we are bringing you this conference report at a working figure of \$290,000,000. That is the working fund for the specific purposes which this act provided when it left the House, namely, the general relief of people in war-devastated areas as specified by our legislation.

The figure that you must compare with the \$350,000,000 item which the Senate approved is \$29,000,000. Let me spell out to you specifically how that is true. Since this bill left the House of Representatives in the course of its enactment it has been expanded to do other things which were not originally included in the original \$350,000,000.

Five million dollars, for example, has been set aside to pay the shipping costs for relief sent overseas by voluntary private organizations, a proposal which multiplies tremendously the benefits to be given by this relief program. So, \$5,000,000 of the \$350,000,000 is not available for the purposes originally contained in this legislation when it was last before us.

Fifteen million dollars has been set aside additionally for so-called emergency relief beyond and outside of the confines of the six countries named in this act, so there is another \$15,000,000 which will not be available for aid to the specified areas, as was originally expected for the relief program.

Forty million dollars more has been set aside to take care of the needs of the International Emergency Children's Fund, \$15,000,000 of it being made available by legislative mandate at once and \$25,000,000 additional being set aside until well into 1948, until it has been demonstrated and determined whether or not the other countries will meet their 43 percent proportionate payments to this childrens' fund

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. Not now, I will yield

If they meet their quotas the entire \$40,000,000 will be available for childrens' relief and deducted from the money we are appropriating in this legislation for general relief. If they do not meet it, the President is authorized to expend the residual amount for the general purposes of the act provided he first determines there is no reasonable expectancy that these quotas will be met before June 30, 1948

I now yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. JONKMAN. The gentleman says that \$25,000,000 in addition to the \$15,-000,000 will go to the children's fund. That will not happen until the other nations contribute their 43 percent. Is not that true?

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct. I do not yield further.

Mr. JONKMAN. Can the gentleman name one nation that has said it would contribute to the fund?

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I decline to yield.
Answering the gentleman from Michigan, I may say that I cannot name spe-

cifically any other country that is going to contribute to the children's fund, because this is the first step by which the fund is implemented. We are making the initial contribution with the understanding that collectively the other countries will contribute 43 percent. If they do not contribute, then the \$25,000,000 already referred to reverts to the general purposes of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, may I point out other respects in which the position of the House prevailed over the position of the other body? For example, the children's fund was not mentioned at all in the legislation passed by the Senate. It is now in the bill, as I have described to you. That was a distinct victory for the House conferees.

The countries were not named in the legislation passing the other body. We named the countries specifically, and they remain exactly as named by the House except we added the country of Trieste, which I think we all believe necessarily should be added, since we have assumed international responsibility for Trieste. That is another complete victory for the House position.

The third position of the House that was maintained is the provision for relief distribution, that it shall be done by American citizens screened by the FBI, permitting American control of these goods until they get to the ultimate consumer. The House position in that regard was maintained, as the so-called Mundt amendment remains in the bill.

This brings me to reparations. This has already been discussed by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys] the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. LODGE]. To the fullest extent possible the position of the House has been maintained there. We require the President to seek from other countries in the world an agreement whereby they will not extract reparations out of current production from any country being aided by this bill. That is all we can do practically at this present time, in view of circumstances beyond the control of this House. The author of that amend-ment, the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. Lodge], supports this action of the conferees.

In the fifth place, the termination date written in by the House remains in the bill; namely, that by concurrent resolution the Congress can withhold from any country or from all the countries further aid at any time the House and the Senate in the wisdom of a majority vote decide that it should be discontinued.

So I submit to you that in large measure the position of the House prevails in this conference report, and I think the conference report should be adopted. I say this as one of those who voted for the \$200,000,000 amendment as originally presented by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonkman]. I was in favor of it at that time and am so recorded both by speech and vote. However, we now face a different decision under different circumstances and we are considering legislation covering a much wider field of needs than was then the case.

It should be kept in mind, Mr. Chairman, that our action in reducing this proposed appropriation for relief to \$2,000,000 by our earlier votes has in fact effected a saving for this country of perhaps \$60,000,000 even though we now approve this conference report. This is true because we have expanded the purposes of this act to cover the Children's Fund thus obviating the necessity of the President sending us his \$40,000,000 bill for that purpose as was previously announced and because we are using \$5,000,000 of this fund to provide shipping for voluntary relief shipments and \$15,000,000 is being withheld to meet possible emergency relief needs in countries outside of the prescribed areas. The House thus can take credit for effecting a great and a real saving by our earlier action and by approving this conference report we can supplement that worthwhile action by now expediting the establishment of an effective and efficient relief set-up to meet the most crying needs in Europe. I am not in favor of reducing the appropriation back to \$2,000,000 at this time, however, because, as I have pointed out, we have increased the purposes, the objectives, and the responsibilities of this bill. We have made it responsible for a much larger achievement than was originally the case. So I submit that this \$290,-000,000 figure for a working fund is a legitimate and an honest reconciliation between the positions of the two Houses. It enables you to vote for economy and against starvation at the same time.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentle-

man from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to ask the gentleman if it is not true that those people have had an opportunity or time to make two crops since the war closed, and if they are not taking the production of their own people and using that to build up military establishments, at the same time calling on us to feed the people of those countries? And will not the gentleman be standing up in this well one year from today asking us for another appropriation to feed them through another year while this same procedure goes on?

Mr. MUNDT. The answer to the gentleman's question is in part "yes" and in It is certainly "no" as far as part "no." Greece is concerned, it is "no" as far as Italy is concerned, it is "no" as far as Trieste is concerned. The answer is "yes" as far as Poland is concerned and it is "yes" in part as far as Hungary is concerned. However, under the Mundt amendment which remains in the bill it is going to be "no" for all the countries from now on because these goods are being distributed by American relief missions, by American citizens, conveying the goods all the way down to the ultimate consumer. So at least insofar as the future is concerned it is going to be a negative answer under the terms of this legislation.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Speaker, will the

gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. LODGE. I want to point out to the gentleman from Mississippi that section 5 (a) provides that the President shall promptly terminate relief if he finds that it is being used to assist in the maintenance of armed forces in such countries.

Mr. RANKIN. May I call attention to the fact that in Italy and Trieste they are reaping their third crops now since the war closed.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not arguing about the number of crops. The food is not going to be taken out of the country to feed the Russians or to build military establishments under the terms of this bill.

Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. MATHEWS. Since the President may terminate this if an excessive amount is used for military purposes, may I ask the gentleman why in a relief bill any part of it should be used for military purposes?

Mr. MUNDT. This says that the President can terminate it. It may be that in a country like Greece or Italy they may have soldiers in their own army who need rations to feed them; so we do not want to make it too conclusive. But the intent of this limitation is crystal

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DONDERO. As one who has supported UNRRA all the way along, may I say that we have listened to the same enthusiastic appeal for that organization

as we have for this bill today. Mr. MUNDT. Not from the present speaker. Every time I spoke on UNRRA I did so with great reluctance because I realized it had an almost impossible administrative setup. But the position recommended by the Republicans on the Committee of Foreign Affairs at that time and the position since recommended both by Democrats and Republicans concerning UNRRA has been written into this legislation. So we are concerned with this decision: Do we want Uncle Sam to do anything at all to help the starving people of the world? If we do, we can do it now with American citizens, with American goods, with American publicity accruing all over the world. If we do not believe we should help them, then the answer should be in the negative. The decision is yes or no, whether you want America to help feed the people of a war-torn world. As for me, I think we should adopt this conference report and measure up to our responsibilities in an American way, with American methods administered by American citizens whose loyalty has been certified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired. Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move

the previous question on the conference report.

The previous question was ordered. The SPEAKER. The question is on the conference report.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the conference report?

Mr. JONKMAN. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Does any Member on the minority side wish to offer a motion to recommit? If not, the Clerk will report the motion offered by the gentleman from Michigan.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Jonkman moves that the conference report be recommitted to the committee of conference with instructions to the managers on the part of the House to insist on the House provision for authorization of \$200,000,000.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit offered by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Jonk-MAN1.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 170, nays 205, not voting 55, as follows:

[Roll No. 60] YEAS-170

Gillie Abernethy Allen, Calif. Allen, Ill. Goodwin Graham Allen, La. Griffiths Andersen. Gross Andresen, August H. Gwinn, N. Y. Gwynne, Iowa Angel1 Halleck Arends Hand Arnold Auchincloss Harness, Ind. Harrison Banta Hartley Hess Barden Barrett Hoffman Bates, Mass. Beall Horan Bennett, Mo. Howell Bishop Hull Jenkins, Ohio Jennings Blackney Boggs, Del. Jensen Johnson, Ill. Brooks Johnson, Ind. Jones, Ohio Buck Buffett Jonkman Kearney Burleson Busbey Kearns Butler Knutson Byrnes, Wis. Landis Carson Chenoweth Larcade LeCompte LeFevre Lemke Chiperfield Church Love Lucas Clevenger Clippinger Coffin Cole, Mo. McConnell McCowen. Colmer McDonough Cravens McDowell . McGregor Crawford McMillen, Ill. Cunningham Macy Curtis Maloney Martin, Iowa Dague Davis, Ga. Mason Meyer Dondero Michener Miller, Md. Morris Dorn Ellis Ellsworth Murray, Tenn. Murray, Wis. Elston Engel, Mich. Fellows Fenton Norblad O'Hara Fisher Gallagher O'Konski Passman Phillips, Calif. Phillips, Tenn. Gavin Gillette

Redden Reed, Ill. Reed, N. Y. Rees Reeves Rich Rizley Robertson Robsion Rockwell Rogers, Mass. Rohrbough Russell St. George Sanborn Sarbacher Schwabe, Mo. Schwabe, Okla. Scoblick Scrivner Shafer Short Simpson, Pa. Smith, Kans. Smith, Ohio Smith, Wis. Snyder Springer Stefan Stevenson Stockman Sundstrom Taber Talle Taylor Thomas, Tex. Tibbott Twyman Van Zandt Vursell Weichel Wheeler Whitten Wigglesworth Williams Wilson, Ind. Winstead Wolverton Woodruff Worley Youngblood

Ploeser

Rankin

Rohrbough Rooney

NAYS-205

Goff Manasco Mansfield, Almond Gordon Anderson, Calif. Gore Andrews, Ala. Gorski Mont. Marcantonio Andrews, Ala. Andrews, N. Y. Mathews Meade, Ky. Meade, Md. Granger Bakewell Grant, Ala. Gregory Battle Beckworth Hale Merrow all, Miller, Calif. Edwin Arthur Miller, Conn. Hall Bell Blatnik Bloom Hall. Leonard W. Hardy Harless, Ariz. Boggs, La. Monronev Morgan Bolton Bradley, Calif. Bramblett Morton Muhlenberg Harris Brown, Ga. Mundt Havenner Murdock Bryson Buchanan Hays Hébert Nixon Nodar Burke Byrne, N. Y. Hedrick Norton Camp Canfield Hendricks O'Brien O'Toole Heselton Cannon Owens Carroll Hinshaw Pace Case, N. J. Case, S. Dak. Hobbs Holifield Patterson Peden Celler Holmes Peterson Chadwlck Hope Chapman Chelf Huber Pickett Jackson, Calif. Jackson, Wash. Potts Clark Clason Poulson Preston Jarman Clements Javits Jenkins, Pa. Price, Ill. Cole, Kans. Cole, N. Y. Priest Johnson, Calif. Johnson, Okla. Johnson, Tex. Rabin Combs Rains Cooley Rayburn Jonés, Ala. Jones, N. C. Jones, Wash. Cooper Ravfiel Richards Riehlman Cotton Coudert Crosser Davis, Tenn. Davis, Wis. Deane Karsten, Mo. Rivers Rogers, Fla. Kean Keating Rooney Rooney Ross Sabath Sadlak Sadowski Seely-Brown Kee Kefauver Delaney Devitt Kelley Dingell Dirksen Kennedy Keogh Donohue Doughton Kerr Kersten, Wis. Sheppard Sikes Kilday Smith, Maine Smith, Va. Douglas King Drewry Durham Kirwan Spence Klein Eaton Stigler Stratton Eberharter Lane Lanham Elliott Engle, Calif. Thomason Tollefson Latham Lea Lesinski Fallon Trimble Feighan Vinson Vorys Wadsworth Fernandez Lewis Lodge Fogarty Folger Walter Welch Lyle Lynch McCotmack McMahon West Whittington Foote Forand McMillan, S. C. Fulton Wilson, Tex. Gamble MacKinnon Zimmerman Gary Gearhart Madden Mahon

NOT VOTING-55

Bates, Ky. Flannagan Patman Bennett, Mich. Fuller Gathings Pfelfer Plumley Bland Gifford Poage Bonner Gossett Powell Boykin Bradley, Mich. Brown, Ohio Buckley Bulwinkle Price, Fla. Sasscer Scott, Hardie Heffernan Scott, Hardie Scott, Hugh D., Jr. Simpson, Ill. Smathers Jenison Courtney Kilburn Kunkel Crow Lausk Somers Dawson, Ill. Dawson, Utah McGarvey Stanlev Mansfield, Tex. D'Ewart Domengeaux Miller, Nebr. Thomas, N. J. Mitchell W'olcott Morrison Wood Evins Norrell

So the motion to recommit was reiected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Hoeven for, with Mr. Courtney against. Mr. Norrell for, with Mr. Pfeifer against. Mr. Stanley for, with Mr. Buckley against. Mr. Simpson of Illinois for, with Mr. Flannagan against.

Mr. Wood for, with Mr. Smathers against. Mr. Gathings for, with Mr. Heffernan against.

Mr. Teague for, with Mr. Somers against.

General pairs until further notice:

Mr. Bender with Mr. Powell. Mr. Kilburn with Mr. Mansfield of Texas.

Mr. D'Ewart with Mr. Gossett.

Mr. Crow with Mr. Domengeaux. Mr. Thomas of New Jersey with Mr. Cox.

Mr. Wolcott with Mrs. Lusk. Mr. Mitchell with Mr. Bonner.

Mr. Gifford with Mr. Poage. Mr. Elsaesser with Mr. Morrison..

Mr. Bradley of Michigan with Mr. Bul-

Mr. Hagen with Mr. Dawson of Illinois.

Mr. Jenison with Mr. Evins.

Mr. Keefe with Mr. Gathings. Mr. McGarvey with Mr. Bates of Kentucky. Mr. Dawson of Utah with Mr. Boykin.

Mr. Bennett of Michigan with Mr. Price of

Florida.

Mr. Fuller with Mr. Sasscer. Mr. Plumley with Mr. Bland.

Messrs. Brehm and Lemke and Mrs.

Rogers of Massachusetts changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

Messrs. Vorys and Drewry changed

their vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. The question is on

the conference report.
Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 288, nays 86, not voting 56, as follows:

[Roll No. 61] YEAS-288

Albert Clason Gorski Allen, Calif. Granger Grant, Ala. Grant, Ind. Clements Coffin Cole, Kans. Cole, N. Y. Almond Andersen, Gregory Gwlnn, N. Y. Gwynne, Iowa H. Carl Anderson, Calif. Combs Andresen, August H. Cooley Cooper Hale Hall, Andrews, Ala. Andrews, N. Y. Corbett Cotton Edwin Arthur Angell Cravens Hall, Leonard W. Halleck Crosser Arends Auchincloss Cunningham Hardy Harless, Ariz. Bakewell Curtis Davis, Ga. Davis, Tenn. Davis, Wis. Barrett Bates, Ky. Bates, Mass. Harris Hart Hartley Battle Deane Beall Delaney Havenner Hays Hébert Beckworth Devitt Bell Dingell Blackney Dirksen Hedrick Hendricks Blatnik Dolliver Herter Heselton Bloom Donohue Doughton Boggs, Del. Boggs, La. Bolton Douglas Hess Hinshaw Hobbs Holifield Holmes Bradley, Calif. Bramblett Durham Eaton Eberharter Brehm Brooks Elliott Ellsworth Brophy Brown, Ga. Hope Elston Engel, Mich. Horan Bryson Buchanan Howell Huber Engle, Calif. Jackson, Calif. Jackson, Wash. Buck Fallon Feighan Fellows Burke Busbey Byrne, N. Y Jarman Fenton Jenkins, Ohio Jenkins, Pa. Fernandez Byrnes, Wis. Camp Fletcher Jensen Johnson, Calif. Canfield Fogarty Folger Foote Cannon Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Okla.
Johnson, Tex.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, N. C.
Jones, Wash.
Jonkman Carroll Forand Carson Case, N. J. Case, S. Dak. Fulton Gamble Gary Gearha**rt** Celler Chadwick Chapman Chelf Goff Judd Goodwin Karsten, Mo. Kean Kearney Chenoweth Gordon Gore

Miller, Md. Mills Kcating Kee Kefauver Kelley Monroney Kennedy Keogh Kerr Kersten, Wis. Kilday King Kirwan Klein Lane Lanham Latham Lea LeCompte LeFevre Lesinski Lewis Lodge Love Lyle Lynch McConnell McCormack McDonough McMillan, S. C. MacKinnon Macy Madden Mahon Manasco Mansfield, Mont. Marcantonio Martin, Iowa Mathews Meade, Ky. Meade, Md. Merrow Mever Michener Miller, Calif. Miller, Conn.

Ross Russell Morgan Morris Morton Muhlenberg Mundt Murdock Murray, Tenn. Nixon Sikes Nodar Norblad Norton O'Brien O'Toole Owens Pace Patterson Peden Peterson Phillips, Calif. Ploeser Plumley Potts Poulson Preston Price, Ill. Priest Rabin Rains Ramev Rayburn Rayfiel Redden Reed, Ill. Rees Richards Riehlman Riley Rivers Robertscn Rockwell Rogers, Fla. Rogers, Mass. NAYS-

Sadlak Sadowski St. George Scoblick Scott, Hardie Seely-Brown Sheppard Simpson, Pa. Smith, Maine Smith, Va. Snyder Stefan Stevenson Stigler Stratton Sundstrom Taber Talle Taylor Thomason Tibbott Tollefson Towe Trimble Twyman Van Zandt Vinson Wadsworth Walter Welch West Whittington Wigglesworth Wilson, Tex. Wolcott Wolverton Zimmerman

Abernethy Gross Reed, N. Y. Allen, Ill. Hand Reeves Rizley Robsion Allen, La. Arnold Harness, Ind. Harrison Banta Hoffman Hull Barden Bennett, Mo. Jenison Jennings Bishop Buffett Johnson, Ill. Johnson, Ind. Burleson Butler Chiperfield Jones, Ohio Kearns Church Knutson Clevenger Landis Larcade Clipplnger Cole, Mo. Colmer Lemke Lucas McCowen Crawford Vail. McGregor Vorys Dague Dondero McMahon McMillen, Ill. Maloney Gallagher O'Hara O'Konski Gavin Gillette Passman Gillie Phillips, Tenn.

Sanborn Sarbacher Schwabe, Mo. Schwabe, Okla. Scrivner Shafer Sharer Short Smith, Kans. Smith, Ohio Smith, Wis. Springer Stockman Thomas, Tex. Vursell Weichel Wheeler Whitten Williams Wilson, Ind. Winstead Woodruff Youngblood

NOT VOTING--56

Bender Bennett, Mich. Flannagan. Fuller Norrell Bland Gathings Bonner Gifford Boykln Bradley, Mich. Brown, Ohio Hagen Heffernan Buckley Hoeven Keefe Kilburn Bulwinkle Coudert Courtney Kunkel Cox Lusk Crow McDowell McGarvey Mansfield, Tex. Dawson, Ill Dawson, Utah Miller, Nebr. D'Ewart Domengeaux Elsaesser Morrison Murray, Wis.

Pickett

Rankin

Patman Pfeifer Philbin Poage Powell Price, Fla. Rich Sabath Sasscer Scott, Hugh D., Jr. Simpson, Ill. Smathers Stanley Teague Thomas, N. J. Wood

So the conference report was agreed to. The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Dorn

Graham

Griffiths

Ellis

Mr. Hoeven for, with Mr. Stanley against. Mr. Courtney for, with Mr. Norrell against. Mr. Flannagan for, with Mr. Wood against. Mr. Pfeifer for, with Mr. Gathings against. Mr. Heffernan for, with Mr. Teague against.

Additional general pairs:

Mr. Brown of Ohio with Mr. Powell.

Mr. Rich with Mr. Smathers.

Mr. Thomas of New Jersey with Mr. Gossett.

Mr. Mitchell with Mr. Morrison.

Mr. Miller of Nebraska with Mrs. Lusk.

Mr. Kilburn with Mr. Buckley

Mr. Bradley of Michigan with Mr. Domengeaux.

Mr. Bender with Mr. Evins.

Mr. Hagen with Mr. Bonner. Mr. Coudert with Mr. Somers.

Mr. McDowell with Mr. Price of Florida.

Mr. Simpson of Illinois with Mr. Bland.

Mr. D'Ewart with Mr. Dawson of Illinois.

Mr. Crow with Mr. Sasscer.

Mr. Bennett of Michigan with Mr. Cox.

Mr. Elsaesser with Mr. Mansfield of Texas.

Mr. Fuller with Mr. Philbin.

Mr. McGarvey with Mr. Poage.

Mr. Keefe with Mr. Boykin. Mr. Gifford with Mr. Sabath.

Mr. Dawson of Utah with Mr. Patman.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have five legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the conference report just agreed to.

The SPEAKER. Is their objection to the request of the gentleman from

New Jersey?

There was no objection.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may address the House for 10 minutes today after the other special orders.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H. R. 3245

TABER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the committee of conference may have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on H. R. 3245.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The conference port and statement are as follows:

CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3245) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows: as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendments of the Senate numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28, and agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 6: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 6, and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the sum of "\$70,000" named in said amendment insert "\$60,000"; and the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 8: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 8 and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"FEDERAL WORKS AGENCY

"BUREAU OF COMMUNITY FACILITIES

"Veterans' educational facilities: For an additional amount for the completion of construction and installation of veterans' educational facilities, fiscal year 1947, \$3,000,000, to be available until expended, but not to be available for new projects after September 30, 1947, of which amount not to exceed \$100,000 shall be available for administrative expenses: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be used for the relocation of any building at a cost greater than \$3 per square foot." square foot."

And the Senate agree to the same.

Amendment numbered 15: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate numbered 15 and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: Restore the matter stricken out by said amendment, amended to read as follows:

"Maintenance and operation of air navigation facilities: For an additional amount,

fiscal year 1947, for 'Maintenante and opera-tion of air navigation facilities', \$20,000." And the Senate agree to the same.

The committee of conference report in disagreement amendments numbered 7, 12, and 13.

JOHN TABER. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH, ALBERT ENGEL, KARL STEFAN, FRANCIS CASE, FRANK B. KEEFE, CLARENCE CANNON, JOHN H. KERR, GEORGE MAHON, Managers on the Part of the House.

STYLES BRIDGES, CHAN GURNEY. JOSEPH H. BALL. KENNETH MCKELLAR. CARL HAYDEN,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3245) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947, and for other purposes, submit the following report in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon and recom-mended in the accompanying conference re-

port as to each of such amendments, namely: Amendments Nos. 1 to 4, inclusive, relate to the Senate and appropriate \$50,000 for salaries, officers and employees, \$100,000 for special investigations, and \$200,000 for miscellaneous items, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 5 appropriates \$12,500 to the widow of a deceased Representative, as proposed by the Senate.

INDEPENDENT AGENCIES

Amendment No. 6 increases the amount for travel expenses, Office of Defense Transportation, to \$60,000 instead of \$70,000, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 7 is reported in disagree-

Amendment No. 8 appropriates \$3,000,000 veterans' educational facilities instead of \$20,000,000, as proposed by the Senate, and provides that no part of the fund shall be used on any project where the cost is in ex-

cess of \$3 per square foot.

Amendment No. 9 provides, by transfer, an additional amount of \$2,500 for penalty mail costs, Interstate Commerce Commission, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 10 appropriates \$5,103,000 for the Office of Selective Service Records, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 11 appropriates \$4,500 for The Tax Court of the United States, as proposed by the Senate.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Amendment No. 12 is reported in disagreement.

Amendment No. 13 appropriates \$5,000,000 for the farm labor supply program instead of \$6,000,000, as proposed by the Senate.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Amendment No. 14 strikes out, as pro-Amendment No. 14 strikes out, as proposed by the Senate, an appropriation of \$600,000 for establishment of air-navigation facilities, proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 15 appropriates \$20,000 for maintenance and operation of air-navigation facilities instead of \$160,000, as proposed by the House.

posed by the House.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Amendment No. 16 appropriates \$75,000 for rural-delivery service, 1946, as proposed

by the Senate.

Amendment, No. 17 provides \$10,000,000 for clerks, first- and second-class post offices, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 18 appropriates \$28,800,-000, as proposed by the Senate, for city delivery carriers, instead of \$28,018,800, as proposed by the House.

Amendment No. 19 provides by transfer.

Ameridment No. 19 provides, by transfer, \$152,000 additional for star route service, as

proposed by the Senate.

mendment No. 20 provides, by transfer, \$2,500,000 additional for railroad transportation and mail messenger service, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 21 provides, by transfer, \$3,090,000 additional for railway mail service, as proposed by the Senaté.

Amendment No. 22 provides, by transfer, \$3,273,000 additional for foreign mail transportation, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 23 provides, by transfer, 3,000 additional for railway mail service, travel expenses, as proposed by the Senate.
Amendment No. 24 increases the limitation

on amount available for salaries at field head-

on amount available for salaries at held head-quarters, domestic air mail service, to \$124,-000, as proposed by the Senate.

Amendment No. 25 appropriates \$441,000, as proposed by the Senate, for unpaid money orders more than 1 year old instead of \$127,-000, as proposed by the House.

Amendments Nos. 26 and 27 provide \$3,536,-700 for vehicle service as proposed by the

700 for vehicle service, as proposed by the Senate, instead of \$2,996,700, as proposed by the House.

Amendment Vo. 28 appropriates \$450,000 for sanitation, Panama Canal Zone, as proposed by the Senate.

AMENDMENTS IN DISAGREEMENT

The following motions have been authorized to be offered by the managers on the part of the House with respect to amendments in disagreement.

Amendment No. 7: To recede from disagreement and concur with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by said amendment insert the following:

"Such sums as may be determined by the Bureau of the Budget to be necessary are hereby appropriated for making for the first quarter of the fiscal year 1948 (1) grants to States for assistance to aged needy individuals, needy dependent children, and needy individuals who are blind, as authorized in titles I, IV, and X, respectively, of the Social Security Act approved August 14, 1335, as amended, and (2) grants to States for unemployment compensation administration: Provided, That the obligations incurred and expenditures made for each of such purposes

under the authority of this appropriation shall be charged to the appropriations therefor a the Labor-Federal Security Appropriation Act, 1948."

The foregoing is necessary in order that funds will be available to make payments to the States in June for old-age pensions, etc., to prevent delayed payments to recipients of amounts due the 1st of July.

Amendment No. 12: To recede from disagreement and concur in the Senate amendment, which directs the Secretary of the Treasury to cancel the notes of the Commodity Credit Corporation in the amount of \$641,832,080.64.

\$641,832,080.64.

Amendment No. 13: To recede from disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter inserted by said amendment, insert the following:

"Farm Labor Supply Program

"Supply and distribution of falm labor: The funds provided by the Farm Labor Supply Appropriation Act, 1944, as amend d and supplemented, are hereby continued available through January 30, 1948, for carrying out the purposes of said Act, as amended, and the Act of April 28, 1947 (Public Law 40, Eightieth Congress), an Act providing for a six months' extension and final distributions. a six months' extension and final liquidation of the farm labor supply program; and, in addition to the amount continued available, there is hereby appropriated for such purposes the sum of \$5,000,000 to be merged with the funds hereby continued available. Not less than \$2,000,000 of such additional funds shall be apportioned among the several States in the manner and for the purposes specified-in section 2 of the Farm Labor Supply Appropriation Act, 1944. In addition to the amounts heretofore made available for administrative expenses pursuant to section 3 of such Act, there is hereby made available out of said funds the sum of \$250,000 for such purposes: Provided, That not to exceed \$258,500 of the total funds remaining as of January 30, 1948, shall be available until June 30, 1948, for administrative and other expenses, including personal services in the District of Columbia, incident to the settle-ment of growers' and workers' contracts and accounts, the collection of reimbursements due the Government, the payment of trans-portation and other obligations outstand-ing, and the handling of other necessary fiscal and administrative work in the final liquidation and disposition of Government assets and liabilities under the program: Provided further, That not to exceed \$500,-000 of the receipts derived from sales of labor supply centers, labor homes, labor camps, and facilities under the provisions of section 2 (d) of the Act of August 14, 1946 (Public Law 731), as amended, shall be available for the payment of costs of the liquidation of such labor supply centers, labor homes, labor camps, and facilities, including personal services in the District of Columbia, and any appropriations or other funds from which such costs have been advanged may be reimbursed therefor from any such receipts, the net proceeds of such sales to be deposited in the Treasury of the United States."

JOHN TABER, RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH, ALBERT ENGEL KARL STEFAN FRANCIS CASE FRANK B. KEEFE, CLARENCE CANNON, JOHN H. KERR, GEORGE MAHON, Managers on the Part of the House.

REPORT ON H. R. 2798, 2799, 2780, AND 3492

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Banking and Currency may have until midnight tonight to file reports on the bills H. R. 2798, 2799, 2780, and 3492.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. WOLCOTT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an article by Arthur Krock appearing in the New York Times.

Mr. PLOESER (at the request of Mr. MICHENER) was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an enlightening comment on the Texas City disaster.

Mr. POULSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include three articles and

an editorial.

Mr. TRIMBLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include annual report, Washington County soil conservation district. I am informed by the Public Printer that this will exceed two pages of the RECORD and will cost \$213, aut I ask that it be printed notwithstanding that fact.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, notwithstanding the cost, the extension may be made.

There was no objection.

The matter referred to appears in the Appendix 1

Mr. BRYSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the

RECORD and include a short statement.

Mr. ROONEY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article.

Mr. JACKSON of California asked

and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

PERMANENT POSTAL RATES

Mr. VURSELL, from the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, submitted report (Rept. No. 410) to accompany R. 3519, to provide for permanent postal rates.

SPECIAL ORDER

The SPEAKER. Under previous special order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] is recognized for 30 minutes.

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include a newspaper article.)

PREPARE NOW TO DEFEND ALASKA AND CANAL ZONE

of SMITH Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, now that we have charted a new course in international affairs, it seems to me we ought to be thinking in terms of preparedness for our country. tainly our global activities are going to require the spending of a lot of money in the years ahead to keep ourselves prepared in such a way that we can resist any attack that might come from without at any time.

It seems to me that under the bill which we passed last week—the Greek-Turkish matter—that it was nothing more nor less than the pointing of a gun at one whomewe consider in the future

to be a possible armed adversary. Now, we have charted a course, and we must implement that course by making ourselves strong from a military standpoint. Now is the time to prepare; we cannot wait until the bombs fall.

Mr. Speaker, during the debate of the Greek-Turkish aid bill I charged that it was designed for military purposes; that it would not stop communism in those it would not stop communism in those countries and it was not intended for that purpose. It was clear to many of us that the people of this country were entitled to know all of the facts with their vast implications and that it was the duty of the President to so state. In this respect he is derelict in his responsibilities.

Since passage of the bill the Greek and Turkish Governments have officially stated that the money authorized will be used for military purposes. Thus, we see that our money is going to prepare foreign nations against aggressive action by the Communists. Mr. Speaker, it is my conviction that this is equivalent to a declaration of war. If it is, we had better prepare for the next war; right now. We have pointed a gun at Russia. What would we do, Mr. Speaker, if that country decided to furnish money or military aid to Cuba or to a friendly country in South America? We would consider such action a violation of the Monroe Doctrine and tantamount to a declaration of war against us-and properly so. Thus, we have a situation involving the risk of war under the pretense that it will stop communism.

Mr. Speaker, as we survey the results of World War II, without bias or prejudice, we realize that a full and complete victory was not achieved. Hitler and his Nazis have been eliminated, but another evil has been substituted for them. The price of victory cannot be determined. Lives and the intangibles that make for victory are beyond estimation.

Mr. Speaker, today we wonder about that victory for we realize that our honored dead and those who served in this last war really meant that victory was to bring the "four freedoms" to all mankind. Unfortunately, we have substituted communism for naziism and in the wake of victory the world is about to be engalfed in another wave of political despotism. Red Joe Stalin is as bloody as Hitler and there is no place in a free world for people of this kind. So we are again in a period of suspense, trying desperately to meet the peril of the moment. We have reached another armistice when we had a right to believe we had achieved permanent peace

Mr. Speaker, although the clouds are dark and ominous, I believe there is a bit of silver lining. When historians appraise the results of World War II, I believe they will record a major victory for all countries in the Western Hemisphere. That victory was dimaxed by the Treaty of Chapultepec, signed in Mexico City on the 6th day of March 1945. A most important provision in that treaty provides for a unified defense system for the entire Western Hemisphere.

Mr. Speaker, in our very sincere desire to help all the world, by the giving of our resources, we must never forget that

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[Public Law 84—80th Congress] [CHAPTER 90—1st Session]

[H. J. Res. 153]

JOINT RESOLUTION

Providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$350,000,000 for the provision of relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war, such relief assistance to be limited to the following: Food, medical supplies, processed and unprocessed materials for clothing, fuel, fertilizer, pesticides, and seed: Provided, That from the funds authorized under this section the President shall make contributions to the International Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations for the special care and feeding of children, and such contributions shall not be subject to the limitations and requirements provided in this joint resolution, but after \$15,000,000 has been so contributed, no further contributions shall be made which would cause the aggregate amount so contributed by the United States (1) to constitute more than 57 per centum of the aggregate amount contributed to said fund by all governments not receiving assistance from said fund, including the United States; or (2) to exceed \$40,000,000, whichever is the lesser.

There shall be established and maintained, out of the funds authorized under this joint resolution, a relief distribution mission for each of the countries receiving aid under this joint resolution. Such missions shall be comprised solely of American citizens who shall have been investigated as to loyalty and security by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Such missions shall have direct supervision and control, in each country, of relief supplies furnished or otherwise made available under this joint resolution, and, when it is deemed desirable by the field administrator provided for in section 4, such missions shall be empowered to retain possession of such supplies up to the city or local community where such supplies are actually made

available to the ultimate consumers.

Not more than \$15,000,000 of the funds authorized under this joint resolution shall be available for relief in any countries or territories other than Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Trieste, and China. This provision shall not imply any obligation to give relief

to any of the countries mentioned.

Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$75,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine. From appropriations authorized under this section, there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance

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Corporation the advances made by it under the authority contained herein.

SEC. 2. (a) Under the direction of the President, such relief assistance shall be provided in the form of transfers of supplies, or the establishment in this country of credits subject to the control of the President, in such quantities and on such terms as the President may determine; except that no such transfers of supplies or establishment of credits may be made after June 30, 1948, and except that not more than 6 per centum of the amount herein authorized shall be used for the procurement of supplies outside the United States and its Territories and possessions.

(b) In carrying out this joint resolution, funds authorized herein may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the providing of such relief assistance, including expenses of or incident to the procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment of supplies transferred under subsection (a) or of supplies purchased from credits

established under subsection (a).

(c) Funds authorized under this joint resolution may be allocated for any of the purposes of this joint resolution to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government and such sums shall be available for obligation and expenditure in accordance with the laws governing obligations and expenditures of the department, agency, or independent establishment, or organizational unit thereof concerned, and without regard to sections 3709 and 3648 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (U. S. C., 1940 edition, title 41, sec. 5, and title 31, sec. 529).

(d) Such additional civilian employees as may be required by the War Department in connection with the furnishing of procurement, storage, transportation, and shipment services under this joint resolution and which services are paid for from funds herein authorized, shall not be counted as civilian employees within the meaning of section 607 of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945, as amended by

section 14 of the Federal Employees Pay Act of 1946.

(e) When any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government receives request from the government of any country for which credits have been established under subsection (a) and receives, from credits so established, advancements or reimbursements for the cost and necessary expenses, it may furnish, or procure and furnish (if advancements are made), supplies within the category of relief assistance as defined in section 1 and may use sums so received for the purposes set forth in subsection (b) of this section. When any such reimbursement is made it shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, either to the appropriation, fund, or account utilized in incurring the obligation, or to an appropriate appropriation, fund, or account which is current at the time of such reimbursement.

(f) In order to supplement the general relief assistance made available under the terms of section 1 and to effect the economical and expanded use of American voluntary relief contributions, funds authorized under this joint resolution, not to exceed \$5,000,000, may be used to pay necessary expenses related to the ocean transportation of supplies donated to or purchased by American voluntary and non-profit relief agencies, and in such quantities and kinds and for such

purposes as the President may determine to be essential supplements

· to the supplies provided for such general relief assistance.

(g) The relief supplies provided under the terms of this joint resolution shall be procured and furnished by the appropriate United States procurement agencies unless the President shall determine otherwise.

Sec. 3. No relief assistance shall be provided under the authority of this joint resolution to the people of any country unless the government of such country has given assurance satisfactory to the President that (a) the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, as well as similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, will be distributed among the people of such country without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief; (b) representatives of the Government of the United States and of the press and radio of the United States will be permitted to observe freely and to report fully regarding the distribution and utilization of such supplies; (c) full and continuous publicity will be given within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts and progress of the United States relief program carried on therein pursuant to this joint resolution; (d) if food, medical supplies, fertilizer, or seed is transferred or otherwise made available to such country pursuant to this joint resolution, no articles of the same character will be exported or removed from such country while need therefor for relief purposes continues; (e) such country has taken or is taking, insofar as possible, the economic measures necessary to reduce its relief needs and to provide for its own future reconstruction; (f) upon request of the President, it will furnish promptly information concerning the production, use, distribution, importation, and exportation of any supplies which affect the relief needs of the people of such country; (g) representatives of the Government of the United States will be permitted to supervise the distribution among the people of such country of the supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution; (h) provision will be made for a control system so that all classes of people within such country will receive their fair share of essential supplies; and (i) all supplies transferred pursuant to this joint resolution or acquired through the use of credits established pursuant to this joint resolution and any articles processed from such supplies, or the containers of such supplies or articles, will, to the extent practicable, be marked, stamped, branded, or labeled in a conspicuous place as legibly, indelibly, and permanently as the nature of such supplies, articles, or containers will permit in such manner as to indicate to the ultimate consumer in such country that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance; or if such supplies, articles, or containers are incapable of being so marked, stamped, branded, or labeled, that all practicable steps will be taken to inform the ultimate consumers thereof that such supplies or articles have been furnished by the United States of America for relief assistance.

Sec. 4. When supplies are transferred or otherwise made available to any country pursuant to this joint resolution, the President shall cause representatives of the Government of the United States (1) to supervise the distribution of such supplies among the people of such

country, (2) to observe and report with respect to the carrying out of the assurances given to the President pursuant to section 3, and (3) to seek arrangements that reparations payable from current production by any such country to any other country by treaty be post-

poned during the period of such relief.

With respect to the furnishing of relief assistance pursuant to this joint resolution, the President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a field administrator who shall direct the supervision of such relief assistance. Such administrator shall receive compensation at a rate not to exceed \$12,000 per annum, and any necessary expenses, as the President shall determine. He shall act in accordance with the instructions of the President.

The authority of the President under sections 2 and 3 and under this section may, to the extent the President directs, be exercised by

the Secretary of State.

Sec. 5. (a) The President shall promptly terminate the provision of relief assistance to the people of any country whenever he determines (1) that, by reason of changed conditions, the provision of relief assistance of the character authorized by this joint resolution is no longer necessary, (2) that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out, (3) that an excessive amount of any supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or of similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, is being used to assist in the maintenance of armed forces in such country, or (4) that supplies transferred or otherwise made available pursuant to this joint resolution, or similar supplies produced locally or imported from outside sources, are being exported or removed from such country.

(b) Relief assistance to the people of any country, under this joint resolution, shall, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated whenever such termination is directed by concurrent resolu-

tion of the two Houses of the Congress.

Sec. 6. To the extent that relief supplies procured with funds authorized under this joint resolution are not furnished on terms of repayment in dollars, they shall be furnished only upon condition that the government of the receiving country agree that when it sells such relief supplies for local currency (a) the amounts of such local currency will be deposited by it in a special account; (b) such account will be used within such country, as a revolving fund, until June 30, 1948, only upon the approval of the duly authorized representative of the United States, for relief and work relief purposes, including local currency expenses of the United States incident to the furnishing of relief; and (c) any unencumbered balance remaining in such account on June 30, 1948, will be disposed of within such country for such purposes as the United States Government, pursuant to Act or joint resolution of the Congress, may determine.

Sec. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under authority of this joint

resolution.

Approved May 31, 1947.



